

# HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Being an elaborate account of all branches of Classical Sanskrit Literature, with full Epigraphical and Archæological Notes and References, an Introduction dealing with Language, Philology and Chronology and Index of Authors and Works

BY

KAVYAVINODA, SAHITYARATNAKARA

**M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M.A., M.L., Ph.D.**

Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London  
(*Of the Madras Judicial Service*)

ASSISTED BY HIS SON

**M SRINIVASACHARIAR, B.A., B.L.  
ADVOCATE, MADRAS**

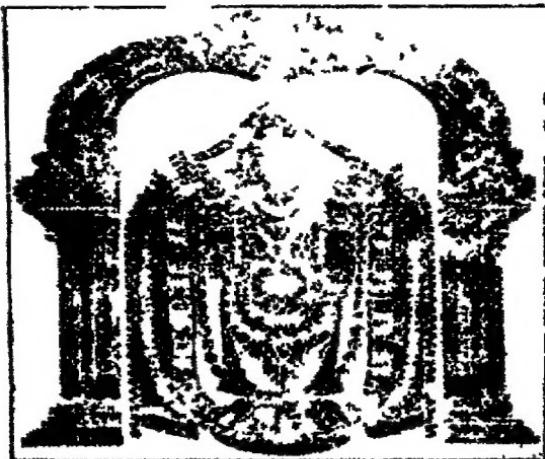


PRINTED AT  
TIRUMALAI-TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAMS PRESS  
MADRAS

1937

[PRICE RS. 10 OR 15 S.]

ओं नमः  
श्रियःपतये



अस्तिलभुवनजन्मस्थेमभज्ञादिलीले  
विविधविनतभूतब्रातरक्षैकदीक्षे ।  
श्रुतिशिरसि विदीप्ते ब्रह्मणि श्रीनिवासे  
भवतु मम परस्मिन् शेषुषी भक्तिरूपा ॥



महाकविवचस्सुधाप्रसरसौरभोल्लासिता  
महार्हगुणनायकप्रथितवृत्तमुक्तोज्ज्वला ।  
महामहिमदेवतास्तवनहृष्टरत्नाङ्किता  
वृषाद्विपतिपाद्योस्तुतनुरपितेयं कृतिः ॥

## PREFACE

LOOK AT THIS DEDICATION TO LORD SRI VENKATESVARA! That will remind you of the Glory and Purpose of His Manifestation in this world of sin and exalt you to the region of the blessed and the immortal. With a salutation to the great Sages Vālmīki and Vyāsa, the work begins and gives an elaborate account of Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, with all their recensions, editions and commentaries. The vast expanse of Classical Sanskrit Literature has been arranged on the model of standard works on foreign literature. The main classes are three, Śravyakāvya, Drsyakāvya and Sāhitya. First come the poems proper, of two classes, major and minor, (Śravyakāvya)---, which is all verse, or all prose or mixed prose and verse with all their minor varieties, topical and ingenious. Secondly comes the drama (Drsyakāvya) in all its technical ramifications and with all motifs temporal, spiritual and allegorical. Next is science of poetry (Sāhitya) in its widest sense embracing rhetoric, dancing, music and erotics. To this is appended a chapter on Prosody or metrics (Chandas). All topics are introduced by an exposition of the rhetorical definitions and theorisations and treated from their traceable beginnings, which to some extent are traditional and theological, but I would not call them 'mythical' implying a stigma of falsity and fiction. As far as it was in my reach, all that has been said about any author or work anywhere in books, journals or papers has been entered in the references and this will help special studies. Dynasties of Kings that ruled in India in different parts and at different times have been fully honored by a collation of relevant notes, epigraphical and archæological, not merely because the kings were the fountains of literature, but many of them were themselves poets of celebrity. Works known and unknown, lost and extant, printed and unprinted, catalogued and uncatalogued, have all been mentioned and in many cases the stray places where they are still available in manuscript. Above all there is the quotation of gems of poetry of varying interest from amour and nature to devotion and renunciation, and these in themselves are an anthology of meritorious specimens of poetic thought and expression.

The INTRODUCTION deals with several topics of general interest allied to the study of Classical Sanskrit Literature, such for instance is the spiritual origin and aspect of language as envisaged in the *Vedas* and as elaborated by schools of Grammarians, the progress of structural and linguistic changes in the expression of the Sanskrit language, from *Chandas* to *Bhāṣa*, and the like, this will assist the study of Comparative Philology, of which "*The Discovery of Sanskrit*" is acknowledged to be the origin. Of foremost importance, there is the subject of Indian Chronology. India has its well written history and the *Purāṇas* exhibit that history and chronology. To the devout Hindu and to a Hindu who will strive to be honest in the literary and historical way, *Purāṇas* are not 'pious frauds'. In the hands of many Orientalists, India has lost (or has been cheated out of) a period of 10-12 centuries in its political and literary life, by the assumption of a faulty Synchronism of *Candragupta Maurya* and *Sandracottus* of the Greek works and all that can be said against that "*Anchor-Sheet of Indian Chronology*" has been said in this Introduction. In the case of those early European Orientalists, very eminent and respectable in themselves, this thought of resemblance and historical synchronism was at least sincere, for it was very scanty material that they could work upon. But for their successors in that hierarchy who are mostly our "Professors of Indian History," that have given a longevity and a garb of truth to it by repetition, there is to my mind no excuse or expiation, if at all it be a confession of neglect and a recognition of India's glorious past in its entire truth.

The INDEX of AUTHORS AND WORKS (in Sanskrit) is followed by a small supplement (in English) on miscellaneous matters. The Index is not merely a means of reference and indication, but embodies corrections and additions, so as to act as what is usually expressed as "Errata et Corrigenda et Addenda". Many authors and works that could not be mentioned in the body of the work, because they came to be known too late, are entered there. The reader will therefore take the Index as part of the main work and not merely as an easy appendix to it. In all, the number of works and authors would be some thousands, arranged alphabetically on the plan of Stein's Index to *Kashmir Catalogue* and Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Recent and living authors have been, so far as I could get at, noticed, and this work, it is submitted with all humility, deals with the history of Classical Sanskrit Literature from the earliest times to the present day.

In the year 1906, I published a small book, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature. Being the first and only work of its comprehension, it was well received everywhere in our Universities and was quoted profusely in the publications of the Universities of the United States of America. I was often asked to reprint the book, but conscious of its inadequacy I did not do it, but in its stead I thought of a comprehensive work that would present at a glance the full vista of Sanskrit literary domain and that in the light of past historical researches. Even the ardent Pandit knows not the vast literature that has been lost or lies hidden in the libraries of India.

But what are your chances of using these libraries? Manuscripts and catalogues now out of print are all 'stored' in these receptacles. They may be there for years, unthought and untouched, save for changes of physical location. The pages may turn red, brown, blue and brittle, but they still lie uncut by the hand of any reader. The Guardian (Curator, Secretary, Librarian, call them as you please) will well watch these receptacles on their pedestals. The guardian will applaud your attempt at research and will promise to help it by a loan of books on your application, but he is "helpless" and must soon express his regret in reply as "rules are against loan". If you apply to a higher authority for relief, the paper runs through the regular channels to the same guardian, and on his report, after a lingering expectation, you get an order (a copy of the prior one) with a difference only in the preamble and the subscription. Libraries "are meant for visitors," but most of them do not look in, but look on, all the more so, if a museum or a house of curios is adjacent to the library. And these rare books are only rarely wanted and that by a incrusted antiquarian of my ilk. One that comes there does not need the book, one that is far away cannot get it. If you do go there, stealing a holiday, the key of a particular almirah where your wanted work is kept may be with the guardian who is away elsewhere. What then is a library for? It is not a Palace of Toys! Much of this tale was true of the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras some years ago, when I commenced the preparation of this work. I am not sure if at present the position is better. But I am aware that not many years ago, there was an indictment of the methods of this Library by His Holiness Sri Yaçrājāswāmi in his preface to his edition of Śṛngāraprakīśa. The expression of his chagrin, in language poetic, is well worth reading as a piece of excellent prose literature.

I wrote for information to libraries, I rarely had a reply, for some of these guardians have "no staff, no provision for paper or postage" If I asked for an extract from any manuscript—say the first and last few lines—some institutions demanded copying charges I applied for a copy, the charges were exorbitant For instance, for an indifferent copy in two quarter sheets of thirty-two anustubh verses (of 32 letters each) I was asked to pay about a rupee and postage I paid and consoled myself by the thought that this fee went for the maintenance of a poor Pandit, and that it was in no way more rapacious than the fee charged recently by a Banker for giving an extract of a single line from a ledger, viz., Rs 5 for search, Rs 5 for copying the line, and Rs. 5 for adding a certificate that it was a 'true copy', and these charges are only made "according to rules" We have to get on 'under the rules', no one cares to look into these iniquities Equally so was it with many Professors of Colleges They would have no time to reply and the few that deigned to oblige after reminders had very little to say To trace an author and his affairs, I had in many cases to correspond with several persons, and only perseverance did win it If the post office could exempt my letters from postage, it would give a different aspect, but alas, not. It is under these auspices I began and progressed But I cannot refrain from expressing that the acquisition of the material gathered in this book has been too costly for an equanimous retrospect and I shall not be far wrong to say that each author, save those few that are too well known, cost me on an average four annas I have often felt that it is not an enterprise that a prudent householder should have embarked upon, but it was too late to think of the folly

Amidst official work in judicial service, in places distant from metropolis, there was little leisure for a continuous study A few days snatched at intervals during the recesses of summer and other holidays were rarely sufficient for visits of references to libraries scattered all over India After all the work was ready—ready in bulk—about 8 years ago It went to print After a year, it was carried away in the current of an estate that vested in the Official Assignee A request and a claim got it out of the muddle The Press was sold Delay there was, but the printing was resumed I fell ill and I raved about this work and its contents, astonishing the doctor what it was all about, though I thought I was lecturing sensibly on Sanskrit Literature. There was again a change in the management and there was another lull

After sometime, the printing was taken up and slowly moved on Once the manuscript of a whole chapter which was in the custody of a manager was lost—"said to be not sent at all"—but after all traced as 'mis laid', after I re-wrote much of it from scanty material gathered again from memory. If with all these mishaps and vicissitudes the work took 20 years and more, need I say that the suspense is enough to dole dismay to a chronic optimist which I presumed that I was.

In the preparation of the work, I have had the fullest sympathy from all Universities (except probably the University of Madras) and all Local Governments and the Governments of Indian States and the Government of Ceylon They have been magnanimous and let me have their Sanskrit and other publications free as presents and that has well nigh contributed to the fullness of the notes, literary, epigraphical and archaeological. To them I am ever thankful To Sjt P R. RAMA AIYAR, the Proprietor of Messrs P R Rama Aiyar & Co , Booksellers, Madras, who with his selfless generosity first received this work in his Press for love of literary research, I express my first regard Due to tortuous ways divine, his Press changed hands, but blest was it, that it became the Press of Sri Venkatesvara Devasthanam, Tirupati. At the hands of His Holiness SRI MAHANT PRAVAGA DOSSJEE VARU of Sri Hatheeramjee Mutt, Tirupati, then its Vicharanakartha, I received a kindly appreciation , he directed that the printing part of the work be done free in the Press, a work that has been meant to be dedicated to Sri Venkatesvara of Tirupati, at whose feet my family does humble hereditary service When the management of the Devasthanam was assumed by the Committee appointed by the Local Legislature with its Commissioner, MR K SITARAMA REDDI, B.A., B.L., I was allowed to have the same concession with certain alterations It is with this assistance and the particular interest which the present Commissioner, MR. A RANGANATHA MUDALIAR, B.A., B.L., evinced in speeding up the printing, the work is now seeing its publication To the Committee and the Commissioner, gratitude will ever be transcendent in my memory— all the more so because they are the custodians of the Wealth and Glory of LORD VENKATESVARA.

Owing to pressure of Official duties and the anxiety to see the end of the publication, which has been by various causes often impeded during the last eight years, errors of print have crept in, but I slyly feel that the learned eye of my loving reader will easily skip through the

श्रीः

महाकथा:-

अत्रेदं विज्ञाप्यते श्रीशेषैलजनपदनिवासिना ग्रन्थकर्त्रा कृष्णोन्—

पितृव्यपादानां श्रीमतां श्रीनिवासरङ्गनाथाचार्याणां सकाशे दासेन शैशवे लब्धं  
साहितीपरिचयलेशः । अति-कान्ते छात्रभावे बहुपु पत्तेषु प्राण्डिवाकपदव्यां प्रचलिता-  
धिष्ठानतथा आकान्ते सन्दर्भशिरतराजकीयधर्मं शास्त्रविषयक बहुग्रन्थरचनया च गैवाणीं वाणीं  
यथाभिलिप्तं सुकृतिभिर्भवद्विरिवासेविं न पारितं दासेन । तथापि पूर्वस्मिन् जन्मनि कृते-  
नावदातेन कर्मलेशेन शारदाया आराधने समुद्घोजितो दासः संस्कृतकविकाव्यचरितग्रथ-  
नेन । तदप्यारब्धं समुचितसामध्यैहीनेनाद्वरदर्शिना दासेनेति विलसितं नियतिलीलायाः ।  
अक्षुण्ण एष पन्था । कियान्वा कविमुखेषु गीवाणवाणीप्रसर आसीदस्ति चेति प्रायेण न  
ज्ञानन्ति वहवो विद्वांसा, विरलतया दर्शनीयानामाकरणामालयानां सूचीनां च । पर-  
स्सहस्राः पञ्चमहाकाव्यसदाशाः प्रबन्धाः निलीना विलीनाश । रूपकाणि च तथैव । केचन  
ग्रन्था कवयश्च नामावशिष्टाः कीर्तिशेषा एव । आशास्यतामचिरात्तेऽपि दर्शनपथमवतर-  
न्त्वति ।

एष विशतिवार्षिकः प्रयत्नः

अश्रुतादृष्टपूर्वविविधसाहित्यसाक्रान्त्यशोभना अखिलभारतवर्षाव्यकविवरेण्यवरित  
सुमनोगुणिकेयं कृतिं महता क्लेशेन धनव्ययेन च केवलया गीवाणवाणीपरिचरणधियैव  
भगवत्सा वाग्देव्याः प्रसादेन महतां चाचिपा परिसमाप्तिमागता ।

यथाज्ञातं यथाक्षुतं यत्रकुत्रापि ज्याहयात्सुपक्षिसमुदाहृतं वा एतावता कालेन दृष्टमद्वृष्टं  
श्रुतमक्षुतं सुवित्तमसुद्वित लब्धमलब्धं सर्वमपि कविकर्मं कालतो देशतश्च विशृश्य सक-  
लमपीतिवृत्तं समारभ्यादिकाव्यात् अद्यावधि यावच्छक्यमप्त्रं संमेलितम् । किंच उपोद्धाते च  
सुविषुले—शब्दब्रह्मणो माहात्म्यसुपर्वितम् । भाषाशास्त्रस्य देववाणीमातृत्वसुपदर्शितम् ।  
पुराणेतिहासानां ग्रामाण्यसुद्विषितम् । तत्परिपन्थिनां वादानां दुष्टता च प्रकटिता । रस-  
विद्विष्टाः वाग्विलासाः तत्र तत्र स्थानेषु समुचितेषु वाचिता । यथा ग्रन्थ एष भविष्यति  
सुभाषितभाष्टागारः सहवयाहादनाय ।

तथाभूतं प्रबन्धं महतां पादमूले समर्प्य विद्वत्परितोष्णेन कृतार्थीकर्तुमात्मानं समी-  
क्षते दासः ॥

# CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

INTRODUCTION

ABBREVIATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

## BOOK I

### CHAPTER I

Section 1	Vedic Forms of Epics...	...	1
" 2	Rāmāyaṇa	...	3
" 3	Mahābhārata	...	27
" 4	Epics Compared	...	64
" 5	Purāṇas	...	72
" 6	Tantras	...	78

## BOOK II

### CHAPTER II

Kāvya	...	79
-------	-----	----

### CHAPTERS III—X

Mahākāvya	...	82
-----------	-----	----

### CHAPTER XI

Section 1	Laghukāvya	...	311
" 2	Nīti	...	313
" 3	Śloṭra	...	320

### CHAPTER XII

Laghukāvya ( <i>contd.</i> )	...	334
------------------------------	-----	-----

### CHAPTER XIII

Sandesa	...	358
---------	-----	-----

### CHAPTER XIV

Citrakāvya	...	369
------------	-----	-----

### CHAPTER XV

Subhāṣita	...	385
-----------	-----	-----

### CHAPTER XVI

Section 1	Poetesses	...	391
" 2	Royal Poets	...	397
" 3	Unnamed Poets	...	404

### CHAPTER XVII

Desāvṛtti	...	407
-----------	-----	-----

	BOOK III	PAGE
<b>CHAPTER XVIII</b>		
Section 1	Kāthānaka	... 411
„ 2	Bṛhatkāthā	... 412
„ 3	Pancaṭanṭra	... 423
„ 4	Other Tales	... 428
 BOOK IV		
CHAPTERS XIX—XX	Gadyakāvya	... 436
CHAPTER XXI	Campū	... 496
 BOOK V		
CHAPTER XXII	Ḍṛṣyakāvya	... 525
 BOOK VI		
CHAPTER XXIII	Sāhiṭyāśāstra	... 707
CHAPTER XXIV	Ālankāra	... 726
CHAPTER XXV	Bharaṭa	... 810
CHAPTER XXVI	Sangiṭa	... 832
CHAPTER XXVII	Kāmasāstra	... 877
CHAPTER XXVIII	Chandōviciṭi	... 897
APPENDIX	Extracts from Avantisundarikāthā etc.	
INDEX		

## INTRODUCTION

ॐ

अशिमीले पुरोहितं यज्ञस देवयृत्विजं होतारं रमधातम् ।  
अग्नि पूर्वेभिर्विशिरीच्चो नृत्यैरुत सदेवो एह वक्षति ॥

1. **The sacred literature of India**, inferior to none in variety or extent, is superior to many in nobility of thought, in sanctity of spirit and in generality of comprehension. In beauty or prolixity, it can vie with any other literature ancient and modern. Despite the various impediments to the steady development of the language, despite the successive disturbances, internal and external, which India had to encounter ever since the dawn of history, she has successfully held up to the world her archaic literary map, which meagre outline itself favourably compares with the literature of any other nation of the globe. The beginnings of her civilization are yet in obscurity. Relatively to any other language of the ancient world, the antiquity of Sanskrit has an unquestioned priority. "Yet such is the marvellous continuity" says Max Muller "between the past and the present of India, that in spite of repeated social convulsions, religious reforms and foreign invasions, sanskrit may be said to be still the only language that is spoken over the whole extent of the vast country."<sup>1</sup> So says M. Wiaternitz "Sanskrit is not a 'dead' language even to day. There are still at the present day a number of Sanskrit periodicals in India, and topics of the day are discussed in Sanskrit pamphlets. Also, the Mahabharata is still today read aloud publicly. To this very day poetry is still composed and works written in Sanskrit, and it is the language in which Indian scholars converse upon scientific questions. Sanskrit at the least plays the same part in India still, as Latin in the Middle Ages in Europe, or as Hebrew with the Jews."<sup>2</sup>

"No country except India and no language except the Sanskrit can boast of a possession so ancient or venerable. No nation except the Hindus can stand before the world with such a sacred heirloom in its possession, unapproachable in grandeur and infinitely above all in

1. *India*. 78-9.

2. *History of Indian Literature*, I. 46.

## INTRODUCTION

glory The Vedas stand alone in their solitary splendour, serving as beacon of divine light for the onward march of humanity ”<sup>1</sup>

The sciences of Comparative Pathology and Mythology owe their origin to what has been termed the “Discovery of Sanskrit” “The Sanskrit, the antiquity and extent of its literary documents, the transparency of its grammatical structure, the comparatively primitive state of ancient system and thorough grammatical treatment it has early received at the hands of native scholars, must ever secure the foremost place in the comparative study of Indo Aryan researches ”

**2** A WEBER in his Indian Literature thus summed up his reason for asserting the antiquity of the Vedic Literature

In the more ancient parts of the Rigveda-Samhita, we find the Indian race settled on the north-western borders of India, in the Punjab, and even beyond the Panjab, on the Kubha, or *Kwptna*, i.e. Kabul. The gradual spread of the race from these seats towards the east, beyond the Sarasvati and over Hindustan as far as the Ganges can be traced in the later portions of the Vedic writings almost step by step. The writings of the following period, that of the epic, consist of accounts of the internal conflicts among the conquerors of Hindustan themselves, as, for instance, the Mahabharata, or of the further spread of Brahmanism towards the south, as, for instance, the Ramayana. If we connect with this the first fairly accurate information about India which we have from a Greek source, viz., from Megasthenes, it becomes clear that at the time of this writer the Brahmanizing of Hindustan was already completed, while at the time of the Periplus (see Lassen, I AK, n 150, n 1 St n 192) the very southernmost point of the Dekhan had already become a seat of the worship of the wife of Siva. What a series of years, of centuries, must necessarily have elapsed before this boundless tract of country, inhabited by wild and vigorous tribes, could have been brought over to Brahmanism! And while the claims of the written records of Indian literature to a high antiquity—its beginnings may perhaps be traced back even to the time when the Indo-Aryans still dwelt together with the Perso-Aryans—are thus indisputably proved by external, geographical testimony, the internal evidence in the same direction, which may be gathered from their contents, is no less conclusive. In the songs of Rik, the robust spirit of the people gives expression to the feeling of its relation to nature, with a spontaneous freshness and simplicity, the powers o

nature are worshipped as superior beings, and their kindly aid besought within their several spheres. Beginning with this nature-worship, which everywhere recognises only the individual phenomena of nature, and these in the first instance superhuman, we trace in Indian literature the progress of the Hindu people through almost all the phases of religious development through which the human mind generally has passed. The individual phenomena of nature, which at first impress the imagination as being superhuman, are gradually classified within their different spheres, and a certain unity is discovered among them. Thus we arrive at a number of divine beings, each exercising supreme sway within its particular province, whose influence is in course of time further extended to the corresponding events of human life, while at the same time they are endowed with human attributes and organs. The number—already considerable—of these natural deities, these regents of the powers of nature, is further increased by the addition of abstractions, taken from ethical relations, and to these as to the other deities divine powers, personal existence and activity are ascribed. Into this multitude of divine figures, the spirit of inquiry seeks at a later stage to introduce order, by classifying and co-ordinating them according to their principal bearings. The principle followed in this distribution is, like the conception of the deities themselves, entirely borrowed from the contemplation of nature. We have the gods who act in the heavens, in the air, upon the earth, and of these the sun, the wind, and fire are recognized as the main representatives and rulers respectively. These three gradually obtain precedence over all the other gods, who are only looked upon as their creatures and servants. Strengthened by these classifications, speculation presses on and seeks to establish the relative position of these three deities, and to arrive at unity for the supreme Being. This is accomplished either speculatively, by actually assuming such a supreme and purely absolute Being, viz., "Brahman" (neut), to whom these three in their turn stand in the relation of creatures, of creatures, of servants only, or arbitrarily, according as one or other of the three is worshipped as the supreme god. The sun-god seems in the first instance to have been promoted to this honour? the Perso-Aryans at all events retained this standpoint, of course extending it still further, and in the older parts of the Brahmanas also—to which rather than to the Samhitas the Avesta is related in respect of age and contents—we find the sun-god here and there exalted far above the other deities (*prasavita devanam*). We also find ample traces of this in the forms of worship, which so often preserve relics of antiquity. Nay,

as "Brahman" (masc), he has in theory retained this position, down even to the latest times, although in a very colourless manner. His colleagues, the air and fire gods, in consequence of their much more direct and sensible influence, by degrees obtained complete possession of the supreme power, though constantly in conflict with each other. Their worship has passed through a long series of different phases, and it is evidently the same which Megasthenes found in Hindustan, and which at the time of the Periplus had penetrated, though in a form already very corrupt, as far as the southernmost point of the Dekhan."

### 3 The Gods created Devavāpi

देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तीं विश्वरूपा पश्चो वदन्ति ।

सा नो मद्रेष्मद्गुर्ज दुहाना धेरुवाग्स्तानुपस्थृतैतु ॥ Rg VIII 100-11.

इन्द्रावरुणा यहविष्मो मनीषां वाचो माति श्रुतमदत्तमग्रे ।

यानि स्थानान्यसुजन्त धीरा यह तन्वानास्तपसाभ्यपश्यम् ॥ Rg VIII 59-6.

Paṭanjali says in his *Mahābhāṣya*

चत्वारि शृङ्खा श्रो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्यो आविवेश ॥”

ऋग्वेद ४।५।८।३

अत्र व्याकरणमहामात्रमाषको गोनर्दीयो गोणिकातनयो नानादर्शननिष्णातो भगवान् पैतःश्लिः. प्राह— “ चत्वारि शृङ्खाणि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाल्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । त्रयो अस्य पादा । त्रय काला. भूतमविष्यद्वितीयाना । द्वे शीर्षे । द्वौ शब्दात्मानौ, निलः कार्यश्च । सप्त हस्तासो अस्य । सप्त विमक्तयः । त्रिधा बद्ध । त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्ध । उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति । वृषभो वर्षण्ट रोरवीति शब्द करोति । कुत इतद् । रौति शब्दकमां । महो देवो मर्त्यो आविवेशेति । महान् देव शब्दो मर्त्यो मरणधर्माणो मनुष्या तानाविवेश । महता देवेन न साम्य यथा स्यादित्यव्येय व्याकरणम् । ” (इति महामात्रे पस्पशायाम्) ।

Vidyāraṇya adopts Paṭanjali's views in his Introduction to his commentary on Rg Veda and there in speaking of the importance of the study of Grammar, he says

व्याकरणमपि प्रकृतिप्रस्तावाधपदेशेन पदस्वरूपतदर्थूनिश्चयायोपयुज्यते । तथाचैद्र-चायवग्रहवाक्षणे । समान्यायते वावै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्ते देवा इदमनुवाकिमां नो वाच व्याकृतिंति । सोऽज्ञवीद्वर वृणै मश चैवैष वायवे च सह गुणाता इति तस्मादैद्रवायव सह गृह्णते । ताभ्यदे मध्यतौडकमन्य व्याकरोत् । तस्मादियं व्याकृता वाशुधते । तै स ६ ४ ७ ३ १ इति । अभिमील्ले पुरोहितमिलादिवाक् पूर्वस्मिन् काले पराची समुद्रादिष्वनिवदेकात्मिका सती आव्याकृता प्रकृति । प्रत्ययः पद वाच्यमिलादिविभागकारिग्रथरहितासीत् । तदानीं देवैः

प्रार्थित इदं पुकस्मिन्नेव पत्रे वायो स्वस्य च सोमरसग्रहणरूपेण वरेण तुष्टस्तामलड-  
वाच मध्ये विच्छिद्य प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिविसाग सर्वत्राकरोत् । तस्मादिय वागिदानीभाषि पाणि-  
न्यादिमहर्षिभिर्व्याकृता सैवं पञ्चत इत्यर्थ ।

उत्तत्व पश्चक ददर्श वाचमुत्तत्व शृणवश्शृणोत्येना । उतोत्तस्मै तन्व विससे जायेव पल  
उश्ती सुवासा । क्रग्वे १० । ७१ । ४ । अपि खुल्लेक पश्यत्वापि न पश्यति । अपि खुल्लेक  
शृणवश्शृणोत्येना । अविद्वासमाहार्थ । तस्मै अन्यस्मै तन्व विससे । ततु विवृषुते ।  
जायेव पल उश्ती सुवासा यथा जाया पत्ये कामयमाना सुवासा समात्मान विवृषुत पूर्व  
वाचाग्निवेद स्वमात्मान विवृषुते । वाङ्नो विवृषुयादेत्यध्येय व्याकरणम् । सक्तुभिव तितज्ञा  
पुनतो यत्र धीरा भनसा वाचमकत । अत्रासखाय सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि ।  
क्रग्वे १० । ७१ । २ । सक्तु सच्चतेर्दुर्धां वो भवति । कसतेर्वास्याद्विपरीतस विकसितो भवति ।  
तितत परिपवन भवति ततवद्वा तु उवद्वा । धीरा व्यानवतो भनसा प्रक्षालेन वाचमकत ।  
वाचमकृषत । अत्रा सखाय सख्यानि जानते । अत्र सखाय सख्यानि सजानते सायुज्यानि  
जानते । क एष दुर्गों मार्ग एकगम्य । वाचिष्य । के पुनस्ते । वैयाकरण । कुत एतद् ।  
भद्रैषा लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि । एषां वाचि भद्रालक्ष्मीर्निहिता भवति । लक्ष्मीर्लङ्घणाद्वासनात्परि-  
वृढाभवति । सारस्तीं । याक्षिका पठति । आहिताग्निरपशब्द प्रयुजान प्रायक्षितीया  
सारस्तीमिटि निर्वपेदिति । प्रायक्षितीया मा भूमेत्यध्येय व्याकरणम् ।

Dwijendranath Guha collects some other references

तत्रैव मगवान् यास्क — “ चत्वारि शृङ्गेति वेदा वा एत उक्ता । तयो अस्य पादा  
इति सवनानि त्रीणि । द्वे शीर्षे प्रायणीयोदयनीये । सप्त हस्तास सप्त छन्दासि । विश्वा  
बद्धस्त्रेधा बद्धो मन्त्रब्राह्मणकल्पै । वृषभो रोरवीति रोरवणमस्य सवनकमेण क्रग्मिर्यजुर्भिः  
सामभिर्यजेन्द्रेनगृह्यमि । शसन्ति यजुर्मिर्यजन्ति सामभिः स्तुवन्ति । महो देव इत्येष हि महान् देवो  
यथां मत्त्यौ आविवेशत्येष हि भद्रृष्णानाविश्वति यजनाय” । (इति नैरत्ये परिशिष्टे—  
१३।१७) ।

यद्वा—

चत्वारि वाक्परिभिता पदानि तानि विदुर्जाङ्घणा ये मनीषिण ।

गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेत्रयन्ति तुरीय वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

क्रग्वदे ११६४।४५, अर्थवेदेऽपि ६।२५।२७।२६।१

अत्रापि च यास्काचार्यपादा — “ चत्वारि वाच. परिभितानि पादानि तानि विदुर्जाङ्घणा  
ये मेधाविनो गुहाया त्रीणि निहितानि नार्थं वेदयन्ते । गुहा गृहतेस्तुरीयं त्वरते । कतमानि  
तानि चत्वारि पदान्योङ्करो महाव्याहृतयश्चलार्थम् । नामास्याते चोपसर्गनिपातश्चेति वैया-  
करणा । मन्त्र. कल्पो जाङ्घण चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति याक्षिका । त्रिचो यजूषि सामानि  
चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ता । सप्तां वाग्वयसां शुद्धस्य सरीसुपस्य चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीलेके ।  
पश्चु तूणवेषु भूगेष्वासमनि चेत्यात्मप्रवादा । अथापि व्राह्मण भवति, सा वै वाक् सृष्टा चतुर्थी

व्यभवदेष्वेव लोकेषु श्रीणि पशुषु तुरीयम् । या पृथिव्या साऽन्नौ, सा रथन्तरे यान्तरिक्षे, सा वायौ सा बामदेव्ये । या दिवि सादित्ये, या बृहति सा स्तनशित्तौ । अथ पशुषु ततो या बाग्यरिच्यत ता ब्राह्मणेष्वदधुस्तस्माद् ब्राह्मणा उमर्या वाच वदन्ति या च देवाना या च मनुष्याणामिति ।” (इति नैरुत्ते परिशिष्टे—१३।१६) । अथेषाक्षरस्य स्तुति तावत् क्रग्वेदे १२।६।४।३६, अथवेदे ६।२।८।८, तैतिरीय आरण्यके १०।१३, पुन ऋग्वेदे १०।७।१।८, नैरुत्ते परिशिष्टे च १३।१।१०-१३ वर्तते । (अत्रलदुर्गाचार्यव्याख्यानमपि द्रष्टव्यम् ।)

मूरश्च नैरुत्ते उपोद्घानप्रकरणे पदचतुष्टयोद्देशे उत्तम्—“तद्यान्येतानि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामास्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च तानीमानि मवन्ति” । अनन्तर सप्तचत्वारिं शदक्षराण्युद्भूतानीति श्रूयते । यथा—‘सर्वे सरा इन्द्रस्यात्मान । सर्वे उप्माण प्रजापते रात्मान । सर्वे स्पर्शा मूल्योरात्मान ।’ (सामवेदीयाण्डोग्योपनिषद्, २।२।२।३) । अत्र सराणाम् इन्द्र एव कर्ता (अर्थात् सर्वे अकारादयश्चतुर्दश सरा देवराजेन इन्द्रेण उद्घाविता ) । शषसहा—प्रजापतिना चद्रेण च । कादयो मपर्यन्तानि समुदयाक्षराणि महादेवेन च वर्णितानि (काकारादय स्पर्शवर्णा यरलवाक्ष) । अत्रैव शाङ्करभाष्यम्—“सर्वे सरा अकारादय इन्द्रस्य बलकर्मण प्राणस्याऽस्मानो देहावयवस्थानीया । सर्वे उप्माण शषसहादय प्रजापते विराजः कश्यपसैवाऽस्मान । सर्वे स्पर्शा कादयो व्यञ्जनानि मूल्योरात्मान ।

\* \* \* \* \*

इन्द्रादयो वेदे देवता प्रख्याता । तेषाम् आवासात् (त्रिदशालयात् देवनगराद्वा) सप्तचत्वारिं शदक्षराण्याविर्मुतिनि । तत्रिभित्तेष्व “देवनागर वर्ण” इति कथ्यते, तदन्विता माणा “देवभाषा” इति व्यपदिश्यते । तथाहि—“एते वै देवा प्रलक्ष्य यद् ब्राह्मणा ।” क्रक्षसहितायामपि नेम क्रषि (८।१०।०।११)—“देवीं वाचमजनन्यन्त देवास्तां विश्वसूपा पश्चातो वदन्ति ।”

अब सायणभाष्यम्—“एषा माध्यमिका वाक् सर्वप्राण्यनैर्गता धर्माभिवादिनी मवतीति विभूतिष्ठुपदर्थेण्यति या देवीं घोतमाना माध्यमिका वाच देवा माध्यमिका अजनन्यन्त जनयन्ति तां वाच विश्वसूपा सर्वेषु पश्चात्वाच्च अव्यत्कवाच्च पश्चातो वदन्ति तत् पूर्वकत्वात् वाक्यप्रवृत्ते

\* \* \* \* \*

दीर्घतमा औच युनरेव—“मन्त्रयन्ते दिवो अमूल्यं पृष्ठे विश्वविद् वाचमविश्वमिन्वाम्” (ऋग्वेद १।१६।४।१०) । सायणभाष्यम् तत्रैव—

“\* \* \* \* \*

दिवः पृष्ठे शुलोकसोपरि अन्तरिक्षे मन्त्रयन्ते गुस परस्पर माषन्ते देवा किं विश्वविदं विश्वेदनसमर्था विश्ववैदनीया वा अविश्वमिन्वाम् असर्वव्यापिनीं वाच गर्जितलक्षणम्

अमुष्य आदिल्यस सबतिथनौ मन्त्रयन्ते इत्यर्थ ।” तस्मिन् कले भाषा अव्याकृता अभूत् । यथा—“ वाग् वै पराची अव्याकृता अवदत् । ” देवसुष्ठा भाषा “ देवसापा ” सर्वजनभाष्या सर्वविदिता च । ततश्च, चतुर्मुखस्य आदेशात् इन्द्र-चन्द्र महेना “ व्याकरण ” नाम शब्दशास्त्र विरचयाम्बभूतु ।

तत्रमाहेश व्याकरणविषये किंगदन्ति —

“ यान्युज्ञाहार माहेशाद् व्यासो व्याकरणार्णवात् ।

किन्तानि पदरक्षानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोप्तदे । ” इति ।

(३) पक्षान्तरे यमस्य शब्दशास्त्र न विधेते इत्येवं प्रमिद्धि । तथाहि पाणिनीयशिक्षाग्रन्थे, “ त्रिविष्टिश्चतु षष्ठिर्वा वर्णा शम्भुमते स्थिता ” अत एव अत्र जगति क्षेत्रायुगस्य इन्द्र-चन्द्र-भूतेषां आदितोऽक्षरोत्पादनकर्त्तर एतेति सम्यग् बोध्यम् ॥

**4 Samskrta**, or as now written, Sanskrit, is the language of the Gods, *Girvānavānī*. In this language stand the ancient scriptures of Vedic and Purānic religion. The Vedic literature is the most ancient record of any people of the world and forms the source of the earliest history of the Indo-Aryan race, nay, mankind as a whole.

“ The Veda has two-fold interest. It belongs to the history of the world and to the history of India. In the history of the world the Veda fills a gap which no literary work in any other languages could fill. It carries us back to times of which we have no records anywhere, and gives us the very words of a generation of men, of whom otherwise we could form but the vaguest estimate by means of conjectures and inferences. As long as man continues to take an interest in the history of his race, and as long as we collect in libraries and museums the relics of former ages, the first place in that long row of books which contains the records of the Aryan branch of mankind, will belong for ever to the *Rig-veda*. The world of the Veda is a world by itself, and its relation to all the rest of Sanskrit literature is such, that the Veda ought not to receive, but to throw light over the whole historical development of the Indian mind.”

The literature of the Vedas is termed *Śruti*, meaning what has been heard, that is, what is not the work of man.

**5** Vedas are eternal (*mūrya*), beginningless (*anādi*) and not made by man (*apauruṣeya*), (2) they were destroyed in the deluge at the end of the last *Kalpa*, and (3) that at the beginning of the present *Kalpa*

commencing with the *Kṛta-yuga* of this present Mahāyuga, the Rishis,<sup>1</sup> through *tapas*, re-produced in substance if not in form the ante-diluvian Vēdas which they carried in their memory by the favour of God. This is another expression of the historical view of modern scholars, like Mr Tilak. They state that the Vedic or Āryan religion can be proved to be interglacial, but its ultimate origin is still lost in geological antiquity, that the Āryan religion and culture were destroyed during the last glacial period that invaded the Arctic Āryan home, and that the Vedic hymns were sung in post-glacial times by poets, who had inherited the knowledge or contents therein of an unbroken tradition from their ante-diluvian fore-fathers.

On the commencement of Vedic era, opinions are at the opposite poles. Tradition takes it to a remote age of millions of years on the computation of yugas.

In his *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, B G Tilak divides the whole period from the commencement of the Postglacial era, corresponding to the beginning of our Krita Yuga of the present Mahayuga to the birth of Buddha in five parts —

"I 10,000-8,000 B C —The destruction of the original Arctic home by the last Ice Age and the commencement of the post-glacial period

II 8,000-5,000 B C —The age of the migration from the original home. The survivors of the Aryan race roamed over the northern parts of Europe and Asia in search of lands suitable for new settlements. The Vernal Equinox was then in the constellation of Punarvasu, and as the Aditi is the presiding deity of Punarvasu, according to the terminology adopted by me in Orion, this may therefore, be called the Aditi or the Pre-Orion Period.

III 5,000-3,000 B C —The Orion Period, when the Vernal Equinox was in Orion. Many Vedic Hymns can be traced to the

1 Brhaddēvata enumerates woman seers of the hymns

गोधा धोषा विश्वपारा पलेषाम्भातुकर्णिका ।  
त्रिष्णजाया ज्ञहूर्नाम अगस्त्यस्य खसा दिति ।  
इ-दाणी चेन्द्रमाता च सरसा रोमशोर्वेशी ।  
लोपाषुदा च नथश्य यमी नारी च शाश्वती ।  
श्रीलोक्षा सार्पराज्ञी वाहू श्रद्धा मेथा च दक्षिणा ।  
रात्री सूर्या च सावित्री त्रिष्णवादिन्य ईरिता ॥

early part of this period and the bards of the race seem to have not yet forgotten the real import or significance of the traditions of the Arctic Home inherited by them It was at this time that the first attempts to reform the calendar and the sacrificial system appear to have been systematically made

IV 3,060-1,400 B C —The Kṛitikā Period, when the Vernal Equinox was in the Pleiades The Aitarēya Samhitā and the Brahmapas, which begin the series of Nakshatras with the Krittikas are evidently the productions of this period The compilation of the hymns into Samhitās also appears to be a work of the early part of this period The traditions about the Original Arctic home had grown dim by this time and very often misunderstood, making the Vēdīc hymns more unintelligible The sacrificial system and the numerous details thereof found in the Brahmapas seem to have been developed during this time It was at the end of this period that the Vēdāṅga Jyotiṣha was originally composed or at any rate the position of the equinoxes mentioned therein observed and ascertained

V 1,400-500 B C —The Pre-Buddhistic Period, when the Sūtras and the Philosophical system made their appearance ”

6 “The atmosphere of England and Germany seems decidedly unpropitious to the recognition of this great Indian antiquity so stubbornly opposed to the Mosaic revelation and its Chronology dearly and piously cherished by these Western Orientalists Strongly permeated with the Chronology of the Bible which places the creation of the Earth itself about 4,004 B C , European scholars cannot place the great separation of the Original Āryan races themselves earlier than 2,000 B C , and the first historical entry of the Hindu Āryas into the continent of India before 1,500 B C ” Arthur A Macdonell, may be said to summarise the opinions of these Western Orientalists, when he says —

“History is the one weak spot in Indian literature It is, in fact, non-existent The total lack of the historical sense is so characteristic, that the whole course of Sanskrit literature is darkened by the shadow of this defect, suffering as it does from the entire absence of exact chronology ... Two causes seem to have combined to bring about this remarkable result In the first place, early India wrote no *history*, because it never made any The ancient Indians never went through a struggle for life, like Greeks in the Persian and the Romans in the Punic wars, such as would have welded their tribes into a nation, and developed political greatness Secondly, the Brāhmans, whose task it

## INTRODUCTION

would naturally have been to record great deeds had early embraced the doctrine that all action and existence are a positive evil, and could therefore have felt but little inclination to chronicle historical events. Such being the case, definite dates do not begin to appear in Indian literary history till about 500 A D The chronology of the Vēdic period is altogether conjectural, being based entirely on internal evidence Three main literary strata can be clearly distinguished in it by differences in language and style, as well as in religious and social views For the development of each of these strata a reasonable length of time must be allowed, but all we can here hope to do is to approximate to the truth by centuries The lower limit of the second Vēdic stratum cannot however be fixed later than 500 B C, because its latest doctrines are presupposed by Buddhism, and the date of the death of Buddha has been with a high degree of probability calculated, from the recorded dates of the various Buddhist councils, to be 480 B C With regard to the commencement of the Vēdic Age, there seems to have been a decided tendency amongst Sanskrit scholars to place it too high 2,000 B C is commonly represented as its starting point Supposing this to be correct, the truly vast period of 1,500 years is required to account for a development of language and thought hardly greater than that between Homeric and the Attic age of Greece Professor Max Muller's earlier estimate of 1,200 B C, forty years ago, appears to be much nearer the mark A lapse of three centuries, say from 1,300-1,000 B C, would amply account for the difference between what is oldest and newest in Vēdic hymn poetry Considering that the affinity of the oldest form of the Avestan language with the dialect of the Vēdas is already so great that, by mere application of phonetic laws, whole Avestan stanzas may be translated word for word into Vēdic, so as to produce verses correct not only in form but in poetic spirit, considering further, that if we know the Avestan language, at as early a stage as we know the Vēdic, the former would necessarily be almost identical with the latter, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Indian branch must have separated from the Irānian only a very short time before the beginnings of Vēdic literature, and can therefore have hardly entered the North-West of India even as early as 1,500 B C All previous estimates of the antiquity of the Vēdic period have been outdone by the recent theory of Professor Jacobi of Bonn, who supposes that period goes back to at least 4,000 B C This theory is based on astronomical calculations connected with a change in the beginning of the seasons, which Professor Jacobi thinks has

taken place since the time of the *Rigveda*. The whole estimate is, however, invalidated by the assumption of a doubtful, and even improbable, meaning in a Vedic word, which forms the very starting point of the theory."

7 "The history of the Sanskrit literature divides itself into two great ages, Vaidika and Laukika—Sacred and Profane,—Scriptural and Classical. The Mahabharata War is the dividing line between the two. The Vedic Age may again be divided into several distinct periods, each of which for length of years may well compare with that of the entire history of many an ancient nation, 1 Chandas Period, 2 Samhitā Period, 3 Brahmana Period, 4 Āraṇyaka Period and 5 Upanisad Period. Each of these periods has a distinct literature of its own, vast in its extent, and varied in its civilisation, each giving rise to the subsequent period under the operation of great social, political and religious causes, and the philosophical historian of human civilisation need not be a Hindu to think that the Ancient Aryas of India, have preserved the fullest, the clearest and the truest materials for his work."

8. "There are four Vedas, Rik (ऋक्), Yajur (यजुर्), Sāma (साम) and Atharvana (अथर्वा) and each Veda has Samhitā (mantra) Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra and Upaniṣad. The first three Vedas are called together as *Trayī* and they are called in Brāhmaṇas also by the names ricas, Samani and Yajumāṇi, or Bhāvṛcas, Chandogas and Adhvaryus. The Sutras apply the term chandas to the Samhitās. Pāṇini uses the terms chandas and Bhāṣa to distinguish Vedic and non-Vedic literature. Yajur-veda has two Samhitās called Sukla and Kṛṣṇa, or Vajasaneyā and Taittirīya."

"The Samhitā of the Rik is purely a lyrical collection, forming the immediate source of the other three. The next two are made up of verses and ritual formulæ, meant to be recited at sacrifices. The Atharva Samhitā resembles the Rik in that it forms a store of songs, devoted to sacrifices mostly in connection with incantations and magical charms."

9 The Brāhmanic period comprehends "the first establishment of the three-fold ceremonial, the composition of the individual Brāhmaṇas and the formation of the Charanas. They connect the sacrificial songs and formulas with the sacrificial rite by pointing out on the one hand their direct relation, and on the other their symbolical connection with each other. Their general nature is marked by masterly grandiloquence, and antiquarian sincerity. Though in the words of Prof.

Eggeling, these works deserve to be studied as a physician studies the twaddle of idiots or the raving of mad men, they lack not striking thoughts, bold expression and logical reasoning. The Brahmanas of the Rik generally refer to the duties of the Hotr, of the Saman to those of Udgatr, of the Yajus, to the actual performance of the sacrifice. They are valuable to us as the earliest records of Sanskrit prose”

**10** “The Sūtra literature forms a connecting link between the Vedic and the classical Sanskrit ‘Sutra’ means a ‘string’ and compatibly with this sense, all works of this style are nothing but one uninterrupted chain of short sentences linked together in a most concise form

Sutras represented a scientific expression of the tradition and discussion recounted in Brāhmaṇas. They systematised the source of the rituals and so far as Kalpasūtras or Srautasūtras go, they relate strictly to sruti or the Vedas. To these sūtras have been added Gṛhyasūtras or those that regulate domestic rites. They are partly based on srutis and partly on smṛtis (unrevealed literature). Sūtras have been the consequence of a national need for concise guide-books for ceremonial, and represented a ‘codification of case-law’ in the sphere of sacrifices and ceremonials<sup>1</sup>.

**11** Upaniṣads<sup>2</sup> are expressions of philosophical concepts. They embody the beginnings and progress of esoteric ideas, which had to a large extent been mentioned in Āranyakas, writings supplementary to Brāhmaṇas.

**12.** A WERER sums up the direct data attesting the posteriority of the Classical Period thus —

(i) Its opening phases everywhere presuppose the Vedic period as entirely closed, its oldest portions are regularly based on the Vedic literature, the relations of life have now all arrived at a stage of development of which in the first period we can only trace the germs and the beginning

The distinction between the periods is also by changes in language and subject-matter

1. It might be seen that the usefulness of this species of composition was so much appreciated that in every branch of learning sūtras came to be composed and indeed are said to be the most ancient form of the sciences.

2. The authority of compositions like Upaniṣads has come to be respected to such an extent that in later times, several of that name were brought into being very often sectarian in their tenor. We have ‘108 Upaniṣads’ and if not more on various topics, for instance, Garbhopaniṣad on embryology and Manmathopaniṣad on erotics.

*First, as regards language —*

1. The special characteristics in the second period are so significant, that it appropriately furnishes the name for the period, whereas the Vedic period receives its designation from the works composing it

2. Among the various dialects of the different Indo-Aryan tribes, a greater unity had been established after their emigration into India, as the natural result of their intermingling in their new home. The grammatical study of the Vedas fixed the frame of the language so that the generally recognised *Bhasha* had arisen. The estrangement of the civic language from that of the mass accelerated by the assimilation of the aboriginal races resulted in the formation of the popular dialects, the *prakrits*—proceeding from the original *Bhasha* by the assimilation of consonants and by the curtailment or loss of termination.

3. The phonetic condition of Sanskrit remains almost exactly the same as that of the earliest Vedic. In the matter of grammatical forms, the language shows itself almost stationary. Hardly any new formations or inflexions make their appearance yet. The most notable of these grammatical changes were the disappearance of the subjunctive mood and the reduction of a dozen infinitives to a single one. In declension the change consisted chiefly in the dropping of a number of synonymous forms.

4. The vocabulary of the language has undergone the greatest modifications. It has been extended by derivation and composition according to recognised types. Numerous words though old seem to be new, because they happen by accident not to occur in the Vedic literature. Many new words have come in through continental borrowings from a lower stratum of language, while already existing words have undergone great changes of meaning.

*Secondly, as regards the subject-matter —*

1. The Vedic literature handles its various subjects only in their details and almost solely in their relation to sacrifice, whereas the classical discusses them in their general relations.

2. In the former a simple and compact prose had gradually been developed, but in the latter this form is abandoned and a rhythmic one adopted in its stead, which was employed exclusively, even for strictly scientific exposition.

"That difference of metre should form a broad line of demarcation between the periods of literature is not at all without analogy in the literary history of other nations, particularly in other times. If once a

new form of metre begins to grow popular by the influence of a poet who succeeds in collecting a school of other poets around him, this new mode of utterance is very apt to supersede the other more ancient forms altogether. People become accustomed to the new rhythm sometimes to such a degree, that they lost entirely the taste for their old poetry on account of its obsolete measure. No poet, therefore, who writes for the people, would think of employing those old fashioned metres, and we find that early popular poems have had to be transfused into modern verse in order to make them generally readable once more.

Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushtubh sloka is a metre unknown during the Vedic age, and every work written in it may at once be put down as post-Vedic. It is no valid objection that this epic sloka occurs also in Vedic hymns, that Anushtubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brahmanas, and that in some of the Sutras the Anushtubh-sloka occurs intermixed with Trishtubhs, and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose. For it is only the *uniform* employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature.<sup>1</sup>

13 "The languages of the world have been divided into three families, the Aryan or Indo-European, the Semitic and the Turanian. The first comprises the Indian branch, consisting of Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits, and the modern vernaculars of Northern India and Ceylon, the Iranic branch consisting of Zend, the sacred language of the Parsees, the Pehlevi and the other cognate dialects, the Hellenic or the Greek branch, comprising the languages of Ancient Greece and its modern representatives, the Italic branch, consisting of the Latin and cognate ancient languages of Italy and the dialects derived from Latin, the Italian, the French and the old Provencal, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Wallachian, the Keltic or the language of those Kelts or Gauls that so often figure in Roman History, and distinguished into two varieties, the Kymric, now spoken in Wales and in the Province of Brittany in France, and the Gadic, spoken in the Isle of Man, the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland, the Lithunian and Slavonic, comprising the languages of Lithuania, Russia, Bulgaria, and of the Slavonic races generally, and the Teutonic branch, consisting of the Scandinavian group, i.e., the languages of Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Denmark, of the High German i.e. the old and the present language of Germany, and of the Low German, which comprised the old Anglo-

---

1. Muir's *Critical History*, III. o 1.

Saxon and the other languages spoken on the coasts of Germany, the modern representatives of which are the English, and the dialects spoken in Holland, Friesland, and the North of Germany. The second family comprises the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Carthaginian, and the cognate and derived languages, and the third, the Turkish and the languages of the Mongolian tribes. To this last family the dialects spoken in Southern India are also to be inferred. The Zend approaches Sanskrit the most, but the affinities of this latter with Greek and Latin are also very striking, and such as to convince even a determined sceptic. Sanskrit has preserved a greater number of ancient forms than any of these languages, hence it is indispensable for purposes of comparative philology."

14 "India may justly claim to be the original home of scientific philology. In one of the most ancient Sanskrit books, the Samhita of the Black Yajurveda, there are distinct indications of the dawn of linguistic study<sup>1</sup>. The Brahmanas of the Vedas which rank next to the Samhitas, and even the Taittiriya Samhita itself, the composition of which differs in no particular from its Brahmana, are all full of etymological explanations of words, though often they are fanciful.<sup>2</sup> One Acharya followed another, and they all carefully observed the facts of their language, and laid down the laws they could discover. They studied and compared the significations and forms of words, observed what was common to them, separated the constant element from that which was variable, noticed the several changes that words undergo in different circumstances, and by such a process of philological analysis completed a system of grammar and etymology. In the Nirukta, Yaska, whose exact date we do not know, but who must have flourished several centuries before Christ, lays down correct principles of the derivation of words.

१ वार्षै पराच्यन्याकुतावदते देवा इन्द्रसञ्चिमां नो वाच व्याकुरिति सोऽत्रवीद्वर वृणै मम दैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्णाता इति तस्मादैन्द्रवायव सह गृह्णते तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवकम्य व्याकरोचस्मादिय व्याकुता वागुच्यते Speech was once inarticulate and undistinguished (into its parts). Then the gods said to Indra, 'Distinguish our speech into parts.' He said, I will ask a gift of you, let Soma be poured into one cup for me and Vayu together' Hence Soma is poured into one cup for Indra and Vayu together. Then Indra going into its midst distinguished it. Hence distinct speech is now spoken Tait Smh., VI 4, 7

2 The Ait. Brahm gives the etymology of प्रैष (III 9), of मातुष (III 28), of जाया (VII 18), the Tait. Samh., of रुद्र (I 5,1), of वृद्ध (II 4,12 and II 5, 2) the Tait. Brahm., of अश्व (I. 1,5), o नस्त्र (II 7,18), &c &c

The last of the grammarian Acharyas were Panini, Katyayana, and Patanjali. The Prakrit dialects which sprang from Sanskrit were next made the subject of observation and analysis. The laws of phonetic change or decay in accordance with which Sanskrit words became Prakrit were discovered and laid down. The Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit elements in those languages were distinguished from each other. This branch of philology also was worked up by a number of men, though the writings of one or two only have come down to us.

In this condition Sanskrit philology passed into the hands of Europeans. The discovery of Sanskrit and the Indian grammatical system at the close of the last century led to a total revolution in the philological ideas of Europeans. But several circumstances had about this time prepared Europe for independent thought in philology, and Sanskrit supplied the principles upon which it should be conducted, and determined the current in which it should run. The languages of Europe, ancient and modern, were compared with Sanskrit and with each other. This led to comparative philology and the classification of languages, and a comparison of the words and forms in the different languages led scholars into the secrets of the growth of human speech, and the science of language was added to the test of existing branches of knowledge.”<sup>1</sup>

It has been said by eminent writers that at one time sanskrit was the one language spoken all over the world. “Sanskrit is the mother of Greek, Latin and German languages and it has no other relation to them,” that “sanskrit is the original source of all the European languages of the present days,” and that “in point of fact the Zind is derived from the sanskrit”<sup>2</sup>.

**15** Tradition traces the beginnings of the sanskrit language to the fourteen aphorisms or Māheśvara sūtras. They are अ इ उ ए onwards to ख ङ्. These sounds, vowel and consonant, emanated from the sound of Siva’s damaru (drum) at the time of his dance. To these letters and sounds is attached a mystic significance and Nandikesvara has explained their import with all solemnity. As the Kārikas of Nandikesvara are rare, they are printed here<sup>3</sup>.

1 R G Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Development of Language of Sanskrit*, Bombay

2. Hindu Superiority, 172 3, A Dubois’ Babu on India, MaxMuller’s Science of Language, I 225-6 note, Dvijendranath Guha’s, *Devabhasha*, JSSP, XVIII. 150.

3 They are printed with the commentary of Upamanyu, in the Nirnayasaagara Edn. of Mahabhasya, p 182

三

श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 1.  | नृतावसाने नगराजराजो ननाद ढङ्का नवपञ्चवार ।<br>उद्धर्तुकाम सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥ |
| 2   | अत्र सर्वत्र सूत्रेषु अल्यवर्णचतुर्दशं ।<br>धात्वर्थं समुपादिष्ट पाणिन्यादीष्टसिद्धये ॥            |
|     | । अ ह उ ण् ।   |
| 3   | अकारो ब्रह्मरूपं स्याज्ञिर्गुणं सर्ववस्तुषु ।<br>चित्कलाभि समाश्रित्य जगद्गूपं उणेश्वर ॥           |
| 4.  | अकारसर्ववर्णाग्रथं प्रकाशं परमेश्वर ।<br>आधमत्थेन सयोगादहभिलेव जायते ॥                             |
| 5.  | सर्वं परात्मकं पूर्वं ज्ञानिसात्रमिदं जगत् ।<br>शप्तेर्बैश्वरूपं पश्यती मध्यमा वाक् ततं स्मृता ॥   |
| 6   | वके विशुद्धचक्रास्ये वैखरीं सा भता तत ।<br>सुप्त्वाविर्भावमासाधं मध्यमा वाक् समा भता ॥             |
| 7.  | अकारं सभित्वीकृत्य जगतां कारणत्वत ।<br>इकारं सर्ववर्णानां शक्तित्वात्कारणं गतम् ॥                  |
| 8   | जगत्पृष्ठमधूदिच्छा यदाश्वासीचत्तदाभवत् ।<br>कामबीजभिति प्राहुद्युनयो वेदपाठगा ॥                    |
| 9   | अकारो ज्ञसिमात्र स्यदिकारश्चित्कला भता ।<br>उकारो विष्णुरित्याहुव्यापकत्वान्महेश्वर ॥              |
|     | । क ल ख् ।   |
| 10  | ऋग्युक्तं सर्वेश्वरो मायां भनेवृत्तिमदर्थयत् ।<br>तामेव वृत्तिमाश्रित्य जगद्गूपमजीजनत् ॥           |
| 11. | वृत्तिवृत्तिमतोरत्रमेदावेशो न विघते ।<br>चद्रचक्रिक्यो यदृश्यथावागर्थयोरपि ॥                       |
| 12. | स्त्रेच्छया सस्य विच्छक्तौ विश्वमून्मीलयत्यसौ ।<br>वर्णानां मध्यमं छीविम्भूलवर्णद्वयं विदु ॥       |
|     | । ए ओ ख् ।   |
| 13  | एओऽहं मायेश्वरात्मैक्यविज्ञानं सर्ववस्तुषु ।<br>साक्षित्वात्सर्वमूतान् । स यक् इति निश्चितम् ॥     |

| ऐ जौ च ।

14. एओच्चं ब्रह्मस्तरुपः सन् जगत्स्वतर्गत ततः ।  
इच्छया विस्तरं कर्तुमाविरासीन्महामुनि ॥

| ह य व र द् ।

15. मूतपचकमेतस्माद्यवरण महेश्वरात् ।  
व्योमवाच्चबुवहायास्यभूतान्यासीत् स एव हि ॥

16. हकारो व्योमसङ्कं च यकारो वायुहच्यते ।  
रकाराद्विस्तोय तु वकारादिति सैव वाक् ॥

| ल ण् ।

17. आधारभूतं भूतानामज्ञादीनां च कारणम् ।  
अज्ञादेतस्ततौ जीवकारणत्वाङ्गीरितं ॥

| अ म ड ण न म् ।

18. शब्दस्पर्शौ रूपरसग्राहाश्च अमङ्गणनम् ।  
व्योमादीनां शुणा छेते जानीयात्सर्ववस्तुषु ॥

| क भ अ ।

19. वाक्पाणी च इमजासीद्वराङ्गूपचिदात्मनः ।  
सर्वजंतुषु विश्वेय स्थावरादौ न विद्यते ।  
वर्गाणां तुर्यवर्णां ये कर्मेद्वियमया हि ते ॥

| अ ढ ध ष् ।

20. घठधष् सर्वभूतानां पादपायू उपस्थक ।  
कर्मेद्वियगुणा छेते जाता हि परमार्थत ॥

| ज घ ग छ द श् ।

21. श्रोत्रत्वंग्नयनप्राणिज्ञावीद्वियपंचक ।  
सर्वेषामपि जत्तनामीरितं जबगडदश् ॥

| ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त व् ।

22. प्राणादिपचकं चैव मनोबुद्धिरहकृति ।  
बभूव कारणत्वेन खफछठथ चटतव् ॥
23. वर्गद्वितीयवर्णोत्थः प्राणाद्या पंचवायवः ।  
मध्यवर्गवयाऽज्ञाता अंतःकरणवृत्तयः ॥

| क प य् ।

- 24 प्रकृति पुरुष चैव सर्वेषामेव सम्मतम् ।  
सभूतभिति विज्ञेय कपयुस्यादिति निश्चितम् ॥

| श ष स र् ।

25. स व रजस्तम इति गुणाना वितय पुरा ।  
समाश्रित्य महादेव शबसर् कोडिति प्रभु ॥
- 26 शकाराद्राजसोद्भूति षकाराचामसोद्भूव ।  
सकारात्सत्वसंभूतिरिति विशुणसमव ॥

| ह ल् ।

27. तत्वातीत पर साक्षी सर्वानुग्रहविग्रह ।  
अहमात्मापरो हल् स्यामिति शमुस्तिरोदधे ॥
- इति नदिकेश्वरकृता काशिका समाप्ता ॥

16 "The literature of Sanskrit presents, as ordinarily considered, two varieties of the language, but a third may also, as I shall presently endeavour to show, be clearly distinguished. Of these the most ancient is that found in the hymns of the Rigveda Samhitā. These were composed at different times and by different Rishis, and were transmitted from father to son in certain families. Thus the third of the ten collections, which make up the Samhitā bears the name of Visvāmitra, and the hymns contained in it were composed by the great patriarch and his descendants. The seventh is ascribed to Vasishtha and his family. The composition of these hymns therefore extended over a long period, the language is not the same throughout, and while sometimes they present a variety so close to the later Sanskrit that there is little difficulty in understanding them, the style of others is so antiquated that they defy all efforts at interpretation, and their sense was not understood even by the Rishis who flourished in the very next literary period, that of the Brāhmaṇas. Still for our purposes we may neglect these differences and consider the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as one."

17 The history of Sanskrit affords considerable scope for a study of the growth of language. It presents distinct varieties of speech which are linked together exactly as Modern English is with the Anglo-Saxon. The most ancient form is that composing the text of the Rig Veda Samhitā. Consisting of ten books, it was the work of different rishis, preserved by oral tradition in their families. Despite the minute distinctions in the language of the Rik Samhitā, we may for all practical purposes treat

the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as a compact dialect. Prominently, this dialect presents some peculiarities of form and usage, which may thus be summed up.

- (i) The nominative plural of noun ending in अ is असस् as well as अस् as देवास् or देवा, the instrumental being देवमि or देवैः,
- (ii) The nominative and the vocative dual and plural of nouns in अ not rarely end in आ as येनेशा विश्वा च्यवना कृतानि.
- (iii) The instrumental singular of feminine nouns in इ is occasionally formed by lengthening the vowel as धीती and मर्तीः
- (iv) The locative singular termination is often elided as परमे व्योमन्
- (v) The accusative of nouns in उ are formed by ordinary rules of euphonic combination as तन्वम् or तनुवम्, and the instrumental by affixing आ or या or इया as उविया or साधुया
- (vi) The dative of the personal pronouns ends in ए as युष्मे or अस्मे
- (vii) The parasmaipada first person plural termination is मसि as त्वमस्माकन्त्वस्मसि, and of the third person plural is रे or रते as दुह्ने or दुह्नते.
- (viii) The ते of the ātmanepada termination is often dropped as दक्षिणतस्येये, and instead of ते there is व्वात्, as वारयव्वात्
- (ix) In the place of the imperative second person plural, there are ते, तन्, थन् and तात् as शृणोत्, पचतन्, यतिष्ठन and कृष्टतात्
- (x) Eight different forms of the mood लेद्, signifying condition, are everywhere abundant as ग्रन् आयूषि तारिषत्.
- (xi) Roots are not restricted to particular conjugations and at the caprice of the Rishi the same comes to more than one class
- (xii) The infinitive suffixes are से, घ्ये, अघ्यै, तवै and तवै as वक्षे, असे, पृष्ठै, स्तवै and मादयतवै, the accusatives of some nouns are treated as infinitives governed by शक्, as विमाग नाशकत्, the terminations तोस् and क्षस् occur when combined with ईश्वर as विचरितोः or विलिक्ष , the potential participles are

denoted by the suffixes तौं, ऐं, एण्य and त्व as स्लेषितवै, अवगाहे, दिद्धेण्य and कर्त्तव्य, the indeclinable past ends in त्वाय as गत्वाय, some forms as पीत्वी are also met with

- (xiii) A variety of verbal derivatives as दर्शत् (*handsome*), जीवस् (*life*) and जन्मस् (*product*) are frequent
- (xiv) A large number of words which have become obsolete or lost their significance in later Sanskrit are everywhere abundant as परिपन्थि, वनु and अमीवा

These peculiarities have been noted as the most frequent and the most salient, but many others are mentioned by Pāṇini. The Vedic dialect is the first record of the Sanskrit tongue, from which by processes of phonetic decay and natural elision the later language has been perfected.

Here is a specimen of Vedic Sanskrit —

१. यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् । मिनीमसि यविष्यति ॥
२. मा नो वधाय हृत्वे जिह्वीलानस्य रीरध । मा हृणानस्य मन्यते ॥
५. कदा क्षत्रश्रिय नरमा वरुण करामहे । मृळीकायोरुचक्षसम् ॥
७. वेदा यो वीना पदमन्तरिक्षेण पतताम् । वेद नाव समुद्रिय ॥
१०. नि वसाद धृतवतौ वरुण पस्त्यास्ता । साम्राज्याय सुकरु ॥
११. अतो विश्वान्यद्युता चिकित्वा असि पश्यति । कृतानि या च कर्त्वा ॥
१२. स नो विश्वाहा सुकरुरादिव । सुपथा कर्त् । प्र ण आयूषि तारिषत् ॥
१९. इम मे वरुण श्रुधि हवमन्ता च मूल्य । त्वामवस्युरा चके ॥

"These eight verses contain 72 different *padas* or grammatical forms, not counting the prepositions as separate *padas*. Of these, 19 have become altogether obsolete in classical Sanskrit, and 12 have changed their significations."

**18** The Brahmanas of the Rk and the Yajus present the *second stage* in the development. Many of the peculiar words have become obsolete, and the declensions have mostly approached the classical grammar. The roots have no indiscriminate conjugation. The subjunctive is almost gone out of use. The indeclinable past and the gerundial infinitive end in त्वा and तुम्, verbal forms of all moods and tenses are seen in abundance. Still there are the touches of the vedic relationship and archaisms are not rare —

- (i) Some feminine nouns have common forms for the dative and the genitive, as पृथिव्यै राजसा ;

- (ii) The न of the third person is often dropped as before, as  
सवती वी प्रसवानामी ,
- (iii) Some of the aorist forms do not follow the rules of Pāṇini,  
as अहते वा अस्य दन्ता ,
- (iv) Some antiquated words occur as अर्ताक (a shaft) निष्ठाव (reference)  
भगवासु (prosperous)

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa quotes some *gūthas* which are obviously more archaic than the rest of the work. Notwithstanding these irregularities, the Brāhmaṇas are “the best representatives extant of the verbal portion of that language of which Panini writes the grammar, though he did not mean these when he spoke of the *bhasha*”. The gradual and perhaps rapid progress in the symmetry and simplicity of the language had still to be accelerated by the work of later authors and their writings furnish an ample illustration of the next stage of linguistic development.

**19** YASKA'S *NIRUKTA* forms the intermediate link between the Vedic and the non-Vedic literature. It is not devoid of archaic expression, for we meet with such phrases as ‘उपदेशाय गलायन्त’ (*unable to teach*) and शिशिक्षा राज्येन’ (*invested with sovereignty*). But we have no clue to the dawn of a change of style from simplicity to complexity. To the same period in the history of Sanskrit belongs PANINI. His *Astādhyāyī* is based on the grammar of the *bhāṣa*. No language has survived to us that literally represents Pāṇini's standard of dialect. Perhaps the later Brāhmaṇas are the only best representatives. At any rate there is no portion of the existing Sanskrit literature that accurately represents Pāṇini's Sanskrit, as regards the verbs and the nominal derivatives. Probably his grammar had for its basis the vernacular language of his day. Yaska and Pāṇini stand to us the authorities on record of that form of the language which immediately followed the purely Vedic stage.

**20** Times had advanced, and with it the language Pāṇini's *bhāṣa* could no longer stand stationary. The operation of the concurrent causes of linguistic progress had by the days of KĀTYĀYANA and PATANJALI modified Pāṇini's denotation and introduced new changes in the grammar of the language or in the scope of the aphorisms. Kātyayana's *Vṛtti*s and Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* are devoted to the proper interpretation of the *sūtras* and to the apt introduction of the missing links. If to Kātyāyana's eyes 10,000 inaccuracies are discernible in Pāṇini, the only explanation must be that to Pāṇini they were not

inaccuracies, but by Kātyāyana's time the language had progressed and necessitated a fresh appendix or erratum in Pānini's grammatical treatise. The period of intervention must have been sufficiently long to allow old grammatical forms to become obsolete and even incorrect and words and their meanings to become antiquated and even ununderstandable.

21 Pāṭanjali discusses the change and progress of the language, in the sāstraic form of a dialogue between an objector and a mover (thus

**अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः**

सति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता तथथा— ऊष, तेर, चक्र, पेचेति ।

किमतो यत्सत्यप्रयुक्ता ?

प्रयोगाद्वि भवान् शब्दाना साधुत्वमध्यवस्थति य इदानीमप्रयुक्ता नाऽमी साधकस्त्व ।

इद तावत् विप्रनिषिद्ध— यदुच्यते— सति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता. इति, यदि सन्ति नाप्रयुक्ता , अथाप्रयुक्ता न सति, सति चाप्रयुक्ताश्चेति विप्रतीषिद्ध । प्रयुजान एव खलु भवानाह सन्ति शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति कश्चेदानीमन्यो मवज्ञातीयक पुरुष शब्दाना प्रयोगे साधुस्त्वार् ? कैतत् विप्रतीषिद्धम् । सन्ताति तावत् ब्रूम यदेतान् शास्त्राविद शास्त्रेणानुविदधते । अप्रयुक्ता इति ब्रूम , यहोकेप्रयुक्ता इति । यदुच्यते—कश्चेदानीमन्यो मवज्ञातीयक पुरुष शब्दाना प्रयोगे साधु. स्यादिति । न ब्रूमोऽस्माभिरप्रयुक्ता इति ।

किं तर्हि ?

लोकेऽप्रयुक्ता इति ।

ननु च भवानायम्यतरो लोके ।

अम्यतरोऽह लोके, नत्वह लोक ।

**अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत्स्यार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् ।**

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत् तज किं कारणम् ?

अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् । अर्थे शब्दा प्रयुज्यन्ते ।

सति चैषा शब्दानामर्था वेष्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते ॥

**अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात् ।**

अप्रयोगः खल्कप्रयोगा शब्दानां न्यायः । कुत् ? प्रयोगान्यत्वात् । यदेषाः शब्दानामर्थेष्यान् शब्दान् प्रयुज्यन्ते । तथथा—उक्तेष्याः शब्दस्यार्थे, क यूयमुषिना , तेरेलस्यार्थे, क यूय तीर्णाः , चक्रेत्यस्यार्थे, क यूय कृतवन्त , पेचेत्यस्यार्थे, क यूय पक्तवन्त इति ।

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत् ।

यद्यप्यप्रयुक्तं अवश्य दीर्घसत्रवलङ्घणेनानुविधेया । तथा दीर्घसत्राणि वार्षशतिकानि वार्षसहस्रकाणि च न चाथत्वे कश्चिदप्याहरति । केवल ऋषिसप्रदाया धर्मं इति कृत्वा याज्ञिका शालेणानुविदवते ।

सर्वे देशांतरे ।

सर्वे ख्ववेते शब्दा देशातरेऽपि प्रयुज्यते ।

न चैवोपलभ्यते ?

उपलब्धौ यत् क्रियतां ।

महान् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषय ।

सप्तद्वीपा बहुमतीं, त्रयो लोका, चत्वारो वेदा साँगा सरहस्या बहुधा मित्रा, एक-शतमध्यवर्णशास्त्रा, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद, एकविंशतिधा बाह्यवृच्य, नवधाऽर्धवर्णो वेद., वाको-वाक्यमितीहास पुराण वैद्यकमित्यतावान् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषय । एतावन्त शब्दस्य प्रयोग-विषयमनुनिश्चय-सन्त्यप्रयुक्ता इति वचन केवल साहस्रात्मकम् ।

एतस्मिन्नातिमहति शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषये सूते शब्दाः - तत्र तत्र नियतविषया दृश्यते । तथा । शब्दतिर्गतिकर्मा कभीजेऽवेव माणितो भवति विकार येनमार्या माणते शब्द इति । हम्मति सुराष्ट्रेषु रहति प्राच्यमध्येषु गमिसेवत्वार्या प्रयुजते । दातिर्लङ्घनार्थे प्राच्येषु, दाकमुदीञ्चेषु ।

ये चागेते भवतोऽप्रयुक्ता अभिस्ता शब्दा ये तेषामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । क ? बदे । तथा “ सप्तास्येरेवतीरेवदूषा, यद्यो रेवती रेवत्यां तमूष, यन्मे नर ध्रुल ब्रह्म चक, यत्रा नश्वका जरस तनूनाम् ” इति ।<sup>1</sup>

PURV अस्त्वप्रयुक्तः । There exist (some) words which are not used, for instance, उष, तेर, चक, पेच. (These are forms of the second person plural of the Perfect.)

The *Siddhantin*, or the principal teacher, who advocates the doctrine that is finally laid down asks —

SID What if they are not used?

PURV You determine the grammatical correctness of words from their being used Those then that are not now used are not grammatically correct

SID What you say is, in the first place, inconsistent, viz., that words exist which are not used If they exist they cannot be not used, if not used, they cannot exist To say that they exist and are not used

1 Mahābhāṣya, (Nirmayaśāgama Edition), Vol I, pages 62-65.

is inconsistent You yourself use them (utter them) and say (in the very breath) there are words which are not used What other worthy like yourself would you have to use them in order that they might be considered correct? (lit What other person like yourself is correct or is an authority in the use of words)

PURV This is not inconsistent I say they exist, since those who know the Sastra teach their formation by [laying down] rules, and I say they are not used, because they are not used by people Now with regard to [your remark] What other worthy, &c" [when I say they are not used] I do not mean that they are not used by me

SID What then?

PURV Not used by people

SID Verily, you also are one amongst the people

PURV Yes, I am *one*, but am not *the people*

SID (Vart अस्तप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्) If you object that they are not used, it will not do (the objection is not valid)

PURV Why not?

SID Because words are used to designate things The things do exist which these words are used to designate (Therefore the words must be used by somebody If the things exist, the words that denote them must exist)

PURV (Vart अप्रयोग प्रयोगान्यवलात्) (It does not follow) Their non-use is what one can reasonably infer

SID Why?

PURV Because they (people) use other words to designate the things expressed by these words, for instance, क यूयमुषिता in the sense of उष , क यूय तीर्ण in the sense of तेर , क यूय कृतवन्तः in the sense of चक , क यूय पकवन्तः in the sense of पैच (We here see-participles had come to be used for verbs of the Perfect Tense)

SID (Vart अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत्) Even if these words are not used, they should be essentially taught by rules just as long sacrificial sessions are It is in this way Long sacrificial sessions are such as last for a hundred years and for a thousand years In modern times none whatever holds them, but the writers on sacrifices teach them by rules, simply because [to learn] what has been handed down by tradition from the Rishis is religiously meritorious And moreover (Vart स देशान्तरे), all these words are used in other places

PURV —They are not found used.

SID —An endeavour should be made to find them Wide indeed is the range over which words are used , the earth with its seven continents, the three worlds, the four Vedas with their angas or dependent treatises and the mystic portions, in their various recensions, the one hundred branches of the Adhvaryu (Yajur-Veda), the Sama-Veda with its thousand and modes, the Bahvichya with its twenty-one varieties, and the Atharvava Veda with nine, Vakovakya, Epics, the Puranas, and Medicine This is the extent over which words are used Without searching this extent of the use of words, to say that words are not used is simple rashness In this wide extent of the use of words, certain words appear restricted to certain senses in certain places Thus, शवति is used in the sense of motion among the Kambojas , the Aryas use it in the derived from of शव, हम्मति is used among the Surashtras, रहति among the eastern and central people, but the Aryas use only गृ, दाति is used in the sense of 'cutting' among the easterns दात्रि among the northerners And those words which you think are not used are also seen used

PURV --Where ?

SID --In the Veda. Thus, सप्तस्ये रेवती रेवदूष । यद्वो रेवती रेवलां तमूष ॥ यन्मे नर शुल्य ब्रह्म चक । यत्रानश्चका जरस तनूनाम् ।

[“ We here see that the objector says that certain words or forms are not used by people, and therefore they should not be taught or learnt The instances that he gives are forms of the perfect to some roots and observes that the sense of these forms is expressed by using other words which are perfect participles of these roots. These statements are not denied by the Siddhanti, but he does not allow that the forms should not be taught on that account Though not used, they should be taught and learnt for the sake of the religious merit consequent thereon, just as the ceremonial of long sacrificial sessions, which are never held, is. Then the objector is told that though not used by people, the words may be current in some other country, continent, or word, or they must have been used somewhere in the vast literature of the language As regards the particular instances, two of them are shown to be used in the Vedas It thus follows that in the time of Kātyayana and Patanjali, such verbal forms had become obsolete, and participles were used in their place But it must have been far otherwise in the time of Pañini He gives minute rules for constructing the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit verb.”]

22 A few of those prominent changes are given below —

- (i) Pāṇini in a special rule says that इतेर has इतेरम् for its neuter in the Vedas Obviously he intended to exhaust the list Kātyāyana has to add एकतेर to it
- (ii) Pāṇini, when he says विकिर शकुनिर्विकिरो वा, would imply that each form has no other sense than that of a bird, but Kātyāyana adds that both the forms are optional in the sense of 'birds,' while in any other sense they represent separate words,
- (iii) The vocative singular of neuter nouns ending in अन् such as ब्रह्मन् is according to Pāṇini ब्रह्मन्, but Kātyāyana would add an optional ब्रह्म,
- (iv) Some feminine formations are not noticed by Pāṇini, which Kātyāyana is forced to allow, as आर्याणी and उपाध्यायी.
- (v) The word आश्रये is rendered as अनित्य by Pāṇini; Kātyāyana substitutes for it अद्भुत
- (vi) The words and meanings of words employed by Kātyāyana are such as we meet with in the classical period and his expressions would not invite any special attention. This cannot be said of Pāṇini. Many of his words are antiquated in the later language as मृति (*desire*), उपसवाद (*bargain*), होत (play)

"In Pāṇini's time a good many words and expressions were current which afterwards became obsolete, verbal forms were commonly used which ceased to be used in Kātyāyana's time, and some grammatical forms were developed in the time of the latter which did not exist in Pāṇini's Panini's Sanskrit must, therefore, be identified with that which preceded the Epics, and he must be referred to the literary period between the Brahmanas and Yaska. Hence it is that the Brahmanas, as observed before, are the best existing representatives of the language of which Panini writes the grammar. Kātyayana on other hand wrote when the language arrived at that stage which we have called classical. Thus, then, we have been able to trace three distinct periods in the development of Sanskrit. First, we have the Vedic period, to which the Rigveda Samhita, the Mantra portion of the Yajurveda, and the more antiquated part of the Atharva-Samhita are to be referred. Then commences another period, at the threshold of which we find the Brahmapas, which, so to say, look backwards to the preceding,

that is, present the vedic language in the last stage of its progress towards Panini's Bhasha, and, later on, we have Yaska and Panini. This may be called the period of Middle Sanskrit. And last of all, there is the classical period to which belong the Epics, earliest specimens of Kavyas and dramatic plays, the metrical Smritis, and the grammatical work of Katyayana. Panini's work contains the grammar of Middle Sanskrit, while Katyayana's that of classical Sanskrit, though he gives his sanction to the archaic forms on the principle, as he himself has stated, on which the authors of the sacrificial Sutras teach the ritual of long sacrificial sessions, though they had ceased to be held in their time. Patanjali gives but few forms which differ from Katyayana's and in no way do they indicate a different stage in the growth of the language; hence his work is to be referred to the same period. The form which the language assumed at this time became the standard for later writers to follow, and Katyayana and Patanjali are now the generally acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the correctness of Sanskrit speech. We shall hereafter see that the last two stages have left distinct traces on the Prakrits or the derived languages.

Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vartikas, that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Panini, but are taught by Katyayana and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Panini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures 'On the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages.' and given from the Vartikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, *viz.*, either that Panini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patanjali's Mahabhashya, that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Panini as found in the Bhasha or current language, not the Chhandasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Katyayana and Patanjali, and participles had come to be used instead. Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Panini in his sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Katyayana and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Panini's time but was known to Katyayana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that had elapsed between Panini and Katyayana was so great that certain literary words which either did not exist in Panini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Katyayana to be as old as

those which were old to Panini Again, according to Panini's rules the Aorist expresses (1) past time generally, or the simple completion of an action, (2) the past time of this day and not previous to this day and (3) recent past time, and thus resembles in every respect the English Present Perfect But in the later language the distinction between that tense and the other two past tenses is set aside and the Aorist is used exactly like these Now, the language of the verses ascribed to Panini and generally the language of what Professor Max Muller calls the Renaissance period is grammatically the same as that of Katyayana and Patanjali, and is the language of participles instead of verbs, and even from theirs it differs in making extensive use of compounds and neglecting the distinction between the Aorist and the other past tenses The Sanskrit of Panini's time is more archaic than that of Katyayana's time, and Panini's rules are nowhere more scrupulously observed than in such an ancient work as the Aitareya Brahmana The many forms and expressions which he teaches, and which must have existed in language are nowhere found in the later literature, while specimens of them are to be seen in that Brahmana and like works Between therefore the archaic language of the sutras and the language which Panini calls Bhasha and of which he teaches the grammar, on the one hand, and the language of the Renaissance period on the other is such a wide difference that no one will ever think of attributing a work written in the style and language of this period to the Great Grammarian As Yaska and Panini to the same period of Sanskrit literature the style and manner of a work written by Panini the grammarian, must resemble those of the Nirukta, but in the few verses attributed to Panini there is no such resemblance whatever Should the entire work be discovered and found as a whole to be written in an archaic style, there will be time enough to consider its claim on behalf of these artificial verses<sup>1</sup>"

23 "The earliest Sanskrit Alphabet was possibly made up of five semi-vowels, five nassals, five soft and five hard aspirates, in all twenty consonants The twenty sounds found in the aphors हयवर्, ल॒, श्वर्णन॑, क्षम॑, चद्वष्, खफङ्ग्य॑, are the oldest, the final consonants being of course later additions As no consonant can be pronounced without a vowel, the sound of *a*, *au* or *o*, according to the idiosyncrasies of the several tribes, came to be unconsciously blended with it The aphors श्वसर् and ह्ल॑ belong to a subsequent age, the four consonants in them being more or less connected in origin with *jh*-*z* In course

---

1 B. G. Bhandarkar, *Date of Patanjali*.

of time the aspirates produced the unaspirates, and the aphors ज्वगङ्गदस् and कृपय्, were added, the three consonants चट्टे being placed before ए. The order in which the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *ɛ*, *ɔ* are arranged is the same with that of the semi-vowels *h*, *y*, *v*, *r*, *l*, thus raising a suspicion that the correspondence between the 5 vowels and the 5 semi-vowels was not quite unknown in the age of the composition of the vowel-aphors. There is again a suspicion, that the vowels *e* and *o*, which have a separate aphor एओङ् assigned to them, were originally monophs, *not* diph, the only diph known in this age were *ai* and *au* formed of *a+i* and *a+u* respectively. These four aphors thus belong to an age, when 9 vowels in all, 7 monophs and 2 diph, were recognised. Were the seven monophs pronounced short or long? their traditional pronunciation is no doubt short, but in an age not accustomed to the distinction between short and long, the pronunciation was possibly also long, at least among some of the tribes.

Did Pāṇini recognise the vowel ए in the aphor कलक्? or did the aphor in his age contain only ऋ? The aphors लए and हए contain only one letter each, and it may be held, that like them the aphor कक् also contained only one letter, namely ऋ. There is only one root, viz., कर्त्य्, containing the vowel ए. But Pāṇini does not recognise the root as कर्त्य्, according to him (कृपी०-18, 2 VIII), the root is कृप् and कर्त्य् is formed from कृप् by changing the sound of प् in it to ए. Pāṇini, thus deriving कर्त्य् from कृप्, recognises *no* ए in the aphor कलक्, the grammatical tradition is therefore quite correct in *not* ascribing the authorship of the alpha-aphors to him. The fourteen aphors are thus the product of a pre-Pāṇini age, these aphors describe a dialect which possessed only seven short monophs and two diph, and which had, besides, no lack of words containing the vowel ए and the semi-vowel ई in them. The sound of the semi-vowel possibly resembled that of *ayin* in Arab and Hob, and as such must have had a distinct sigh assigned to it, though now irrecoverably lost. The age of Pāṇini is thus conspicuous by the loss of the sign of the semi-vowel *h*, and by the scarcity of the vowel ए, the former event having led to the confounding of the semi-vowel *h* with the spir *h*, while the latter led to the non-recognition of the vowel ए. The age of the composition of the Fourteen Alpha-aphors, recognising the seven short monophs, two diph and the semi-vowel ई, may be called Pre-Pāṇini Age I.

The age of Pāṇini will be found conspicuous not only by the loss of one short vowel ए, but of three more short vowels, आ, इ, and ओ.

ए may claim at least a few words, while the semi-vowel इ has not been ousted from the premier place, though no words have been preserved for it to claim. But the short vowels आ, ए and ओ, to use a scientific expression, have evaporated without residue. Śākataśyana knew two यु and two व्यु, the one light and the other heavy. Pāṇini makes mention of Śakataśyana having known them, but as to whether any distinction was made between them, when he (Pāṇini) lived, absolutely nothing is known. This age of short आ and of the two-fold यु and व्यु may be called the Pre-Pāṇini Age II”<sup>1</sup>

**24. Samskrta** Here then the Samskrta language had assumed a shape true to its name Samskrta. The later epics, poems and dramas do not show any progress in the grammar, structure and signification of the language, though as regards style, they class themselves into an isolated species of literary composition. For all practical purposes, the language as perfected by the work of Kātyāyana and Patanjali has been the standard of later literature, and these are now the acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the grammar or construction of the Sanskrit speech.

अव्याकृता देवयापा काले व्याकृतियमज्जत् । तदानीं “सस्कृत” आभिहितम् । दण्डना तु “सस्कृत नाम दैवी वागन्वास्याता महर्षिभि” (काव्यादर्थे १।३३), इत्युक्त्वा दैवी वागेव प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविमागास्यस्त्काररूपेण संस्कृतभाषेति व्यास्यातम् ।

वाग्मटालङ्कारे च (२।३) स्पष्टत ष्वनितम्—

“सस्कृत सर्गिणां माषा शब्दसाञ्चेषु निश्चिता ।” उक्ता सस्कृतभाषा भूमण्डले सर्वैरेव सर्वत्र प्रक्षाता । तथा च, अग्नेवदीयकौशीतक्राङ्गणे ७।६, —“पथ्या सत्ति तस्माद् उदीच्या दिशि प्रक्षाततरा वाग् उथत । यो वा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्त इति ह स्माह एषा हि वाचो दिक् प्रक्षाता ।” इति

**25.** “The earliest literature presents a fluent and simple style of composition. The sentences are short and verbal forms are abundant. Attributive and nominal expressions do not find a place therein. This construction is facilitated by a succession of concise ideas, which gives it a sort of simple grace and fine-cut structure. This then is the form of the Brahmana language. It lacks not striking thoughts, bold expression and impressive reasoning. Leaving out of account the unnatural appearance of the sutra style—which was not however a literary composition—we come to Yāska and his Nirukta. Scientific as it is, the language of Yāska often reminds us of the earlier writings. The

## INTRODUCTION

frequency of verbal forms was current during the time of Panini. It was after the epoch of the Ashtadhyayi that a change had come over literary styles. Attributes attached greater attention and compounds could alone compress long dependent sentences into the needed form. 'In argument the ablative of an abstract noun saves a long periphrasis.' The minute rules of Panini for constructing the innumerable verbal forms facilitated this mania for conciseness of expression. Thus the fluent or simple style came gradually to be displaced by the formative or attributive style. To this was added the richness and flexibility of the sanskrit language itself, which allowed any sort of twisting and punning of the literary vocabulary. The Puranas and the Itihasas were composed at the transitional stage in the history of literary styles. They present at the same time the simplicity of the earlier language and the complexity of the later composition. So do the earliest specimens of poetic and dramatic literature. Hence the natural and not improbable conclusion is that if an author shows an easy and elegant style and if the flow of his language is more natural, it must be either his taste is too aesthetic for his age or his work must be assigned to an early period in the history of literature. This artificial style was greatly developed in the field of philosophy and dialectics. Patanjali's language is most simple, lucid and impressive. The sentences if therefore really consists of a series of dialogues, often smart, between one who maintains the *pūrvapaksha*, and another who plays down the *siddhānta*. Hence, the language is plain and simple, and the sentences are short, and such as a man may naturally use in ordinary conversation or oral disputation.

The forms of words are all similar to the earlier dramas or the Puranas. Sabaraswamin has a lively style, though this presents a further stage in the downward progress. Now the philosophical style sets in and continues to a degree of mischief which is now beyond all reformation. Sankara represents the middle stage. His explanations are aided by dialectic terminology. The sentences are much longer than those of the earlier writers, the construction is more involved, there is a freer use of attributive adjuncts, and the form is that of an essay or a lecture, instead of an oral disputation. But his language is fluent and perspicuous, but not petrified as that of later writers. The last stage is reached in the works of the Naiyayikas. These latter hate the use of verbs. The ablative singular and the indeclinable particles play a prominent part in their composition. Nouns are abstract and even participles are rare. The style is one of solidified formulæ, rather of

varying discourse. Thus the end is that the movement which started with the simple sentence and predicative construction has run up to a stage where the original character is entirely modified and the Sanskrit language has become a language of abstract nouns and compound words.

The greater use of attributive or nominal forms of expression gradually drove out a large portion of the Sanskrit verb, and gave a new character to the language, which may be thus described—Very few verbal forms are used besides those of such tenses as the Present and Future, participles are frequently met with, the verbal forms of some roots, especially of those belonging to the less comprehensive classes, have gone out of use, and in their place we often have a noun expressive of the special action and a verb expressive of action generally, compound words are somewhat freely employed and a good many of the Taddhita forms or nominal derivatives have disappeared, and in their stead we have periphrastic expressions.

**26 Spiritual Aspect.** “The grammatical dissertations of the Hindus were not confined to a narrow field, nor were the Hindn grammarians content with mere formulation of rules for the formation of words. The spiritual aspect of sound seems to have made a deep impression upon their mind and left its stamp on their whole outlook regarding *sabda*. The sabdikas succeeded in discovering a way of spiritual discipline even through the labyrinthine mass of grammatical speculations. Enquiries into the ultimate nature of *vak* led them to a sublime region of *sadhana*—a region of perfect bliss and pure consciousness. The cultivation of grammar gave rise to a spiritual vision which, to speak, enabled the *vag-yogavād* to visualise Brahman in the wreath of letters (*varnamala*). Letters are denoted in Sanskrit by the same term (*aksara*) as is often applied to Brahman. A glance at the language in which *aksara* has been interpreted by grammarians of old will serve to open our eyes to the supreme importance of *varnas*. To the spiritual insight of Patanjali *varnas* were not only phonetic types but the glowing sparks of Brahman illuminating the entire sphere of existence.

वर्णज्ञान वाचिवशयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते । Vārtika

सोऽयमक्षरसमाभ्नायो वाक्समाभ्नाय पुण्यित फलितश्वद्वारकवत् प्रतिमिडतो  
वेदितन्यो ब्रह्मराचि । Mahābhāṣya, I 2 3

The study of grammar has been declared to be the direct means of attaining the Supreme Being who, though one and without a second,

appears to be manifold owing to the operation of maya<sup>3</sup> Grammar in its religious and mystical speculations is in line with the teachings of the Upanisads, reinterpreting the same doctrines of yoga and upasana as are generally found in the sacred texts of India<sup>4</sup>

It was left to Patanjali and his followers to unlock the portal of a new kingdom of thought, so as to throw light upon the ultimate end of all enquiries into words. The Mahabhasya portended the birth of a form of sadhana in which sabda or Eternal Verbum should be worshipped with all the reverence shown to a Divinity<sup>5</sup>. In order to attain union with Brahman or to get oneself completely merged in the Absolute, one is directed to take up the mysterious course of Sabda-sadhana<sup>6</sup>. Patanjali seems to have been the first among the Indian grammarians to give a spiritualistic colour to the speculations of grammar. The sabdabrahmopasana, as is formulated in the Upanisads, had undoubtedly influenced his trend of thought.

The mysticism underlying the phenomena of speech was undoubtedly the aspect which seems to have made the deepest impression upon the grammarian. The utterance of sound is with him a vivid materialisation of inner consciousness. To the grammarian sabda is not a lifeless mechanism invented by man. It is more than a mere sound or symbol. It is consciousness that splits itself up into the twofold category of sabda and artha, and what we call vak, as the vehicle of communication, is nothing but an expression of *caturya* lying within<sup>7</sup>. Patanjali has taken notice of two kinds of words, namely, *nitya* (eternal) and *karya* (created). By the former he understands the Supreme Reality that transcends all limitations of time and space. The attributes whereby the Vedantin describes Brahman or Absolute

१. यदेक प्रक्रियामेदैबहुधा प्रविभज्यते ।

तदव्याकरणमागम्य पर ब्रह्माधिगम्यते ॥ Vakyapadiya.

२ तस्य वाचकं प्रणवं तज्जप्त्तदर्थमावनम् ॥ Yoga sutras, 27-28

३ Patanjali says that one should pursue the study of grammar for the supreme object of attaining equality or sameness with the Great God

महता देवेन नस्साम्यं यथा स्यादित्यध्येय व्याकरणम् ।

४ While commenting on the Rk (Rgveda, X 6, 71), Patanjali had laid stress on the necessity of making a thorough study of grammar, because it renders the grammarian capable of attaining union with Brahman (सामुज्ज्ञानि जानते)

५ प्रलवचैतन्यस्यान्तस्सचिविष्टस्य परबोधनाय शक्तिरभिष्यन्दति इति ।—Pūṣyārāja under Vakyapadiya, I 1.

have all been used by Patanjali in this interpretation of *nitya sabda*<sup>2</sup>. He has more than once drawn our attention to this eternal character of *sabda*. This will give us some idea of the magnitude in which *sabda* was understood by the famous grammarian whom tradition makes an incarnation of *Sesa*. His poetical description of varnas, to which we have already referred, best illustrates the spiritual outlook of his mind. From the *srutis* he has quoted in laudation of *vak* and *vyakarana*, and it is sufficiently clear that he was an ardent and devout worshipper of *vak*, belonging to that class of mystics who in their spiritual experience make no distinction between *para vak* and *para Brahman*. Patanjali used to look upon *sabda* as a great divinity (*mahan devah*) that makes its presence felt by every act of utterance. He was a yogin whose inward vision (*pratibha mana*) permitted him to have a look into that eternal flow of pure consciousness that is undisturbed from outside<sup>3</sup>. He was a true type of Brahmin who visualised the ultimate nature of *vak* by dispelling the darkness of ignorance through the aid of his illuminating knowledge of *sabda-tattva*<sup>4</sup>. The worship of *vak*, which has its origin in the *Upanisads*<sup>5</sup> and which found so prominent an expression in the *Agamas*, was earnestly followed up by the *sabdikas*, particularly by Patanjali and Bhartrhari. *Sabdabrahmopasana*, as we find in grammatical dissertations, is only a reproduction of the teachings of the *Upanisads*<sup>6</sup>.

Words are not mere sounds as they ordinarily seem to be. They have a subtle and intellectual form within. The internal source from which they evolve is calm and serene, eternal and imperishable. The real form of *vak*, as opposed to external sound, lies far beyond the range of ordinary perception. We are told that it requires a good deal of *sadhana* to have a glimpse of the purest form of speech. The rk to which Patanjali has referred bears strong evidence to this fact. *Vak* is said to reveal her divine self only to those who are so trained.

1 निलेषु च शब्देषु कूर्तसैरविचालिभिर्वर्णे। सवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभि।—*Mahābhāṣya*, I, 1, 1.

2 अन्या परा प्रकृति। सत्त्वा सर्वविकारात्मयिनी प्रशान्तकङ्गोला चिदेकवना ब्रह्मा इत्यागमवादिन।—*Hesarāja* under *Vākyapadīya*, 8, 82.

3 वैयाकरणस्तु शब्दवलेन तद्वलध्योगेन च गुहान्धकार विदार्थं सर्वं जानातीति भाव।—*Pradīpoddhyota*

4. नमो वाच ब्रह्मेत्युपास्ते।—*Chāndogya*, VII, 2.

5. सौनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परम्।—*Mahābhāṣya*.

as to understand her real nature. Such was the exalted nature of vak upon which the grammarian used to meditate”<sup>1</sup>

**27 Writing** IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT ANCIENT INDIA KNEW NO WRITING and that writing was introduced somewhere about 1800 B C, by traders coming into India from Phoenicia and Mesopotamia. The Vedas were meant for recital and the bards sang the hymns. The idea involved in the name *śruti* for the Vedas is recitation and ‘hearing,’ for it is the sound waves started by the voice regulated by intonations that create the mystic or magnetic effect. Indeed, there is a species of work called *Vedaprayoga* wherem the use of particular hymns for specific objects is prescribed. Such, for instance, are hymns for getting a sprout of water from barren ground or for driving out evil spirits or for promoting easy delivery.

The various *astras* ranging from *Brahmāstra*, the most infallible one, are mere mantras and when *Visvāmitra* initiated *Rāma* into *astras*, he taught *mantra-grāma*<sup>2</sup>. From the circumstance that Vedic hymns were used for recitals, it cannot be said that the Vedic age had no script. It is the tradition that *Vighnesvara* wrote all *Mahābhārata* to *Vyāsa*’s dictation. The sages who were omniscient and who could foresee and create things supernatural would not have failed to have a means of recording their ideas and expressions for the benefit of posterity.

*Rg-Veda* (I 164, 94, IX 13-3) uses the word *akṣara*. The word *sūtra* found on the *Madhukānda* of the *Brāhmaṇas* of White *Yajus* signifies a metaphorical use of the *sūtra* proper, meaning ‘thread’ or band. Goldstucker in his *Study of Panini* distinctly expressed that the words *sūtra* and *grantha* ‘must absolutely be connected with writing.’ *Pāṇini*<sup>3</sup> explained the formation of the word *Yavanāni* and *Kātyāyana*’s *Vārtika* says that the noun ‘*hpī*’ (writing) must be supplied to signify the writing of the *Yavanas*<sup>4</sup>.

1 P C Chakravarti, *Spiritual Outlook of Sanskrit Grammar*, (Jl of Dep of Letters, Calcutta, 1934)

2. मत्रग्राम गृहण त्व बलामतिबलं तथा ।

ददौ रामाय सुप्रीतो मत्रग्राममनुचमम् ॥ I. 22. 12

\* \* \*

जपतस्तु मुनेस्तस्य विश्वामित्रस्य थीमते ।

उपतस्युर्भवाहार्णि सर्वाण्यस्त्राणि राष्ट्रवम् ॥ I. 27. 23-23

3 *Pāṇini*, 26, Maxmuller, 1St, V 20, 24, II 26, Weber, 1L 15, 221.  
4, 1St, V. 5 8, 17<sup>1</sup>, IV. 89.

Patanjali has a long discussion on Akṣara thus

अक्षर न क्षर विद्यादश्रोतेर्वा सरोक्षरम् ।  
न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वाऽक्षरम् ॥  
  
अश्रोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिक सरन् प्रलय ।  
अश्रुते इलक्षरम् ।  
वर्ण वाहु पूर्वसूचे अथवा पूर्वसूचे वर्णसाक्षरमिति सज्जा क्रियते ।

किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ?

वर्णहान वाग्विषयो यन्त्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।  
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

Of the Northern Indian scripts descended from the Brāhmī is Nāgari or Devanāgari and the alphabets of that script are the formulæ of Mahesvarasūtras, making up vowels अ॒ ए॑ उ॑ ओ॑ and consonants ह् ळ्

A study of paleography has come to distinguish the types of early writings Kharosthi and Brāhmī. The former was current in Gāndhāra (East Afghanistan and North Punjab) and was borrowed from the Aramaic type of Semitic writing in use during the fifth century BC. The latter, Brāhmī is "the true national writing of India, because all late Indian alphabets are descended from it, however dissimilar they may appear at the present day"\*\*

**28 History.** It has been said that the Hindus possess no national history. Max Muller accepts this proposition as a postulate, builds on it and explains the so-called absence of anything like historical literature among the Hindus to their being a nation of philosophers

1. For Philology, language and paleography generally, see the following —

*Origin of Devanagari Alphabet*, (IA, XXXV. 268, 270, 811), *Dravidian elements in Sanskrit dictionaries* (IA, I 285), *Hindu Science of Grammar* (IA, XIV 88), *On Kharosthi writing* (IA, XXIV 285, 811, XXXIII 79, XXXIV 1, 25, 45), *Progress Report of Linguistic Survey of India* (IA, XII, 179), *Scripts and Signs from Indian Neolithics*, (IA, XLVIII 87), *Philological position of Sanskrit in India* (IA, XVIII 124, XXIV 81, XIV 88)

A. A Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, Hans Raj, *Vedic Kosa*, M S Ghata, *Lectures on Rig veda*, P. D. Gune, *Introduction to Comparative Philology*, S K Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, W D Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, F. Kielhorn, *Grammar of Sanskrit Languages*, A Carnoy, *Grammars*, A Weber, *Indeschen Philologie in IST*, III, E Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie*, Hornle, *JASB*, LIX No. 2, Waddell, *On the use of Papor*, *JRAS*, (1914) 186; Haraprasad Sastri, *Rep* I 7, Bhandarkar, *POCP*, II, 805, Buhler, *Indian Paleography and The Origin of Brāhmī Alphabet*, Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*.

## INTRODUCTION

"Greece and India are, indeed, the two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan man. To the Greek, existence is full of life and reality, to the Hindu, it is a dream, a delusion. The Greek is at home where he is born, all his energies belong to his country, he stands or falls with his party, and is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas. The Hindu enters this world as a stranger, all his thoughts are directed to another world, he takes no part even where he is driven to act, and when he sacrifices his life, it is but to be delivered from it."<sup>1</sup>

But A Stein in his Introduction to *Rājatarangini* has thus answered it "It has often been said of the India of the Hindus that it possessed no history. The remark is true if we apply it to history as a science and art, such as classical culture in its noblest prose-works has bequeathed it to us. But it is manifestly wrong if by history is meant either historical development or the materials for studying it. India has never known, amongst its *Sastras*, the study of history such as Greece and Rome cultivated or as modern Europe understands it. Yet the materials for such study are equally at our disposal in India. They are contained not only in such original sources of information as Inscriptions, Coins and Antiquarian remains, generally, advancing research has also proved that written records of events or of traditions concerning them have by no means been wanting in ancient India."

H H Wilson in his admirable Introduction to his translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, while dealing with the contents of the Third Book observes that a very large portion of the contents of the *Ithāsas* and *Purāṇas* is genuine and writes:—

"The arrangement of the *Vedas* and other writings considered by the Hindus—being, in fact, the authorities of their religious rites and beliefs—which is described in the beginning of the Third book, is of much importance to the History of the Hindu Literature and of the Hindu religion. The sage Vyasa is here represented not as the author but the arranger or the compiler of the *Vedas*, the *Ithāsas* and the *Purāṇas*. His name denotes his character meaning the 'arranger' or 'distributor', and the recurrence of many *Vyasas*, many individuals who remodelled the Hindu scriptures, has nothing in it, that is improbable, except the fabulous intervals by which their labours are separated. The re-arranging, the re-fashioning, of old materials is nothing more than the progress of time would be likely to render necessary. The

last recognised compilation is that of Krishna Dvaipayana, assisted by Brahmans, who were already conversant with the subjects respectively assigned to them. They were the members of the college or school supposed by the Hindus to have flourished in a period more remote, no doubt, than the truth, but not at all unlikely to have been instituted at some time prior to the accounts of India which we owe to Greek writers and in which we see enough of the system to justify our inferring that it was then entire. That there have been other Vyosas and other schools since that date, that Brahmans unknown to fame have re-modelled some of the Hindu scriptures, and especially the Puranas, cannot reasonably be counted, after dispassionately weighing the strong internal evidence, which all of them afford, of their intermixture of unauthorized and comparatively modern ingredients. But the same internal testimony furnishes proof equally decisive, of the anterior existence of ancient materials, and it is, therefore, as idle as it is irrational, to dispute the antiquity or the authenticity of the contents of the Puranas, in the face of abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines, which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe at least three centuries before the Christian Era. But the origin and development of their doctrines, traditions and institutions were not the work of a day, and the testimony that establishes their existence three centuries before Christianity, carries it back to a much more remote antiquity, to an antiquity, that is, probably, not surpassed by any of the prevailing fictions, institutions or beliefs of the ancient world."

Again, in dealing with the contents of the Fourth Amsa of the Visnu Purana, the Professor remarks —

"The Fourth Book contains all that the Hindus have of their Ancient History. It is a tolerably comprehensive list of dynasties and individuals, it is a barren record of events. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that much of it is a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences. That it is discredited by palpable absurdities in regard to the longevity of the princes of the earlier dynasties, must be granted, and the particulars preserved of some of them are trivial and fabulous. Still there is an artificial simplicity and consistency in the succession of persons, and a possibility and probability in some of the transactions, which give to these traditions the semblance of authenticity, and render it likely that these are not altogether without foundation. At any rate, in the absence of all other sources of information the record, such

as it is, deserves not to be altogether set aside It is not essential to its celebrity or its usefulness, that any exact chronological adjustment of the different reigns should be attempted Their distribution amongst the several Yugas, undertaken by Sir William Jones, or his Pandits, finds no countenance from the original texts, rather than an identical notice of the age in which a particular monarch ruled or the general fact that the dynasties prior to Krishna precede the time of the Great War and the beginning of the Kali Age, *both which events are placed five thousand years ago* This, may, or may not, be too remote, but it is sufficient, in a subject where precision is impossible, to be satisfied with the general impression, that, in the dynasties of Kings detailed in Puranas, we have a record, which, although it cannot fail to have suffered detriment from age, and may have been injured by careless or injudicious compilation, preserves an account not wholly undeserving of confidence, of the establishment and succession of regular monarchies, amongst the Hindus, from as early an era, and for as continuous a duration, as any in the credible annals of mankind ”

And lastly, in discussing the general nature of the Puranas and of their values as historical records, he says —

“ After the date of the Great War, the Vishnu Purana, in common with other Puranas, which contain similar lists, specifies Kings and Dynasties with greater precision, and offers political and chronological particulars to which, on the score of probability there is nothing to object In truth, their general accuracy has been incontrovertibly established Inscriptions on columns of stone, on rocks, on coms, deciphered only of late years through the extraordinary ingenuity and per-everence of Mr James Princep, have verified the names of races and titles of princes—the Gupta and the Andhra Rajas mentioned in the Puranas ”

## 29 In his Rajasthan, Col Tod says —

“ Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of composition of precisely the same character as the historical works of Greece and Rome, commit the very egregious error of overlooking the peculiarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other races, and which strongly discriminate their intellectual productions of every kind from those of the West Their philosophy, their poetry, their architecture are marked with traits of originality , and the same may be expected to pervade their history, which, like the arts enumerated,

took a character from its intimate association with the religion of the people

In the absence of regular and legitimate historical records, there are, however, other native works, (they may, indeed, be said to abound) which, in the hands of a skilful and patient investigator, would afford no despicable materials for the history of India. The first of these are the Puranas and genealogical legends of the princes which, obscured as they are by the mythological details, allegory, and improbable circumstances, contain, many facts that serve as beacons to direct the research of the historian."

**30** "Another species of historical records is found in the accounts given by the Brahmins of the endowments of the temples, their dilapidation and repairs, which furnish occasions for the introduction of historical and chronological details. In the legends respecting places of pilgrimage and religious resort, profane events are blended with superstitious rites and ordinances, local ceremonies and customs. The controversies of the Jains furnish, also, much historical information, especially with reference to Guzerat and Nehrwala during the Chaulac dynasty. From a close and attentive examination of the Jain records, which embody all that those ancient sectarians knew of science, many chasms in Hindu history might be filled up."

"Every MATHA or religious college of any importance preserves the succession of its heads. Among the Jains, we have the PATTAVALIS or successions of pontiffs, for a full and lucid notice of some of which we are indebted to Dr Hoernle—they purport to run back to even the death of the last TIRTHAMKARA Vardhamana-Mahavira."

**31.** "The preservation of pedigrees and successions has evidently been a national characteristic for very many centuries. And we cannot doubt that considerable attention was paid to the matter in connection with the royal families and that Vamsavalis or Rajavalis, lists of the lineal successions of kings, were compiled and kept from very early times. We distinctly recognise the use of such VAMSAVALIS,—giving the relationships and successions of kings, but no chronological details beyond the record of the total duration of each reign with occasionally a coronation-date recorded in an era,—in the copper-plate records. We trace them, for instance, in the introductory passages of the grants of the Eastern Chalukya Series<sup>1</sup> which, from the period AD 918 to 925 onwards, name the successive kings beginning with the founder of

---

1. See SII, I 85, III, V. 181.

the line who reigned three centuries before that time, but do not put forward more than the length of the reign of each of them, and, from certain differences in the figures for some of the reigns, we recognise that there were varying recensions of those VAMSAVALIS. We trace the use of the VAMSAVALIS again in the similar records of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, which, from A.D 1058 onwards,<sup>1</sup> give the same details about the kings of that line with effect from about A.D 990, and one of which, issued A.D 1296,<sup>2</sup> includes a coronation-date of A.D 1141 or 1142. There has been brought to light from Nepal a long VAMSAVALI, which purports to give an unbroken list of the rulers of that country, with the lengths of their reigns and an occasional landmark in the shape of the date of an accession stated in an era, back from A.D 1768 to even so fabulous an antiquity as six or seven centuries before the commencement of the Kali age in B.C 3102."

32 In his Rājataranginī,<sup>3</sup> KALHANA mentions certain previous writers,—“Suvrata, whose work, he says, was made difficult by misplaced learning, Kshemendra who drew up a list of kings, of which, however, he says, no part is free from mistakes, Nilamuni, who wrote the NILAMATAPURANA, Hesaraja, who composed a list of kings in twelve thousand verses, and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author of the SRICHCHAVILLA. His own work, he tells us, was based on eleven collections of RAJAKATHAS or stories about kings and on the work of Nilamuni.”

“ Tamrasasana, or “copper-chapters” consist sometimes of a single plate, but more usually of several plates strung together on a large signet-ring which bears generally the seal of the authority who issued the particular chapter. The stone records usually describe themselves by the name of *Silasasana*, ‘Stone-chapters,’ *Sila-lekha*, ‘Stone-writings,’ or *Prasasti*, ‘Eulogies.’ They are found on rocks, on religious columns such as those which bear some of the edicts of

1. *EI*, IV 188

2. *JASB*, LXV 229,

3. Kalhana made use of

(i) प्रतिष्ठासन, edicts—inscriptions regarding the creation or consecration of temples etc

(ii) वस्तुशासन, edicts—inscription recording grants, chiefly of grants and allowances engrossed on copper plates

(iii) प्रशास्तिपट, tables containing laudatory inscriptions or places

(iv) शास्त्र, works on various sciences

Priyadasi and others which were set up in front of temples as "flag-staffs" of the Gods, on battle-columns or columns of victory such as the two at Mandasor, on the walls and beams and pillars of caves and temples, on the pedestals of images, and on slabs built into the walls of temples or set up in the courtyards of temples or in conspicuous places in village-sites or fields. And they are often accompanied by sculptures which give the seal of the authority issuing the record, or mark its sectarian nature, or illustrate some scene referred to in it."

**33 The Chronology of Classical Sanskrit Literature** starts with Mahabharata war and Kaliyuga. Kaliyuga commenced on 18th February 3102 B.C., just on the day on which Sri Krishna departed to his divine abode. The Kuru-Pandava war was fought 37 years before Kali, that is in 3139 B.C. Onwards from the commencement of Kaliyuga, Puranas contain accounts of various kingdoms that flourished from time to time and successive dynasties that ruled and fell during the course of about 35 centuries. To an impartial observer the tenor of these accounts warrants their accuracy and to the mind of the Hindus—the Hindus of those bygone ages, when scepticism had not called tradition superstition—life here is evanescent and life's endeavour must be the attainment of beatitude eternal. Ancient sages (ṛsis) perceived the divine hymns of the Vedas and passed them on for the edification of posterity. Since the advent of Kali, a prospective crop of vice and folly was predicated and to wean the erring world from such sin and misery, Vyasa formulated Puranas, with the object of *Vedopabhūṣāṇa*, that is, supplemented the exposition of Vedic teachings, and that in the garb of a language and narrative that would be easily assimilated by the masses. To such philosophical minds, the rise and fall of kings and kingdoms was not worth remembrance, save as another realistic means of illustrating the tenets of philosophy, e.g., the truth of the divine essence, Brahman, the unreality of sensual pleasures, the liberation of individual soul and the attainment of eternity in beatitude or oneness with the Spirit Divine and above all the inevitable occurrence of God's mandates shortly termed Destiny or otherwise called Kala or Niyat.

If this is the object of Puranic literature, it is a sacrilege to charge the author or authors of them, whoever it was, with having fabricated scriptural testimony for attributing an antiquity to Indian literature and Indian civilization, which it did not possess, for even if they had been, as many orientalists have said, made up late after the Christian era,

the authors could not have anticipated this method of study of political history of the 18th and 19th centuries A D. The Purāṇic lists of dynasties of kings and kingdoms furnish details of dates to an extent that even in days of historical records may be surprising, for they mention even months and days in their computation. Whatever those ancient authors did or wrote, they did it with sincerity and accuracy, 'truth' being the basis of accuracy. Our educational institutions are saturated with the teachings of modern scholars on the untruth of these Purāṇic accounts, but it is still hoped that time will come when truth will triumph and display a real orientation of ancient Indian History.<sup>1</sup>

**34** Of the several kingdoms and dynasties of which Purāṇas have recorded political history, there is the kingdom of Magadha. For our present purposes of sifting and settling the chronology of India up to the Christian era the history of Magadha is particularly relevant, for it is at Magadha, 'Chandragupta' and 'Asoka' ruled and it is on these names that the modern computation of dates has been based for everything relating to India's literary history and it is those two names that make the heroes of the theory of *Anchor Sheet of Indian Chronology*.

**35** The Kingdom of Magadha was founded by Bṛhadraṭha, son of Uparicara Vasu, the 6th in descent from Kuru, of the Candra Vamśa. That happened 161 years before Mahābhārata war. Tenth in descent from Bṛhadraṭha was, Jarāsandha. Jarāsandha perished at the hand of Kamsa and in his place Sahadeva was installed on the throne. Sahadeva was an ally of Pāṇḍavas and was killed in the war, that is in 3139 B C. His son Marjāni (or Somādhi or Somavit) was his successor and the first king of Magadha after the war. From him 22 kings of this Bārhadraṭha dynasty ruled over Magadha for 1006 years, or roughly stated, for 1000 years.<sup>2</sup>

For instance, Maṭṣya Purāṇa says —

द्वाविष्टतिनृपा द्वे मवितारो ब्रह्मधाः ।  
पूर्णं वर्णसहस्रं तु तेषा राज्यं मविष्पति ॥ 159, 30

Ripunjaya was the last king of this dynasty. He was assassinated

1 F. E. Pargiter has given an admirable summary of *Early Indian Traditional History* as recorded in Puranas in *JRAS* (1914) 267 et seq.

2 See K. P. Jayaswal, *Bṛihadraṭha Chronology*, *JBORS*, IV 1, Sitanath Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta, Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India from the accession of Parakṣet to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty*, Calcutta.

by Pulaka and Pulaka succeeded to the throne. His son was Pradyoṣa or Bālaka. Thus came the PRADYOTA or BALAKA DYNASTY in 2133 B.C.

Thus Maṭsyā Purāṇa says —

बृहदधेऽवतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रे ववान्तिषु ।  
पुलक सामिन हत्वा सपुत्रमभिषेक्ष्यति ॥ १ ॥  
मिष्टा क्षत्रियाणान् बालक पुलकोद्भव ।  
स वै प्रणतसामन्तो मविष्यो नयवर्जित ॥ २ ॥

“When the Bāhradrathas, the Vīthōtras and the Avanṭins have passed away, Pulaka after killing his master (King Rūpuñjaya) will instal his son Bālaka as King Bālaka, the son of Pulaka, will, in the very sight of the Kshattriyas of his time, subjugate these neighbouring kings by force and will be devoid of royal policy”

**36** Instead of crowning himself as king against the wishes of the people, Pulaka got the only daughter of Rūpuñjaya married to his son Pradyota and installed him on the throne

There were 5 kings of this dynasty<sup>1</sup> and they ruled for 138 years (1995 B.C.). Viṣṇu Purāṇa says —

पञ्च प्रद्योतना हये ।  
अष्टाविंशोत्तरशत मोश्यन्ति पृथिवीं नृपा ॥-XII ॥

**37** Sisunāga got in by conquest or usurpation and founded SISUNAGA DYNASTY in 1995 B.C.<sup>2</sup> There were 10 kings of this dynasty and they ruled for 360 or 362 years i.e. 1635 B.C. Thus Vāyu Purāṇa says.—

इलेते भवितारे वै शैशुनागा नृपा दश ।  
शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि द्विषष्ठयः यथिकानि तु ॥

1 Pradyoṣa (28), Bālaka (24 or 28), Viśvākhyupa (50 or 83), Janaka or Suryaka or Rājaka (21 or 31), Nandīvardhana (20 or 80).

The periods vary according to the versions of the Purāṇas or their readings. But Maṭsyā Purāṇa makes the period 152 years.

द्विपञ्चाशच्छते भुक्त्वा प्रणष्टा पञ्च ते नृपाः ।

2 Sisunāga (40), Kākavarma (36), Kṣemavarma (26, 20 or 36), Kṣaṭraujas or Kṣemajit (40 24 or 20), Viḍhusāra or Bimbisāra or Vindhyasāra (28 or 38), Ajāṭasāṭru (37 or 25, or 82 or 52), Darsāka or Darbhaka (24), Udayana or Udayāsva, or Ajaya or Udayabhaṭṭa (88), Nandīvardhana (42 or 40), Mahānandin (43 or 69). It was Udayin that built the city of Kuśuma on the Ganges.

उदयी भविता यस्मात् त्रयिंशत् समा नृप ।  
स वै पुरुवर राजा पृथिव्या कुसुमाद्वयम् ।  
गङ्गाया दक्षिणे कूले चतुर्थेऽन्दे करिष्यति ॥

Here ended the SISUNAGA DYNASTY in 1635 B C.

38 Mahāpadma known as Nanda was the illegitimate son of Mahānandin, the last king of that dynasty, and came to the throne. He founded the NANDA dynasty in 1635 B C. He ruled for 88 years and his sons Sumālya and seven others ruled for 12 years until 1635 B C. This dynasty lasted for 10 years.<sup>1</sup>

Vishnu Purāpa says

महानन्दिनस्त शूद्रागर्भोऽविलुप्तोऽतिबलो महापश्चो नन्दनामा परशुराम  
इवाऽपरो ऋस्तिक्षत्वान्तकारी मविष्यति ॥२०॥ तत प्रभृति शूद्रा भूपाला मविष्यन्ति ॥२१॥  
स चैकच्छत्वमनुष्ठान्तितशासनो महापश्च. पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यति ॥ २२ ॥ तस्याऽव्यष्टौ सुता  
सुमाल्याशा भवितार ॥ १३ ॥ तस्य महापश्चसाऽनु पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ २४ ॥ महापश्च-  
स्तत्वपुत्राश्च एक वर्षशत अबनीपतयो मविष्यन्ति ॥ २५ ॥ ततश्च नवैताजन्दान् कौटिल्यो  
ज्ञाहण समुद्धरिष्यति ॥ २६ ॥ तेषामसावे मौर्या पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ २७ ॥ कौटिल्य  
एव चन्द्रगुप्तसुत्पत्तं (नन्दस्यैव भार्याया मुरासज्जाया सज्जातम्—इति श्रीधरसामी) राज्य-  
भिषेष्यति ॥ २८ ॥—Amsa, IV, Ch xxiv

Bhāgavata Purāpa says

महानन्दिनस्तो राजन् शूद्रीगर्भोऽवो बली ॥ ८ ॥  
महापश्चपति कश्चिन्नन्द क्षत्रविनाशक्तु ।  
ततो दृपा मविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्रायास्त्ववार्मिका ॥ ९ ॥  
स एकच्छत्वां पृथिवींमनुष्ठान्तितशासन ।  
शासिष्यति महापश्चो द्वितीय इव भार्गव. ॥ १० ॥  
तस्य चाऽष्टौ मविष्यन्ति सुमाल्यप्रसुखा सुतां ।  
य हमीं भोक्ष्यन्ति मर्हीं राजान् स्म शत समा ॥ ११ ॥  
नव नन्दान् दिव्ज कश्चित्पत्तानुष्ठान्तित ।  
तेषामसावे जगतीं मौर्या भोक्ष्यन्ति वै कलौ ॥ १२ ॥  
स एव चन्द्रगुप्त वै द्विजो राज्येऽभिषेष्यति ।  
ततसुतो वारिसारस्तु ततश्चाऽशोकवर्धन ॥ ३ ॥

—Skandha XII Ch ii

Vāyu Purāpa says

महानन्दिनसुतशाऽपि शूद्राशो कालसवृत ।  
उत्पत्त्यस्ते महापश्च सर्वक्षत्वान्तको नृप ॥ ३२६ ॥

1 See K. P. Jayaswal, *Sisunaga and Maurya Chronology*, JBORS, I. I.

तत् प्रभृति राजानो भविष्या शूद्रयोनय ।  
एकराट् स महापञ्चो एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ॥ ३२७ ॥  
अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।  
सर्वक्षत्रमयोद्भूत्य भाविनोऽर्थस्य वै बलात् ॥ ३२८ ॥  
सहत्य तत्सुता श्वष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपा ।  
महापञ्चस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपा क्रमात् ॥ ३२९ ॥  
उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् कौटिल्यो वै द्विर्जर्म ।  
मुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशत नन्देभ्य स भविष्यति ॥ ३३० ॥  
चन्द्रगुप्त नृप राज्ये कौटिल्य स्वापयिष्यति ।  
चतुर्विंशत् समा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भविष्यति ॥ ३३१ ॥

—Chapter XCIX.

Maṭṭya Purāṇa Says —

महानन्दिसुतश्चाऽपि शूद्रायां कलिकाशज ॥ १८ ॥  
उत्पत्त्यते महापञ्च सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृप ।  
तत् प्रभृति राजानो भविष्या शूद्रयोनय ॥ १९ ॥  
एकराट् स महापञ्च एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ।  
अष्टाशीति स वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ॥ २० ॥  
सर्वक्षत्रमयोत्साध भाविनाऽर्थेन चोदितः ।  
सुमाल्यादिसुता श्वष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपा ॥ २१ ॥  
महापञ्चस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपा क्रमात् ।  
उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्य समैद्वादशमिस्तु तान् ॥ २२ ॥  
कौटिल्यश्चन्द्रगुप्त स ततो राष्ट्रेऽभिषेक्यति ।  
मुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशत ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति ॥ २३ ॥

—Chapter CCLXX.

Brahmānda Purāṇa gives the following account —

महानन्दिसुतश्चाऽपि शूद्रायां कालसवृत्त ।  
उत्पत्त्यते महापञ्च सर्वक्षत्रान्तकुन्त्युपः ॥ १३९ ॥  
ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्या शूद्रयोनय ।  
एकराट् स महापञ्च एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ॥ १४० ॥  
अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।  
सर्वक्षत्र समुद्भूत्य भाविनोऽर्थस्य वै बलात् ॥ १४२ ॥

## INTRODUCTION

तत्पश्चात् तत्सुता श्रृङ्खौ समा द्वादश ते नृपा ।  
महापद्मश पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपा क्रमात् ॥ १३२ ॥

उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् कौटिल्यो वै द्विर्जर्षम् ।  
मुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं नरेन्द्र स भविष्यति ॥ १४३ ॥  
चन्द्रगुप्त नृप राज्ये कौटिल्य स्थापयिष्यति ।  
चतुर्विंशत् समा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भविष्यति ॥ १४४ ॥

—Updghāta, Ch LXXIV

The following is the description of the Nanda Dynasty as given in the Kaliyuga Rājavṛtiānta —

महानन्देश शूद्राया महिष्या कलिचोदित ।  
उत्पत्त्यते महापद्मो धननन्द इति श्रुत ॥  
अतिलुभ्वोऽप्यतिवलो सर्वक्षत्रान्तकुन्नप ।  
ऐक्षकाकर्णश पाञ्चालान् कौरव्यश्चैव हैह्यान् ॥  
कालकानेकलिङ्गाश शूरसेनाश मैथिलान् ।  
जित्वा चाञ्चल्यश्च भूपालान् द्वितीय इव मार्गव ॥  
एकराट् स महापद्म एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ।  
स कृत्स्नामेव पृथिवीमनुष्ठवितशासन ॥  
शासिष्यति महापद्मो मध्ये विनष्यहिमागयो ।  
ततः परं भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्राया नृपा कलौ ॥  
अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।  
स वै प्रणतसामन्तो महापद्मो महाबल ॥  
तस्य चाऽर्थौ भविष्यन्ति सुमाल्यप्रमुखा सुता ।  
शासिष्यन्ति समाहस्र समा द्वादश ते नृपा ॥  
महापद्मश तत्पुत्रा नव नन्दा इति श्रुता ।  
मुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं क्षय यास्यन्ति ते नृपा ॥  
उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् चाणक्यार्थो द्विजोत्तम् ।  
चन्द्रगुप्त स तद्राज्ये कौटिल्य स्थापयिष्यति ॥

—Bhāga, III, Ch ii

39 “It will be clear from these numerous extracts quoted in full from the various important Purāṇas, which are practically identical with one another, that the Founder of this Dynasty was Mahāpadma well

known otherwise as Dhana Nanda, that he was the son of Mahānandin, the last of the Śaisunāga Dynasty, that he was born to that king from a Śūdra wife, that he was most avaricious and powerful, that he extirpated the Kshattriya rulers of his time like a second Parasurāma the destroyer of the Kshattriyas in the olden times, that he subjugated the different lines of Kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties who began to rule in the various parts of Northern India from the time of the Mahābhārata War commencing from the Coronation of Yudhishṭhīra in the year 3139 B.C., that he became a paramount King and Emperor of the whole of India between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains by putting an end to the ancient families of Kings, such as Aikshvākus, Pāñchālas, Kauravyas, Haihayas, Kālakas, Ekalingas, Śūrasēnas, Maithilas etc., who ceased to rule as separate dynasties ever since that time, that he ruled the kingdom under one umbrella for a period of 88 years, that his 8 sons jointly ruled the kingdom for a short period of 12 years, that these Nine Nandas, including the father and his eight sons ruled Magadha altogether for a total period of 100 years from 1635 to 1535 B.C., that these Nandas were extirpated by the Brāhmaṇ Chāṇakya, well known as Kautilya, on account of his crooked and Machiavelian policy, and that he replaced his protege Chandragupta, an illegitimate son of Mahāpadma Nanda by his Śūdrā wife Murā on the throne of his father”

But Vincent A Smith chooses to assign to these nine Nandas a total period of only 45 years for their reigns

**40** **Candragupta** came to the throne as the son of Murā; so he was a Maurya and the dynasty which he started was Maurya dynasty. Candragupta's son was Bindusāra and Bindusāra's son was Asoka or Asokavarṇhana. An old grantha manuscript of Maṭsyā Purāṇa gives this account

चतुर्भिंशत् समा राजा चन्द्रशुरो भविष्यति ।  
अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि भद्रसारस्तु तत्सुतः ॥ २४ ॥

षट्कर्णिशत् महाराजो भविताऽशेष पुब च ।  
तस्य पुबः कुनालस्तु वर्षाण्यष्टौ भविष्यति ॥ २५ ॥

कुनालस्तुरष्टौ च मोक्ता दशरथस्ततः ।  
सप्ताना दशवर्षाणि तत्सुतभेन्द्रपालितः ॥ २६ ॥

माविता चाऽष्टवर्षाणि तत्सुतो हृष्टवर्षनः ।  
माविता नव वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रस्तु सम्मतिः ॥ २७ ॥

## INTRODUCTION

त्रयोदश हि वर्षाणि शालिशूको भविष्यति ।  
 भविता सप्तवर्षाणि सोभवर्मा नराधिप ॥ २८ ॥  
 भविता शतधन्वा तु नव वर्षाणि तत्सुत ।  
 बृहद्रथस्तु वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रोऽथ सप्तति ॥ २९ ॥  
 इत्यते दश च द्वे च ये भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुन्धराम् ।  
 शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि तेभ्य शुक्रान् गमिष्यति ॥ ३० ॥

This version of the Matsya Purāna tolerably agrees with that given in the Kalyuga Rājavyāptīmāta —

चन्द्रगुप्तस्ततो मौर्यव्याणक्येनाऽभिरक्षित ।  
 चतुर्थिंशत् समा राज्य करिष्यति सुधार्मिक ॥  
 अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि बिन्दुसारो भविष्यति ।  
 षट्टीविंशत्तु ततो राजा भविताऽशोकवर्धन ॥  
 सुपार्श्वस्तत्सुतश्चाऽथ वर्षाण्यष्टौ भविष्यति ।  
 अष्टौ वर्षाणि तत्पुत्रो भोक्ता वै बन्धुपालित ॥  
 बन्धुपालितदायादो सप्तति चेन्द्रपालित ।  
 भविता नव वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रस्तु सङ्गत ॥  
 त्रयोदश समा राज्य शालिशूक. करिष्याति ।  
 भविता सप्तवर्षाणि देवधर्मा नरर्षभ ॥  
 तत शतधन् राजा भविताऽष्टौ समा भुवि ।  
 बृहद्रथस्तु तत्पुत्रो जरासन्ध इवाऽपर ॥  
 क्षत्रियानसिलाद् जित्वा महाराजो भविष्यति ।  
 अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि स राष्ट्रं पालयिष्यति ॥  
 द्वादशैते नृपा मौर्याश्चन्द्रगुप्तादयो महीम् ।  
 शतानि त्रीणि भोक्ष्यन्ति दश षट् च समा कलौ ॥

—Bhāga III, Chapter 11

Thus Caṇḍragupta reigned from 1535 to 1501 B.C. for 34 years, Bindusāra from 1501 to 1473 for 28 years and Asoka from 1473 to 1437 B.C. for 36 years. And in all there were twelve Kings of Maurya dynasty, the last of whom was Brhadrāṭha<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Caṇḍragupta, Bindusāra or Bhaḍrasāra or Nandasāra or Vārisāra (28 or 35), Asoka or Asokavarṣhanā (36 or 37), Suyaśas or Supārśva or Kunāla or Kuñala (8), Dasaratha or Baṇḍhupālita (8 or 10), (6) Indrapālita (7 or 10), Harṣa or Harṣavardhana (8), (8) Sangāṭa or Sammati or Samratī (9), Śāhiśuka (13), Somaśakman or Devaśharman or Devavarman or Dāsavarman (7), Śātiśāhanvan or Śātiśādhara (8 or 9), Brhadrāṭha or Brhadaśva (37 or 70 or 7)

Regarding this dynasty the readings and versions of the Purāṇas are hopelessly confused and incorrect but the passages quoted, of which the authenticity is doubtless, show that the MAURYA DYNASTY lasted for 316 years from 1535 to 1219 B C

41 Pusyamitra was the commander-in-chief of Bṛhadratha He removed his master and ascended the throne Thus he started the SUNGA DYNASTY According to Matsya Purāṇa, there were ten kings of this dynasty who ruled in all for 30 years from 1219 B C to 919 B C Kaliyuga Rājaviṣṭānta says

पुष्यमित्रस्य सेनानीर्महावलपराक्रम ।  
अतीव वृद्ध राजानं समुद्दल्य वृहद्रथम् ॥  
स वै प्रणतसामन्तो मुश्चिष्ठर इवाऽपर ।  
पालयिष्यति धर्मेण समा. विष्ट महीभिमाप् ॥  
तस्य एतो जग्निभिरस्तु भोक्ता पञ्चाशत समा. ।  
तत्सुतो वसुमित्रश्च यवनारिमहावल ॥  
षट्क्रिंशत्तु समा राज्य कारयिष्यति वै कलौ ।  
मविता चाऽपि मुज्येष्टस्तसुतो दश सप्त च ॥  
तत्सुतो मद्रकश्चाऽपि विशद्वर्णाणि सोक्ष्यति ।  
पुलिन्दकस्त्रयश्चद्विता मरुनन्दन ॥  
आतृष्वसेयो भद्रस्य महेष्वासोऽरिमर्दन ।  
ततो वोषवसुश्चाऽपि लीणि वर्णाणि सोक्ष्यति ॥  
वश्रिमन्त्सु वैकोनार्तिशत मविता समा. ।  
द्वार्तिशद्विता चापि समा भागवतो शृणु ॥  
मविता तु सुतस्तस्य देवहूति. समा दश ।  
योद्ध्य राजा देवहृतिराबाल्यात् कामतत्पर ।  
निवेश्य राज्यमार सामालवर्णे द्विजोत्तमे ॥  
विहाय पाटलीपुत्र विदिशायां सुखास्थित. ।  
अन्यायेन पुरज्ञामिर्विहर्तुमुपचक्रमे ॥  
कामिनीमाननीयोऽमूर् व्याघ्रबद्व्यग्रकर्मकृत् ।  
त प्रजा नान्वमोदन्त शुक्रमूष्यष्टोहरम् ॥  
अक्षयैतीश्च कितवैर्वृत्तो नर्तकशाश्वनै ।  
कुरुमसाश्वनो मध्यो वारकीसङ्गलालस ॥

## INTRODUCTION

स चैकदा विटै श्रुत्वा वसुदेवस्य मान्त्रिण ।  
 सुता महारूपवर्ती पश्चिनीलक्षणान्विताम् ॥

तया रन्तु मनश्चके ब्राह्मण्या कालचोदित ।  
 व्याजेन तां समानीय पत्ना सार्थ ससजिधौ ॥

गृद्ध हृत्वा निजैश्वरै साध्यात्सत्या प्रिय पति ।  
 तद्वृपधृष्टनिश्च प्राप्य तत्या वासगृह नृप ॥

हठातां वर्षयामास ब्राह्मणीं वरवर्णिनीम् ।  
 साऽपि शात्वाऽस्य द्वृत्तं प्राणान् तत्याज तत्क्षणात् ॥

तच्छ्रुत्वा वसुदेवस्तु शोकसन्तसमानसः ।  
 विषदिव्यामलकृत्य कांचिद्वाराक्षनीं द्विज ॥

सप्रेष्य सर्वालङ्घारभूषितां तत्समीपत ।  
 तयैव घातयामास देवहृतिं नुपाधमम् ॥

ननन्दुश्च प्रजा । सर्वा । श्रुत्वा तस्य वथ तया ।  
 विरिरे वसुदेव च राजान परया मुदा ॥

दैत्ये शुक्रराजानो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् ॥

शत पूर्णं शते द्वे च तेभ्य कण्वान् गमिष्यति ॥

Of these kings,<sup>1</sup> it is noteworthy that Puṣyamīṭra is described by Kaliḍāsa in Mālavikāgnimīṭra as the conqueror of Āryāvaraṇa and Agnimitra is mentioned by Paṭanjalī as having performed Aśvamedha sacrifice.

"Devahūti, the last king of the Sunga dynasty, having been addicted to a life of pleasure and sexual enjoyment from his boyhood, entrusted the kingdom to the care of his Brahman minister Vasudeva, and he himself retired to Vidisa, noted in those days for its dancing girls, where he began to lead a most licentious and immoral life with his voluptuary companions, corrupting the fair maidens of the city to satisfy his lust and becoming an object of hatred to his own subjects. On hearing the extraordinary beauty of the daughter of his Brahman minister Vasudeva, who has been living with her husband, he sent for them to come to Vidisa and live by his side, and on one day, after

1. The kings are —Puṣyamīṭra or Puspamīṭra (86 or 80), Agnimitra (80 or 78), Vasumīṭra (86), Suṣyāṭha (17 or 7), Bhadraka or Anṭaka or Andhraka or Udanka (10 or 80 or 2), Pulindaka or Pulinda (3 or 88), Ghoṣavasu or Ghoṣa (3), Vajcamīṭra (29, 14 or 7), Bhāgavatā (82), Devabhūti or Devahūti or Kṣemabhumi (10).

secretly disposing of her husband, the king seduced her in the disguise of her husband, and the poor girl who was most true and devoted to her husband, coming to know of the treachery practised by the king, at once gave up her life. On hearing the sad news of the fate of his fair daughter and of her innocent husband, Vasudeva contrived to send to the king a dancing woman, fully furnished with poison, dressed as one of the chief queens and had him killed by her hand. People hailed the death of their licentious king with joy, and made Vasudeva his upright minister, to take charge of the kingdom and rule the country henceforth with Pātaliputra as its capital.”

42. Vasudeva of the race of Kanya Maharsi thus came to the throne of Magadha and started the KANYA DYNASTY. There were four kings in all and they ruled for 85 years from 919 to 834 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Kaliyuga Rājavyāttānta says

एव स लोकविद्विष्ट देवहूति रहो निशि ।  
विषकन्यकया हत्वा वसुदेवो दिजोरम् ॥

मविष्यति समालिंशचब काणवायनो नृप ।  
भूमिमित्ततो मोक्षा चतुर्विष्टवित्सरान् ॥

मविता द्वादश समास्ततो नारायणो नृप ।  
सुशर्मा तत्सुतश्चापि मविष्यति समा दश ॥

चत्वार एते भूपाला कण्वगोत्रसमुद्गवा ।  
धर्मेण मोक्ष्यन्ति महीं पञ्चाशीतिन्तु वत्सरान् ॥

सेनाध्यक्षस्तु काणवाना यातवाहनवशज ।  
सिंहकसातिकर्णस्य शिषुको वृषलो बली ॥

समानीतै प्रतिष्ठानादान्त्रवंशयैः खसैनिकै ।  
काणवायन सुशर्माण निहस्य सामिन निजम् ॥

शुक्राना चैव यच्छेष क्षपयित्वा तदप्यसौ ।  
आन्त्रवशप्रतिष्ठाता मविष्यति ततो नृप ॥

43. The last two kings of Kanya dynasty were puppets in the hands of the commander-in-chief, Simhaka Svātkarna. He slew the last king Suśarma and ascended the throne of Magadha. He traced his lineage to King Śāṭavahana of Prajāsthāna and his dynasty was there-

1 Vasudeva (89 or 5), Bhūmīmūtra or Bhūmītra (14, 24 or 84), Nārāyaṇa (13), Suśarma (10 or 4)

fore called ANDHRAVAMSA. There were 32 kings of this dynasty who ruled for 506 years from 834 to 328 B C. The last of the kings was Puloman III.<sup>1</sup> The Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta gives the account.

44 In SRI GUPTA DYNASTY there were seven kings and they ruled for 245 years from 328 to 83 B C.<sup>2</sup>

The Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta given this account

शिष्मुक शातकर्णिस्तु यमाहुर्वलिन जना ।  
मोक्षयत्नंप्रमहीं राजा त्रयोविशेतिवत्सरान् ॥

कृष्णश्रीशातकर्णिस्तु भ्राता चाऽस्य महायथा ।  
अष्टादश समा राजा कण्वाख्येन भविष्यति ॥

श्रीमङ्गलशातकर्णिस्तु ततो भावी समा दश ।  
पूर्णोत्तमस्तु भविता वर्षाण्यष्टादशैव हि ॥

श्रीशातकर्णिर्भविता समा. पञ्चाशत च षट् ।  
स्कन्धस्तम्भी ततो राजा समा षष्ठादशैव तु ॥

दश चाऽष्टौ समा राजा भोक्ता लम्बोदरो महीय ।  
अपीतको दश द्वे च तस्य पुत्रो भविष्यति ॥

मेघलातिस्ततो भावि वर्षाण्यष्टादशैव च ।  
शातसातिस्ततो राजा समा षष्ठादशैव हि ॥

श्रीस्कन्धशातकर्णिस्तु सैव भविता समा ।  
मृगेन्द्रशातकर्णिश्च श्रीणि वर्षणि भोक्ष्यति ॥

कुन्तल शातकर्णिस्तु भविताऽष्टौ समा नृप ।  
तथा सौम्य शातकर्णिर्भविता द्वादशैव तु ॥

1 Simhaka Śri Śatakarṇi or Śomuka (28), Kṛṣṇa (18), Śrimalla (10, 18 or 56), Purṇotsanga (18), Śrīśājakarṇi (56 or 40), Skandhaśambhu (18), Lambodara (18), Apiṭaka or Aplaka or Vikāla (19), Meghasvāṭi or Sanghasvāṭi or Sauḍikṣa (18), Śatasvāṭi or Svāṭi (18), Skandhasvāṭikarṇa or Skanḍasatākarni (7), Mṛgendra (8), Kunḍala (8), Saumya or Puṣpasena (12), Śāṭa or Svāṭikarṇa (1), Puloma or Pulomāvi (86 or 24); Megha or Meghasvāṭi (88), Ariṣṭa (25), Hāla (8), Mandalaka or Bhāvaka or Pulaka or Tulaka (5), Purindrasena or Purikasena or Pulindasena or Pravilla (1); Cakora (5 months), Mahendra (8 months or 8 years), Śiva or Śivasesvāṭi (28), Gauḍamīpuṭa (51 or 25), Puloman II (82 or 28), Śivāṭi (7), Śivaskanda (7), Yagnāṭri (19), Vijayāṭri (6), Candradāṭri (8), Puloman III (7). See para 198 post.

2 Candragupta I or Vijayāditya (7), Samudragupta or Aśokāditya (51), Candragupta II, Vikramāditya (88 or 86), Kumāragupta (42), Skandagupta (25), Narasimha-gupta (40), Kumāragupta II (44).

एक सवत्सर शातः शात मर्जीर्भविष्यति ।  
 पुलोमशातकर्णिश्च षट्क्रिंशद्विता समाः ॥  
 अष्टात्रिशत् समा मेघशातकर्णि र्भविष्यति ।  
 अरिष्टशातकर्णिश्च पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ॥  
 यमेवाऽङ्गु नैभिकृष्णभितिहासविचक्षणाः ।  
 ततो हालो महामागः कविकल्पामरहुम् ॥  
 शासिष्यति मर्हीं पञ्च वर्षाणि सुमहायदा ।  
 ततो मण्डलको राजा मविता पञ्च वै समा ॥  
 पुरीन्द्रसेनो भविता समा. सोऽप्येकविंशति भ् ।  
 सुन्दरं शातकर्णिस्तु वर्षमेक भविष्यति ॥  
 चकोरशातकर्णिश्च षण्मासान् भोक्षयते मर्हीम् ।  
 वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना यः प्रख्याति भुवि यस्याति ॥  
 महेन्द्रशातकर्णिस्तु वीन् मासान् भोक्षयते तत ।  
 अष्टाविंशति वर्षाणि शकसेनो भविष्यति ।  
 यमाहुर्मार्घरीपुत्रं शिवस्त्राति महाजनाः ॥  
 श्रीशातकर्णिर्भविता पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ।  
 गौतमीपुत्रनाम्ना तु यो वै ख्याति गमिष्यति ॥  
 पुलोमश्रीशातकर्णि द्वात्रिशद्विता समा ।  
 वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना तु शा नेषु य उच्यते ॥  
 शिवश्रीशातकर्णिश्च तस्य आता महामति ।  
 भविष्यति समा राजा ससैव हि कलौ युगे ॥  
 शिवस्कन्दः शातकर्णिस्तिसो भावी ततः समाः ॥  
 यज्ञश्रीशातकर्णिश्च गौतमीपुत्रनामकः ।  
 एकोनविंशति राजा भविष्यति समा भुवि ॥  
 विजयश्रीशातकर्णिः षडेव भविता समा ।  
 चन्द्रश्रीशातकर्णिस्तु त्रीणि वर्षाणि भोक्षयति ।  
 वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना तु ख्यातो यश्च भविष्यति ॥  
 पुलोमाऽपि तथा चाऽन्यः समाः सप्त भविष्यति  
 षटोत्क्षस्य पुत्रेण चन्द्रगुसेन पालितः ॥

एते द्वात्रिंशदान्प्रास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधामिमाम् ।  
 शतानि पञ्च पूर्णानि तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ॥  
 तेषां तु संस्थिते राज्ये भूमिर्गुप्तान् गमिष्यति ।  
 श्रीपार्वतीयान्प्रभृता इत्याख्यां यान्ति ये नृपाः ॥  
 अन्प्राणमेव काले तु वहवो म्लेच्छवंशजाः ।  
 सिन्धु तीर्त्वा भूमियास्थन्ति मारतश्रीजिवृक्षया ॥  
 सप्तशृङ्गं समा भाव्या दशाऽप्सीरा महोजसः ।  
 द्विसप्ततिं गर्दभिनः सप्तवाऽप्सुरयोनय ॥  
 शतानि श्रीण्यशीति च शकास्त्वष्टादशैव तु ।  
 सप्तशीति समा द्वाष्टौ मोक्तारो यवना महीष ॥  
 शतानि श्रीणि भोक्ष्यन्तिद्वृणा श्वैकादशाञ्च वै ।  
 त्रयोदशं भविष्यन्ति मरण्डा द्वे शते समा ॥  
 पञ्चवर्षशतानीह तुषाराख्याश्चतुर्दश ।  
 पार्थिवैर्वृष्टलैः सार्धं भविष्यन्ति विदेशजाः ॥  
 तैरेव साकं गुप्तानां राज्य सर्वं विनष्ट्यति ।  
 ततः प्रदृति भूरेषा म्लेच्छाकान्ता भविष्यति ॥

Thus, these 32 kings of the Āndhra Dynasty reigned for a total period of 506 years, although in summing up their total period of reigns, it states in round figures that they ruled for full 500 years (instead of 506 years); and their kingdom passed into the hands of Candra-gupta, son of Ghaṭṭikaca Gupta and grandson of Śrī Gupta, who appears to have come from Śrī Parvata or Nepāl and originally entered the service of Vijayaśrī Śāṭakarṇi as one of his generals and with whose help he managed to maintain his tottering kingdom,

**45** Before proceeding to consider the merits of Purānic history as reviewed by orientalists a brief statement of the cosmogonic and political calculations of time adopted in India may be useful.

"According to the Purānas, 360 lunar Samvatsaras or human years constitute one divine year, Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali—a cycle of these four Yugas and their Sandhyās and Sandhyāmsas, consisting of 12000 divine years or 4,320,000 human years, constitutes one Mahāyuga. 1000 Mahāyugas constitute one Day of Brahmā or one *Kalpa*. An equal period of time (viz.,  $1000 \times 4,320,000 = 4,320,000,000$  human years) is also reckoned as one Night of Brahmā. 30 such days and nights make a month of Brahmā, and 12 such months his year, and 100 such years make the full period of Brahmā's life. The two halves of Brahmā's age are respectively called Pūrva-Parārdha and Uttara-Parārdha. The 1st or the Prathama-Parārdha has expired, the second or the Dvitiya-Parārdha has commenced with our present or Varāha-Kalpa. At the beginning of the first Parārdha was Brāhma-Kalpa, when Brahmā or the present Kosmos was born. At the end of the first Parārdha was Pādma-Kalpa, when the Loka-Padma (the Lotus of Lōkas) appeared at the navel of Hari. The first Kalpa of the Dvitiya-Parārdha which is the present Kalpa is called Varāha Kalpa, when Hari incarnated as Varaha or the Wonderful Boar. We are now in the 1st day of the fifty-first year of Brahmadeva, called Sveta, and each of the days of the month of Brahmā bore a different name, like (1) Sveta, (2) Nilalohita, (3) Vāmadeva, (4) Rathantara, (5) Raurava, and so on. So the present Kalpa called the "Sveta-Varāha-Kalpa" forms the 18001st Kalpa of the Brahmā, a day and night of Brahma being calculated here as one Kalpa."

14 Manus reign during the day of Brahmā, each Manu reigning for  $71\frac{1}{2}$  Mahāyugas. Each Manvantara, therefore, consists of 857, 142½ divine years or 337, 142, 657½ human or lunar years. With every day and night the age of Brahmā declines. The present Manvantara is the seventh Manvantara of Varāha-Kalpa, the first six Manvantaras having already elapsed. The first six Manvantaras are known after the name of the respective Manus, as (1) Svāyambhuva, (2) Svārōchisha, (3) Auitama, (4) Tāmasa, (5) Raivata and (6) Chākshusha, and the present or the seventh Manvantara is called Varvasvata Manvantara. The present Kali-Yuga is the fourth or the last quarter of the 28th Mahāyuga of this Vaivasvata Manvantara, and 5018 years of this Kali Yuga have expired by the 13th day of April 1917."

Kali-Yuga, begins from the year 3102 B C., the year 1, expired or completed, being 3101 B C. The four Yugas, or Ages, which comprise one Mahāyuga, have the following periods —

Kṛta-Yuga	...	1,728,000	360	4800 years of Gods.
Tretā-Yuga	.	1,296,000	360	3600 "
Dwāpara-Yuga	..	864,000	360	2400 "
Kali-Yuga	.	432,000	360	1200 "
<hr/>				
One Mahā-Yuga ..		4,320,000	360	12000 years of Gods

The Kali Age is said to embrace Six Śakas. Thus it is said in *Pancāṅga-Sarapī* —

आस्मिन् कलियुगे षट्शका वर्तन्ते—

युधिष्ठिरो विक्रम-शालिवाहनौ ततो नृपस्यादिजयाभिनन्दन !

ततोस्तु नागार्जुनमूपति· कलि· कलौ युगे षट् शककालवर्धका. ॥

एतेषां प्रमाणान्वदाः—

ऋग्मे वेदाऽयुधिष्ठिरन्यरामा. (3044)

चतुरभिचन्द्रा (135) सप्तसाहिष्मय. (1800)

ततोऽयुत (10000) लक्षचतुष्टयं च (400000)

शशाङ्कोत्ताप्त (821) गिताः शकान्वदा. ॥

"In the Kali-age there are six founders of eras. First there was Yudhishtira in Indraprastha, whose era lasted for 3044 years. The second was Vikrama at Ujjayani, whose era had run for 135 years. The third was Salivahana at Pratisthana. Here the era of Yudhishtira is made the same as that of the Kaliyuga, which also dates from 3044 years before the era of Vikrama. The Yudhishtira era also is obtained by adding 3179 to the Saka year, (i.e., the Saka begins with the 3180th year of the Yudhishtira era) and "by adding 3044 to the Vikrama Samvat which, in its turn, is got by adding 135 to the Saka date"\*\*

46 **Vikrama or Samvat Era** began in 56 B C "A Hindu legend tells us that a celebrated king Vikrama or Vikramaditya of Ujjain, in Malwa, began to reign in that year, and founded the era, which, in that view, runs form the commencement of his reign. Another version of it asserts that he died in that year, and that the reckoning runs from his

1 See T V Srinivasa Iiyangar, *The Present Kaliyuga*, JOR, III, 225.

2. See S. P L Narasimhaswami, IA, XL 162 and R. R. Bhagwat, JRAS, XX, 150.

death It is common to both the Digambaras and the Svetambaras And the GATHAS or Prakrit verses, upon which the earlier portions of some of the Jain PATTAVALIS or successions of the pontiffs are based, pretend to put forward such details about Vikramaditya as that "for eight years he played as a child for sixteen he roamed over the country , for fifty-six"—(? fifteen)—"he exercised rule, being given over to false doctrine , for fifty years he was devoted to the religion of the Jina and then obtained heaven," An addition to the legend connects Vikramaditya with some foreign invaders of India who were called Sakas , and this, again, appears in two versions , one version represents him as regaining the kingdom of Ujjain after the Saka kings and dispossessed his father and had reigned there for four years prior to B C. 57 , and the other, as reported by Alberuni in the eleventh century A.D.,—brings the Sakas on the scene a hundred and thirty-five years later, and asserts that Vikramaditya marched against the Saka king, and put him to flight and killed him " in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni," and that in celebration of this, there was established the Saka era commencing A.D 78 And another addition asserts that at the court of Vikramaditya there flourished "the Nine Gems," namely, the poet Kalidasa, the astronomer Varahamihira, the lexicographer Amarasimha, and the various authors Dhanvantari, Ghatakapara, Kshapanaka, Sanku, Vararuchi and Vetalabhatta "<sup>1</sup>

47. **Salivahana-Saka**, is "the Śaka or era of Śālivāhana," the Śaka or era of the glorious and victorious king Śālivāhana, the year of the Śaka or era established by Śālivāhana And the popular belief, in that the Śaka era was founded by a king Śālivāhana reigning in A.D 78 at Pratishṭhāna, which is the present Paithan on the Gōdāvari, in the Nizam's territory "<sup>2</sup>

1. J. F. Fleet, *I.A.*, XXX. 1, *JRAS*, (1916), 809.

" See Professor Keilhorn's examination of this question in the *Int. Ant.* vol. 20 (1891), p. 404 ff. His earliest instance of the word *vikrama* being used in connection with the era, in a not quite clear sense, namely, in the expression *vikramākhyā kāla*, "the time called *vikrama*," is one of the year 998, in A.D. 842, from an inscription at Dholpur (p. 406 No. 10). His earliest instance of the era being plainly attributed to a king Vikrama was a literary one of the year 1050, in A.D. 998 (*Ibid.* No 40) An earlier instance is known now from the Eklingji inscription, which is dated in the year 1028 of king Vikramaditya in A.D. 971. *JRAS*, vol. 22, p. 166."

2. J. F. Fleet, *JRAS* (1916), 809.

" The exact expression Śālivāhana Śaka is mostly confined to dates recorded in prose. In dates in verse, other ways of introducing the name Śālivāhan, were follow-

Sakakāla, Śalābda or Saka era commenced thus in 78 A D It is either "the Era of the Śaka king Kanishka, who conquered Kashmir and Western India in the 1st century after Christ" or the era of the defeat of the Sakas by a Hindu king

"The astronomer, Varahamihira who lived in the sixth century A D cited the Saka Era as the Saka Bhupa Kala or Sakendra Kala, i.e., the Era of the Saka king His commentator explains this as the Era when the barbarians called Sakas "were discomfited by Vikramaditya. Again, the astronomer Brahmagupta, who flourished in the seventh century A.D., cites the Era as Saka Nirpante, i.e., after the Saka king. His commentator explains this as after the reign of Vikramaditya, who slew a people of Barbarians called Sakas"<sup>1</sup>

[“Manu says (Ch X, 144-145) that the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambhojas, Paradas and Pahlavas were originally Kshatriyas, but became outcastes by neglecting their Vedic duties, etc. The Mahabharata (Adiparvan, Ch. 85) speaks of these tribes as descendants of Kshatriyas and as having taken part in the Great War between the Pandavas and Kauravas. The Ramayana of Valmiki (Balakanda, Sarga 55) mentions them among the tribes who fought during the war of Visvamitra with Vasishtha. The Gautama Dharma Sutra (Ch IV, 21) speaks of the Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as a Pratiloma caste of the Aryas. It is stated in the Padma Purana (Svarga-khanda, Ch 15) that the Sakas etc., were driven out by king Sagara, a descendant of Ikshvaku, to the countries beyond the borders of India, after getting their heads etc., shaved under the advice of Vasishtha, although they were Kshatriyas. The Vishnu Purana (Amsa II, Ch. 3) describes the Yavanas as living in the west, the Sakas in the north-west, the Kiratas in the east, and the four Indian castes in the middle of India during the time of the Great War. The Matsya Purana also refers to Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as degraded

---

ed, and the shorter form Śalivāha was sometimes used, to suit the metre. see e.g., Professor Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India in *H. Ind.* vol. 7, appendix, Nos 465, 475, 508, 519, 1004, 1005 This clipped form is also found occasionally in prose see, e.g., *Ibid.*, No 527 Compare Satavāha as the shorter form of Satavāhana<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Colebrooke's Algebra, etc., from the Sanscrit, p xlvi, London

See on this era, Dutt's *Civ* I 21, Fleet, *Traditional Date of Kanishka*, *JRAS*, (1906), 986, J H Marshall, *Date of Kanishka*, *JRAS* (1905), 182.

Aryan tribes living on the frontiers of Bharata Varsha Panini refers in his Ashtadhyayi (II 2-84) to Sakas and Yavanas and requires शक् to be placed before य॒न्, and Panini even according to Western Orientalists lived long before the time of Alexander the Great The Sakas, therefore, could under no circumstances, be identified with any foreign tribes that invaded India after Alexander's time ”]

**48 Harsa Era** of Nepal began in 457 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and that is the date that is referred to in Nepālavamsāvalī.<sup>2</sup>

**Cedi or Kalacuri Era** began in 249 A.D

**Hamsa Samvat or Era of Harsavardhana** began in 606 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

**Valabhi Era** began in 319 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

**49 Brhaspaticakra or Jovian cycle of sixty years** “The Hindu Cycle of 60 years, technically known as the Brihaspati Chakra or Cycle of Jupiter,” begins with the year Prabhava and ends with the year Kshaya (60)

“In Northern India a year of the Jovian cycle is omitted once on an average of 85 5/22 years, or 22 in 1875 years, hence it has advanced on the southern system by 11 in about 950 years The year of the cycle in Northern India is found by multiplying the Saka year by 22 adding 4291 and dividing the sum by 1875, then adding the Saka date to the integral of the quotient, and dividing by 60 , the remainder is the year of the cycle Thus, for Saka 1772 the first operation gives 23 and a remainder of 260, then 1772+23 divided by 60 gives as a remainder the 55th year of the cycle or Durmati current If the Kaliyuga year is used, the usual rule is to multiply it by 1.0117, and to the integers of the product add 26 and divide the sum by 60 as before ”

**50. Kollam or Malabar Era** began in 25th August 825 A.D on the sun's entry into Kanyā according to the Chronogram,

आ	चा	र्य	वा	ग	मे	षा
0	6	1	4	3	4	1

1 See Alberuni's India (Sachou's Transl II, xl ix 7) and Bhagwanlal Indrajī's Nepāla-Vamśāvalī in IA, XIII, 411-28

2 IA, XLII, 207; XVII, 224, XVIII, 265.

3 IA, XV, 105, 188,

4 From Senapati Bhattarka. See Mys. Arch. Rep (1928), and IA, I, 45, IV, 104, 174, V, 204, 206, XV, 187 post. For Gupta-Valabhi Era, see IA, XIV, 9,

By that day 1434160 days of Kali had expired. This is current in north Malayalam, but in Travancore and Cochin, the year begins on sun's entry into Simha.

"The chief difference between the northern and southern systems is, that if the sun enters a sign of the zodiac during the day time, that day is reckoned in the northern calender as the first day of the month corresponding to that sign, whereas in the south the sun must have entered the sign within the first 3 of the 5 parts into which the day is divided, otherwise the day next is reckoned the first of the month."

"The ANDU year obtains in the Malayalam Country and in the Tinnevelly District. In the former, they are known as Kollam Andu and in the latter merely as Andu. The Andu commences in the South Malayalam Country (Travancore and Cochin) and in the Tinnevelly District with Chungan (Avani), i.e., on the first day of the fifth month of the Solar Calender (Tamil), and in the North-Malayalam country (British Malabar) with Kannu, i.e., on the first day of the sixth month of the same Calender. The Andu year is thus not synchronous with the Cyclic, Kali or Saka year. Andu years would appear to have been originally reckoned in Cycles of 1,000 years each, and the second of them is stated to have expired in 825 A.D. However this may be, the current Cycle, which was begun in 825 A.D., has now been carried beyond the limit of 1,000 years, and it may be that this was done in ignorance of the above convention, if any such had existed."

**51 Chronograms.** A number of devices have been adopted in Hindu Works for expressing the number of years, an expression by chronograms. They were either expressed by significant words, words which denote their own number as the equivalent or by the use of letters on an algebraical formula.

"The first complete list is that given by Alberuni (A.D. 1031), the following is from his list, as translated by Woepcke supplemented from Brown's "Cyclic Tables" and Inscriptions. As no limits can be placed to a fanciful practice like this, I cannot give this list as complete list.

Cipher . Sunya, kha, gagana, viyat, akasa, ambara, abhra, ananta; vyoma.

1 .. Adi, sasini, indu, kshiti, urvara, dhara, pitamaha; chandra, sitamsu, rupa, rasmi, prithivi, bhu, tanu, soma, nayaka; vasudha; sasanka, kshma, dharani.

2 Yama , Asvin , ravichandrau , lochana , akshi , Das  
yamala , paksha , netra , bahu , karna , kutumba , kara , drishti

3 Trikala , trijagat , tri , triguna , loka , trigata , pavak  
vaisvanara , dhana , tapana , hutasana , jvalana , agni , vahni , tri  
chena , trinetra , Rama , sahodara , sikhin , guna

4 . Veda , samudra , sagara , abdhi , dadhi , dis , jalasay  
krita , jalanidhi , yuga , bandhu , udadhi

5 Sara , artha , indriya , sayaka , bana , bhuta , ishu , Pa  
dava , tata , ratna , prana , sutra , putra , visikha , kalamba , margana.

6 Rasa , anga , ritu , masaruddha , raga , ari , darsana , tark  
mata , sastra.

7 .. Aga , naga , parvata , mahidhara , adri , muni , rishi , as  
svara , chhandas , asva , dhatu , kalatra , saila.

8 Vasu , ahi ; gaja , dantin , mangala ; naga , bhuti , ibha  
sarpa.

9. . Go ; nanda , randhra , chhidra , pavana ; antara , graha  
anka ; nadhi , dvara.

10. .. Dis , asa , kondu , ravanasura ; avatara , karma

11. .... ..Rudra , svara , Mahadeva ; akshauhini , labha.

12 ... ....Surya , arka , aditya , bhanu , masa ; vyaya.

13 ..... Visva , Manmatha , Kamadeva.

14... . . Manu , Loka , Indra

15. . ..Tithi , pakshi ; aban.

16 .....Ashti , nripa , bhupa , kala

17. .... .Atyashhti

18.... .. Dhriti

19... ...Atidhriti.

20 ..... .. Nakha , krti.

21 .. . ...Utkrti , avarga.

22 ... .... Jati,

24 . . Jina

25 .. Tattva

Alberuni (1081 A D ) says that numbers beyond twenty-five were  
noted in this way The following, however, occur but in late docu-  
ments only

27.....Nakshatra.

32 . . . Danta, Rada

33 . . Deva

40 . . Tana.

The list might be made much more extensive, as it is obvious that any synonyms of any word that can be used to signify a number can be used, e.g., any word signifying 'moon' besides those mentioned as equivalent to 1, may be used for the same purpose, and so with the others. The ordinary numbered words are commonly mixed with the words given above.

In making numbers of this system units are mentioned first and then the higher orders, e.g., Rishinagakhendusamvatsara is year 1087 gaganasastrakhenduganita samvatsara is equal to 1063, dahana-dri-khenduganita samvastara is equal to 1073. It appears, however, that occasionally in recent inscriptions the words are put in the same order as the figures are written."

The algebraical formulæ are —

- i. कादिनव | क (1) | ल (2) and so on to ल (9)
- ii. आदिनव | ए (1) | ठ (2) and so on to ठ (9)
- iii. पादिपञ्च | प (1) | फ (2) and so on to म (5)
- iv गाथष्टै | य (1) | र (2) and so on to ह (8)

The order of the letters is from right to left, in conjunct letters, the last pronounced consonant only counts value and vowels have no value. Thus विष्णु mean 54 an धर्मोनष्ट means 1059<sup>1</sup>.

**52. Santracottus** It was Sir William Jones, the Founder and President of the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiry into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia, who died on 27th April 1794, that suggested for the first time an *identification* to the notice of scholars. In his 'Tenth Anniversary Discourse' delivered by him on 28th February 1793 on "Asiatic History, Civil and Natural," referred to the so-called *discovery* by him of the identity of Candragupta, the Founder of the Maurya Dynasty of the Kings Magadha, with Sandracottus of the Greek writers of Alexander's adventures, thus

"The Jurisprudence of the Hindus and Arabs being the field, which I have chosen for my peculiar toil, you cannot expect, that I should greatly enlarge your collection of historical knowledge, but I

---

1. See IA, II, 361

may be able to offer you some occasional tribute, and I cannot help mentioning a *discovery* which accident threw in my way, though my proofs must be reserved for an essay, which I have destined for the fourth volume of your Transactions. To fix the situation of that Pālbothra, (for there may have been several of the name) which was visited and described by Megasthenes, had always appeared a very difficult problem, for, though it could not have been *Prayāga* where no ancient metropolis ever stood, nor *Cānyacubja* which has no epithet at all resembling the word used by the Greeks, nor *Gaur*, otherwise called *Lachmanavati*, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was *Pātaliputra*, though names and most circumstances nearly correspond, because that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the *Sone* and the *Ganges* to the site of Patna, while *Pālbothra* stood at the junction of the *Ganges* and *Erranaboa*, which the accurate M D'Anville had pronounced to be "Yamunā", but this only difficulty was removed when I found in a Classical Sanskrit book near two thousand years old, that *Hrānyabāhu* or golden-armed, which the Greeks changed to Erranaboa, or the river with a lovely murmur, was in fact another name for the *Sona* itself, though Megasthenes from ignorance or inattention, has named them separately<sup>2</sup>. This discovery led to another of greater moment, for Chandragupta, who, from a military adventurer, became like Sandracottus, the sovereign of Upper Hindustan, actually fixed the seat of his empire at *Pātaliputra*, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes, and was no other than that very Sandracottus who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator, so that we have solved another problem to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers consider the twelve and three hundredth years before Christ as two certain epochs between Rāma who conquered *Sīlān* a few centuries after the flood, and Viçramāditya who died at Ujjayini fifty-seven years before the beginning of our era."

53 The passage regarding Candragupta's date is found in Justinius, *Epitoma Pompei Trogii*, xv 4 and Mr. McCrindle translated it as follows<sup>3</sup>

"[Seleucus] carried on many wars in the East after the division of the Macedonian kingdom between himself and the other successor of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing the Bactrians, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into

---

1. *Asiatic Researches*, IV. 10-11.

2. Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), I. 426.

India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed his prefects, thinking that the yoke of slavery had been shaken off from its neck. The author of its freedom had been Sandrocottus, but when victory was gained he had changed the name of freedom to that of bondage. For, after he had ascended the throne, he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion. Though of humble birth, he was impelled by innate majesty to assume royal power. When king Nandrus,<sup>1</sup> whom he had offended by his boldness, ordered him to be killed, he had resorted to speedy flight.

Sandrocottus, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonus<sup>2</sup>

The same transactions are referred to by Appianus

"[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcoitus king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him"

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Chandragupta a tract of land to the west of the Indus and received in exchange five hundred elephants.<sup>3</sup>

The inference drawn is this Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B C 312-280), "arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsos]. The march from India to there must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter."<sup>4</sup> We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.<sup>5</sup>

It follows from these statements that Chandragupta ascended the throne between Alexander's death (B C 323) and the treaty with Seleucus (B C 304).

54 Earlier in the same discourse Sir William had mentioned his authorities for the statement that Candragupta became sovereign of upper Hindusthan, with his Capital at Pataliputra. "A most beautiful

1 McCrindle's translation, 114.

2 V A Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p 150 f., Krom, *Hermes*, 44 164 ff

3 Baloch's *Griech, Gesch*, 8, 1 146, n 8

4 Schwanbeck, *Megasthenes Indica* (Bonn. 1876), p 19, C Muller, *Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum*, vol ii (Paris 1848), p. 898, McCrindle, *Id*, VI 115

poem" said he "by Somadeva, comprising a long chain of instructive and agreeable stories, begins with the famed revolution at Pataliputra by the murder of king Nanda with his eight sons, and the usurpation of Chandragupta, and the same revolution is the subject of a tragedy in Sanskrit entitled 'The Coronation of Chandra'."<sup>1</sup> Thus he claimed to have identified *Palibothra* with *Pataliputra* and *Sandrokottus* with Candragupta, and to have determined 300 B C "in round numbers" as a certain epoch between two others which he called the conquest of *Silan* by Rāma "1200 B C" and the death of Vikramāditya at Ujjain in 57 B C.

In the Discourse referred to, Sir William barely stated his discovery, adding "that his proofs must be reserved" for a subsequent essay, but he died before that essay could appear.

55 The theme was taken immediately by Col. Wilford in Volume V of the Asiatic Researches. Wilford entered into a long and fanciful disquisition on *Palibothra*, and rejected Sir William's identification of it with *Pataliputra*, but he accepted the identification of *Sandrocottus* with Candragupta in the following words—"Sir William Jones from a poem written by Somadeva and a tragedy called the Coronation of Chandra or Chandragupta discovered that he really was the Indian king mentioned by the historians of Alexander under the name of Sandrocottus. These poems I have not been able to procure, but I have found another dramatic piece entitled *Mudra-Rakshasa*,<sup>2</sup> which is divided into two parts, the first may be called the Coronation of Chandra".

Wilson further amended the incorrect authorities relied on by Sir William Jones, and said in his Preface to *Mudra-Rakshasa*,<sup>3</sup> that by Sir William's "a beautiful poem by Somadeva" was "doubtless meant the large collection of tales by *Somabhatta* the *Vrihat-katha*".

1. Ibid 6.

1. This spelling shows that Wilford saw not the Sanskrit drama but some vernacular visions of it.

2. Asiatic Researches, V 262 Wilford wrongly names the author of the drama as *Amanta* (or *Ananta*).

3. Theatre of the Hindus, Vol II.

4. Wilson again is not quite correct in his Bibliography. Somadeva's large collection of tales is entitled *Kathasarit sagara* and is an adaptation into Sanskrit verse of an original work in the Pali language called *Brihat-Kaṭha*, composed by one *Gupādhya*.

56. Max Muller then elaborated the discovery of this identity in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature. To him this identity was a settled incontrovertible fact. On the path of further research, he examined the chronology of the Buddhists according to the Northern or the Chinese and the Southern or the Ceylonese traditions, and summed this up "Everything in Indian Chronology depends upon the date of Chandragupta. Chandragupta was the grand-father of Asoka, and the contemporary of Selukus Nikator. Now, according to the Chinese chronology, Asoka would have lived, to waive the minor differences, 350 or 750 B.C., according to Ceylonese Chronology, 315 B.C. Either of these dates is impossible because it does not agree with the chronology of Greece" '*Everything in Indian Chronology depends upon the date of Chandragupta*' is the declaration. How is that date to be fixed? The Puranic accounts were of course beneath notice. The Buddhist chronologies were conflicting, and must be ignored. The Greek synchronism comes to his rescue "There is but one means by which the history of India can be connected with that of Greece, and its chronology must be reduced to its proper limits," that is, by the clue afforded by "the name of Sandracottus or Sandrocyptus, the Sanskrit Chandragupta."

From classical writers—Justin, Arrian, Diadorus Siculus, Strabo, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch—a formidable array all of whom however borrowed their account from practically the same sources—he puts together the various statements concerning Sandracottus, and tries to show that they all tally with the statements made by Indian writers about the Maurya king Candragupta "The resemblance of this name" says he "with the name of Sandracottus or Sandrocyptus was first, I believe, pointed out by Sir William Jones. Wilford, Wilson, and Professor Lassen have afterwards added further evidence in confirmation of Sir W. Jones's conjecture, and although other scholars, and particularly M. Troyer in his edition of the *Rajatarangini*, have raised objections, we shall see that the evidence in favour of the identity of Chandragupta and Sandracottus or Sandrocyptus is such as to admit of no reasonable doubt." Max Muller only repeats that the Greek accounts of Sandracottus and the Indian accounts of Chandragupta agree in the main, both speaking of a usurper who either was base-born himself or else overthrew a base-born predecessor, and that this essential agreement would hold whether the various names used by Greek writers—Xandrames, Andramas, Aggraman, Sandracottus and Sandrocyptus—should be made to refer to two kings, the overthrown and the overruler,

or all to one namely the overthrowner himself, though personally he is inclined to the view that the first three variations refer to the overthrown, and the last two to the overthrowner. He explains away the difficulty in identifying the sites of Pahbothra and Pataliputra geographically by "a change in the bed of the river Sone." He passes over the apparent differences in detail between the Greek statements on the one hand and the Hindu and Buddhist versions on the other quite summarily, declaring that Buddhist fables were invented to exalt, and the Brahmanic fables to lower Chandragupta's descent! Lastly with respect to chronology the Brahmanic is altogether ignored, and the Buddhist is "reduced to its proper limits" that is, pulled down to fit in with Greek chronology.

**57 Priyadasi** Next came inscriptions of Priyadasi.<sup>1</sup> These edicts published in the tenth and twelfth years of Asoka's reign (253 and 251 B C) are found in distinct places in the extreme East and West of India. As revealed in these engraved records, the spoken dialect was essentially the same throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Vindhya and Himalayas and between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges. The language appears in three varieties, which may be named the *Punjabi*, the *Ujjaini* and the *Magadhi*. These may point to a transitional stage between Sanskrit and Pali. "The language of the inscriptions," says Princep "although necessarily that of their date and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been the spoken language of the people of Upper India than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although incompatible with their Buddhistic origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from a peculiar form of religious belief."

Asoka's name does not occur in these inscriptions, but that these purport to emanate from a king who gives his formal title in various Prakrit forms of which the Sanskrit would be DEVANAMPRIYAH Priya-

1. The Edicts are edited in *IA*, 6, 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 22, 34, 37, 38. On the Edicts, see *IA*, XIII 804, XX 1, 85, 229, XXXV 230 XXXIV 246, XXXVIII 151, XLVII, 48.

Also, D R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, Calcutta, V A Smith, *Asoka*, Oxford, F W. Thomas, *Les Vassalli de Asoka*, *JA*, (1910), E Hultzsch, *Date of Asoka*, *JRAS*, (1914) 948. H H Wilson, *Identity of Asoka*, *JRAS*, (o s), XXII, 177 248, (1901) 827 858, V. A Smith, *Authorship of Piyadasi inscriptions*, *JRAS*, (1901), 485; *Asokavadana*, *JRAS*, [1901] 545, Bindusara, *JRAS*, (1901), 384.

darsi raja. It was James Prinsep that first ascribed Asoka's edicts to Devanāmpiya-Tissa of Ceylon<sup>1</sup>. The discovery of the Nagajuna Hill cave-inscriptions of Sashalata Devānāmpiya, whom he at once identified with Dasaratha, the grandson of the Maurya king Asoka and the fact that Turnour had found Piyadassi or Piyadassana used as a surname of Asoka in the Dipavamśa, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify Devanampiya Priyadarshana with Asoka himself.

In February 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock edict, Girnar version of it (l. 3) the words *Am̄tiyako Yonarājā* and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Am̄tiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with Antiochus III of Syria.<sup>2</sup> In March 1838, he discovered in the Girnar edict viii (l. 8), the names of Turamāya, Amukona,<sup>3</sup> and Magā, whom he most ingeniously identified with Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (?) and Magas of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory and now referred the name Antiyoka to Antiochus I or II of Syria, preferably the former.

On the Girnar rock the name of a fifth king who was mentioned after Magā is lost. The Shāhbāzgāhi version calls him Alikasundara E. Norris recognized that this name corresponds to the Greek Αλέξανδρος, and suggested hesitatingly that Alexander of Epirus, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.<sup>4</sup> This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,<sup>5</sup> Lassen,<sup>6</sup> and Senart.<sup>7</sup> But Professor Beloch thinks that Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus, had a better claim.<sup>8</sup>

"The mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of Devānāmpiya Priyadarshi," says E. Hultzsch, "confirms in a general

1. E. Hultzsch, *Date of Asoka*, JRAS, (1914), 948

2. JASB, VII 156

3. In reality Girnar and Kālsi read *Am̄takn̄a*, Shāhbāzgāhi *Am̄tikn̄i*. Buhler (ZDMG, 40 187) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, though it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Elumenes, in B.C. 316, being then satrap of Susiana.

4. JRAS, (o.s.), 205

5. Zwei Abhandlungen, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1869), p. 190 f.

6. Ind. Alt., 268 ff

7. IA, XX. 242

8. Griech. Gesch., 3, 2, 105.

way the corrections of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned BC 280-261, his son Antiochus II Theos 261-246, Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt 285-247, Antigonus Gonates of Macedonia 276-239, Magas of Cyrene c 300—c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272—c 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252—c 244”

**58** This identification of Sandrocottus with Candragupta Maurya furnished a very certain starting point in investigating what appeared to be such a huge field of uncertainties as Indian Chronology. Thus, according to Buddhist traditions, it is said, Buddha died 162 years before Candragupta. Max Muller supposes that “Chandragupta became king about 315 B C , and so he places the death of Buddha 162 plus 315 or 477 B C . Or again 32 years after Chandragupta, Asoka is said to have become king, that is 315—52 or 263 B C , and his “inauguration” is said to have taken place in 259 B C . At the time of Asoka’s inauguration 218 years had elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha’s death.” Hence Buddha must have also died in 477 B C

**59** Thus came in the ANCHOR SHEET OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY. It fell to the glorious lot of Vincent E Smith to sponsor this hypothesis and instal it on a firmer pedestal. Glory is god-made and V. S Smith was destined for it.<sup>1</sup> He took the chronological identity so pre-mised by the predecessors in this historical hierarchy as the basis of further calculation of the exact dates of the different dynasties that ruled over Magadha before and after the Mauryas. He was able to invoke the aid of numismatics in addition to epigraphy. He could interpret the eras, particularly the Gupta era of the inscriptions and the legends on the coins, and discover a confirmation of the earlier opinions. He could not however get over, as if by compunction, the need to follow the Purāṇas in the enumeration of the kings and their dynasties, he took the dynasties and the succession of kings as they were, he did not call them fictitious. He had objection to the long

1 The reader may well be reminded of the famous address of Gopi to Sri Kṛṣṇa

उन्धा कोऽपि महीधरो लघुतरो दोभ्या धृतो लीलया  
तेन त्वं दिवि भूतले च सतत गोवर्धनो गीयसे ।  
त्वा त्रैलोक्यधर वहामि कुचयोरथे न तद्रूप्यते ।  
किं वा केशव भाषणेन बहुना पुण्यैर्यशो लभ्यते ॥

periods of years that these Purāṇas sometimes assigned to particular kings or dynasties. They were improbable and fanciful and so on their face unreliable! So he set out to sift the intervals of time and adjust the dates and periods on a rational basis, a basis that would quite convince the modern mind of a reasonable probability. The device of reduction of time is in short this

Where the Purāṇas have different readings the shortest number of years is adopted, where the Purāṇas give a long period to any reign, it is reduced to 20 years as the average ascertainable in royal histories elsewhere, where the Purāṇas give only brief terms of a few years or a few months, that is adopted as correct. The result of these reductions will be seen below —

	PURANAS	V. SMITH
Nandas	. 100 (1635-1535 B.C.)	45
Mauryas	... 316 (1535-1219 B.C.)	137
Sungas	... 300 (1219-919 B.C.)	112
Kanvas	... 85 (919-834 B.C.)	45
Āndhras	... 506 (834-328 B.C.)	289
Guptas	... 245 (328-83 B.C.)	149

Thus, according to Vincent Smith's *Candragupta* became king in 322 B.C., and Buddha died in 487 B.C., this allows 50 years for the *Nandas*, before *Candragupta*, and 250 years for the *Saisunagas* before the *Nandas*. And so he begins his *Early History* from about 602 B.C. Likewise, starting from 322 B.C., V. Smith allows 137 years for the Maurya Dynasty and places Sunga kings in 185-73 B.C. and Kanya kings in 73 to 28 B.C., and so on bringing the list down to Āndhras and Guptas. I extract the passage

"Although the discrepant traditional materials available do not permit the determination with accuracy of the chronology of the Saisunaga and Nanda dynasties, it is, I venture to think, possible to attain a tolerably close approximation to the truth, and to reconcile some of the traditions. The fixed point from which to reckon backwards is the year 322 B.C., the date for the succession of *Chandragupta Maurya*, which is certainly correct, with a possible error not exceeding three years. The second principal datum is the list of ten kings of the Saisunaga dynasty as given in the oldest historical entries in the Puranas, namely those in the MATSYA and the VAYU, the general correctness of which is confirmed by several lines of evidence, and the third is the probable date of the death of Buddha.

Although the fact that the Saisunaga dynasty consisted of ten kings may be admitted, neither the duration assigned by the Puranas to the dynasty as a whole, nor that allotted to certain reigns, can be accepted. Experience proves that in a long series an average of twenty-five years to a generation is rarely attained, and that this average is still more rarely exceeded in a series of reigns as distinguished from generations.

The English series of ten reigns from Charles II to Victoria, inclusive, 1649-1901 (reckoning the accession of Charles II from the death of his father in 1649), occupied 252 years, and included the two exceptionally long reigns of George III and Victoria, aggregating 124 years. *The resultant average, 25.2 years per reign, may be taken as the maximum possible, and consequently 252 years are the maximum allowable for the ten Saisunaga reigns.* The Puranic figures of 321 (MATSYA) and 332 (VAYU) years, obtained by adding together the durations of the several reigns may be rejected without hesitation as being incredible. The MATSYA account concludes with the statement, 'These will be the ten Saisunaga kings. The Saisunagas will endure 360 years, being kings with Kshatriya kinsfolk'. Mr Pargiter suggests that the figures '360' should be interpreted as '163'. If that interpretation be accepted the average length of reign would be only 16.3, and it would be difficult to make Buddha (died cir 487) contemporary with Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. It is more probable that the dynasty lasted for more than *two centuries*.

As stated in the text, the traditional periods assigned to the Nanda dynasty of either 100 or 150 years for two generations cannot be accepted. *A more reasonable period of fifty years may be provisionally assumed.* We thus get the 302 (252 plus 50) as the maximum admissible period for the Saisunaga and Nanda dynasties combined, and, reckoning backwards from the fixed point, 322 B.C., The Year 624 B.C., is found to be the earliest possible date for Sisunaga, the first king. But of course the true date may be, and probably is, somewhat later, because it is extremely unlikely that twelve reigns (ten Saisunaga and two Nanda) should have attained an average of 25.16 years.

The reigns of the fifth and sixth kings, Bimbisara or Srenika, and Ajatasatru or Kunika, were well remembered owing to the wars and events in religious history which marked them. We may therefore assume that the lengths of those reigns were known more or less accu-

rately, and are justified in accepting the concurrent testimony of the VAYU and MATSYA Puranas, that Bimbisara reigned for twenty-eight years

Ajatasatru is assigned twenty-five or twenty-seven years by different Puranas, and thirty-two years by Tibetan and Ceylonese Buddhist tradition. I assume the correctness of the oldest Puranic list, that of the MATSYA, and take his reign to have been twenty-seven years. The real existence of Darsaka (erroneously called Vamsaka by the MATSYA) having been established by Bhasa's VASAVADATTA, his reign may be assigned twenty-four years, as in the MATSYA Udaya, who is mentioned in the Buddhist books, and is said to have built Pataliputra, is assigned thirty-three years by the Puranas, which may pass.

The VAYU and MATSYA Puranas respectively assign eighty-five and eighty-three years to the sum of the reigns of kings numbers 9 and 10 together. These figures are improbably high, and it is unlikely that the two reigns actually occupied more than fifty years. *The figure 46 is assumed*

The evidence as far as it goes, and at best it does not amount to much, indicates that the average length of the later reigns was in excess of the normal figure. We may *assume*, therefore, that the first four reigns, about which nothing is known must have been comparatively short, and did not exceed some seventy or eighty years collectively. An assumption that these reigns were longer would unduly prolong the total duration of the dynasty, the beginning of which *must be dated* about 600 B C, or a little earlier.

The existence of a great body of detailed traditions, which are not mere mythological legends, sufficiently establishes the facts that both Mahavira, the Jain leader, and Gautama Buddha were contemporary to a considerable extent with one another and with the kings Bimbisara and Ajatasatru.

Tradition also indicates that Mahavira predeceased Buddha. The death of these saints form well-marked epochs in the history of Indian religion, and are constantly referred to by ecclesiastical writers for chronological purposes. It might therefore be expected that the traditional dates of the two events would supply at once the desired clue to the dynastic chronology. But close examination of conflicting

traditions raises difficulties. The year 527 (528-7) B.C., the most commonly quoted date for the death of Mahavira, is merely one of several traditional dates, and it seems to be impossible to reconcile the Jain traditions either among themselves or with the known approximate date of Chandragupta.”

60. This exposition of V E Smith has become the unalterable standard for later scholars.<sup>1</sup> Great and sincere as many of these scholars have been, they did not dare or care to go behind Smith's fiat and if any did differ from him, it was over the insignificant question of the particular year in which Candragupta was crowned, if it was 312, 315, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326 or 327 B C<sup>2</sup>. Thus Fleet says —

Now, in all matters of the most ancient Indian chronology, the great “sheet anchor” is, and has been ever since 1798, the date of Chandragupta, the grandfather of Asoka the Maurya, as determined by the information furnished by the Greek writers. In recent years, indeed, there has been a tendency to believe that we have something still more definite in the reference to certain foreign kings in the thirteenth rock-edict of Asoka. But, as may be shown on some other occasion, there is nothing in that, beyond proof that that edict, framed not earlier than the ninth year after the *abhisheka* or anointment of Asoka to the sovereignty, and most probably in the thirteenth year, was framed not before B C 272, and that does not help as much, because the *abhisheka* of Asoka might, so far as that goes, be put back to even as early a year as B C. 284. In all that we have as yet been able to determine about Asoka, there is nothing that enables us to improve upon what we could already determine about Chandragupta. From the Greek writers, we know that Chandragupta became king of Northern India at some time between B C. 326 and 312. Within those limits, different writers, have selected different years; B.C. 325, 321, 316, 315 and 312. The latest selection is, I suppose, that made by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, 173, namely, B.C. 321.<sup>3</sup>

1. V R Ramachandra Diksitar, *Matsyapurana*, Madras, R D Banerjee, *Age of Imperial Guptas*, Benares, Dinescandra Sircar, *Successors of Sātavāhanas*, Jl. of Dept of Letters, Calcutta, Vol. 26, Dharendranath Mukhopadhyaya, *True Dates of Buddha and Connected Epochs*, Ibid Vol 27

2. See M Senart, IA, XX 229; S Gopala Iyer, IA, XXXVII. 341, Buhler, IA, VI 149, II, III, 184, Fleet, JRAS, (1904) 1, (1906) 988, V Smith, EHI, 178.

3. Fleet, JRAS, (1906), 984.

**61** The deductions and inferences of V. Smith have come to stay. But the traditional reputation has been too strong in its assertion that Mahābhārata War happened at the end of Dvāparayuga, 37 years before the advent of Kaliyuga in 3102 B.C. Later scholars, to whom the tradition was a fraud resorted to the only alternative viz. to postpone the beginning of Kaliyuga so as to preserve the Purānic Synchronism of Mahābhārata War with about the end of Dvāparayuga. Even there the sayings of V. Smith were adopted as canons of indubitable truth and the dates were worked up on their basis only and this had been done in wholesale disregard of the care and precision with which the Purāṇas recorded the calculations of political history.

**62** The Purāṇas uniformly give two methods, which are corroborative of each other, in calculating the dates of these Hindu Dynasties. One starts from the close of the Mahābhārata War and almost co-evally with the commencement of the Kaliyuga, from which time the number of years that each king reigned is given. The other starts from the Saptaṛsi Era or the Laukikābda, whose cycle consisting of 2700 years is accepted by all authorities to have commenced about 4992 years ago corresponding to 3676 B.C. Now the Purāṇas state the First cycle of this Saptaṛsi Era or Laukikābda commenced at the time of Parīksit, that the Saptaṛsis were in Māghā at his time, that they move in a retrograde motion and take 100 years to pass from one Nakṣatra to another, that they were in Purvāśādha (or the 16th Nakṣatra from Māgha) at the time of the commencement of the Nanda dynasty, that they were in Cittā-Nakṣatra (or the 24 Nakṣatra from Māgha) at the commencement of the Āndhra Dynasty and that at the beginning of the reign of the 27th king of the Āndhra Dynasty, the cycle repeated itself, the Saptaṛsis having come back to Māgha. So there must have elapsed at least 1500 years between Parīksit and Mahāpadma Nanda, 2300 years between Parīksit and Āndhra Simuka (Śrī Śātakarṇi) the Founder of the Āndhra Dynasty and 270 years between Parīksit and Śivasrī Śātakarṇi, the 27th king of the Āndhra Dynasty, and that this king Śivasrī must have commenced his reign in the year 377 B.C.

**63** The Mahābhārata War starts the Purānic chronology, that is, at 3139 B.C. The periods assigned to the eight dynasties that ruled over Magadha, Bārhadratha to Āndhra is made up 2811 years thus.—

Dynasty	No of Kings	years
1 Bārhadraṭha (post-Bhāraṭa)	22	1006
2 Pradyoṭha	5	138
3 Saīśunāga	10	360
4 Nanda	9 (2 generations)	100
5. Maurya	12	316
6. Sunga	10	300
7. Kanva	4	85
8. Andhra	32	506
		—
Total <sup>1</sup>	...	2811
		—

2811 years after the Mahābhāraṭa War or about 328 B C., the sovereignty of Magadha passed into the hands of a line called *Pārvatiyā* and *Andhrabhr̥iṣya*, the first king of which was Candragupta.

64 This Saptaṛṣi Era is fully described in all the Purāṇas in words almost similar to one another and the following passage from the Kaliyuga-Rāja-Viṭṭiṇṭa may suffice as an example :—

सप्तविंशतिपर्यन्ते कृत्स्ने नक्षत्रमण्डले ।  
 सप्तवर्षस्तु तिष्ठन्ति पर्यायेण शत शतम् ॥  
 सप्तर्षीणां युर्गं हेतद् दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतम् ।  
 समा दिव्या. स्मृताः सप्त दिव्या मासा. वडेव हि ॥  
 क्रक्षादङ्कं शतेनाऽन्दैर्यान्ति विश्रितिसुषिङ्गन् ।  
 दिव्यं सप्तर्षिकालोऽयं क्रमादेवं प्रवर्तते ॥  
 सप्तर्षीणा तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्यते शक्तितौ दिवि ।  
 तयोस्तु भये नक्षत्रं दृश्यते यत् समं निषिद्धि ॥  
 तेन सप्तर्षयो युक्तास्तिष्ठन्त्यन्वदशतं नृणाम् ।  
 नक्षत्राणामृषीणाऽन्वं योगसैतिर्विदर्शनम् ॥  
 यदा देवर्षयः सप्त भवासु विचरन्ति हि ।  
 तदा प्रवृत्तम् कलिदीर्दशाऽन्वतात्मकः ॥

1. As summed up in Kaliyuga Rājaviṭṭiṇṭa or 2886 according to Maṭsyā?

Vincent Smith commits an egregious blunder in making the first 10 or 11 kings of the Andhra dynasty contemporaneous with the preceding dynasties and holding that the slayer of the last Kaṇva king "apparently must have been one or other of three Andhra kings namely No. 11, 12 or 18" *Early History* p 206.

यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव हि वत्सरे ।  
 प्रतिपर्शं कलियुगमिति प्राहु. पुराविद ॥  
 यावत् स भगवान् विष्णु पस्पर्शेमा वसुन्धराम् ।  
 तावत् पृथ्वीं पराक्रान्तुं समर्थो नाभभवत् कलि ॥  
 यदा मध्याभ्यो यास्यन्ति पूर्वांशादा महर्षय ।  
 ततः प्रभूत्येव कलिर्वृद्धिं यास्यति निश्चितम् ॥  
 यदा युधिष्ठिरो राजा शकप्रस्ये प्रतिष्ठित ।  
 तदा सपर्षय प्रापुर्मघा पितृहिते इता ॥  
 पञ्चसप्तशतिवर्षाणि प्राक् कले सप्त ते द्विजा ।  
 मध्यास्तासन् महाराजे शास्त्र्युक्तीं युधिष्ठिरे ॥  
 पञ्चविंशतिवर्षेषु गतेव्यथ कलौ युगे ।  
 समाश्रयिष्यन्त्याश्लेषां मुनयस्ते शर्तं समा. ॥  
 तदैव धर्मपुत्रोऽपि महाप्रस्थानमास्थित ।  
 भुवं परिभ्रमन्नन्ते स्वर्गमारोक्ष्यति भ्रुवम् ॥  
 तदैव लौकिकाब्दोऽपि सप्ताविंशतात्मक ।  
 धर्मपुत्रज्ञापकार्थं लोके तावत् प्रवर्तित ॥  
 सप्तविंशान्ध्रनृपतेः काले माव्यस्य ते पुन ।  
 आश्लेषा सम्प्रयास्यन्ति युगस्यान्ते सुरर्खय ॥  
 सपर्षयो मध्यायुक्ता. काले यौधिष्ठिरे शतम् ।  
 अवगे ते भविष्यन्ति काले नन्दस्य भूपते ॥  
 चतुर्विशेषं नक्षत्रे भविष्यन्ति शतं समा ।  
 आन्त्रराज्यारम्भकालादारम्भैते सुरर्खय ॥  
 महापद्मामिषेकात् यावज्जन्म परीक्षित. ।  
 एवमेव सहस्रं तु ज्ञेय पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥  
 आन्त्रराज्योपक्रमात् यावज्जन्दामिषेचनम् ।  
 अन्तरं तच्छताभ्यष्टौ प्रमाणैः समा स्मृता ॥  
 यदा पुनर्वसु यास्यन्त्येते सपर्षय. पुन ।  
 तदा श्रीगुणवंश्यानां राष्ट्रं दैन्यं गमिष्यति ॥  
 पूर्वांशादा यदा ते तु प्रवेक्ष्यन्ति पुनर्द्विजा ।  
 शुसेभ्यो मागर्थं राज्यं तदा पालान् गमिष्यति ॥

The above passage may be freely translated as follows

' In the circle of the lunar asterisms (Nakshatras) wherein the great constellation of the Saptarishis (constituting the Great Bear or the Ursa Major) revolve, and which contain 27 asterisms (like Āśvini, Bharani, Kṛittikā, etc.) in its circumference (ecliptic consisting of  $360^{\circ}$ , each Nakshatra or lunar asterism being equal to  $13^{\circ} 20'$  of the ecliptic), the Seven Sages remain for 100 years in each asterism in turn (the Rishis taking 2700 years to make a circuit of the heavens)

This is the Cycle of the Seven Seers (consisting of 2700 human years) and is reckoned in the terms of Divine years (860 human years being equal to 1 Divine year). And the total period is equal to 7 Divine years and 6 Divine months (i.e.,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  times 860 or 7200 human years)

The constellation of the Seven Saints (or the Seven Stars of the Wain, consisting of Marichi, Veṣṭiḥtha accompanied by the Sukhmatārā Arundhatī, Angiras, Atri, Pulasta, Pulaha and Kratu) takes a period of 100 years to go over each of the 27 asterisms, (and it goes through these 27 asterisms in a retrograde order, as the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac which comprise these 27 asterisms are arranged in a retrograde order around the ecliptic) Thus the Saptarishi Kala (or the Samvat of the Haft Rikhešar), consisting of a cycle of 2700 years, has come to be constituted

The two front stars (Pulaha and Kratu) of the great constellation of the Seven Sages which are seen (in the northern region) when risen at night, the lunar asterism or Nakshatra which is seen situated equally between them in the sky is said to govern the same—the constellation of the Saptarishis being known as conjoined with that asterism for 100 human years This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar asterisms and the constellation of the Saptarishis

When the constellation of the Seven Sages remained conjoined with the asterism of Maghās, then the Kali Age (the sinful Kaliyuga) comprising 1200 Divine years (or 432,000 common human years) began

When Lord Kṛishṇa returned to Heaven (i.e., left this mundane world), then in that very same year (on the first day of Chaitra of the year Pramathū according to the Southern school of Astronomers),—say the knowers of the ancient history—the present Kaliyuga (of the 28th Mahayuga comprising 12,000 Divine years) commenced

As long as the Great Incarnation of the Divine Vishnu continued to touch the Earth (with His holy feet), so long the Kali Age was unable to approach the Earth

When the Seven Rishis shall pass from the Maghas and reach the asterism of Purvāśāḍhā, then will, indeed, the Kali Age begin to grow.

When Prince Yudhiṣṭhīra was for the first time crowned as king at Indraprastha (and established himself with his brothers, as master of half of the kingdom belonging to his father Pañḍu), then the Seven Rishis of the constellation of the Ursa Major entered the lunar asterism of Maghas which were sacred and propitious to the Piñčis

The Seven Rishis (of the Great Bear) entered the asterism of the Maghas, just 75 years before the beginning of the Kaliyuga (in the year 8177 B.C.) at the commencement of the reign of the great king Yudhiṣṭhīra who ruled the Earth during the said period

These Seven Sages will enter the asterism of Āśleṣa on the expiry of 25 years from the commencement of the Kali Age (in the year 8077 B.C.) and they will continue to remain in that asterism for a period of 100 human years (from 8077 B.C. to 2977

## INTRODUCTION

In that very same year (3077 B.C.) will Dharmaputra (Yudhiṣṭhīra, the eldest of the five Pandava brothers) ascend to Heaven (Svargarohana) after wandering over the earth for a long time (having abdicated the throne in favour of Parikshit, the grandson of his brother Arjuna and started on his Mahaprasthana with his brothers and wife on hearing the sad and sudden news of the departure of Śri Kṛṣṇa from the world)

Then will the Laukikabda or the Leukika Era consisting of a cycle of 2700 years be started in the world in commemoration of the Ascension of Dharmaputra into Heaven

These Divine Sages (consisting the constellation of the Ursa Major) will reach (the lunar asterism) Āśleha a second time (in their revolution) at the time of the commencement of the reign of the 27th King of the Andhra Dynasty (Śivāśri Śatakarnī who began to rule Magadha in the year 2762 A.Y corresponding to 377 B.C.—one complete cycle of 2700 years having elapsed since the expiry of the 25th year of the Kali Yuga, when they first reached Āśleha after the Mahabharata War)

These Seven Sages were conjoined with the asterism Magha for a period of 100 years during the time of Yudhiṣṭhīra and at the time of the commencement of the reign of King Nanda (Mahāpadma), they will be conjoined with the asterism Śravana (the 15th Nakshatra from Magha calculated, of course, in a reverse order)

From the commencement of the Andhra Dynasty (at Magadha) the Seven Rishis (of the Great Bear) will be found conjoined with (Chitra) the 24th lunar asterism (calculated from and inclusive of Magha)

The interval of time between the birth of Parikshit (son of Abhimanyu by Uttara, and grandson of Arjuna, who was in the womb of his mother at the time of the Mahabharata War) and the inauguration of Mahāpadma Nanda (the Founder of the Nanda Dynasty) is to be known as 1500 years

According to competent authorities (Pramāṇas) the interval of time between the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda (who came to the throne of Magadha in 1504 A.Y) and the commencement of the Andhra Dynasty (which began to rule Magadha in 1805 A.Y) is stated to be full 800 years,

When the great constellation of the Seven sages of the Ursa Major shall again reach the asterism Punarvasu (in its second revolution after the Mahabharata War), the Empire of the great Gupta Kings shall begin to decline and when they shall actually enter the asterism of Purvabhadra thereafter, the kingdom of Magadha will pass from the Guptas to the Pala kings'

**65.** According to Vāyu and Maṭsyā Purāṇas the interval between the birth of Parikṣit and coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda, is 1500 years

महापद्मामिषेकात् जन्म यावत् परीक्षित ।  
एकं वर्षसहस्रन्तु स्त्रेय पञ्चवशोत्तरम् ॥

But some versions of Bhāgavata Purāṇa differ and state that interval to be 1115 years. The text reads

आरम्भ भवतो जन्म यावचन्द्रामिषेचनम्  
पुतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु शतं पञ्चवशोत्तरम् ॥

This will mean "From your birth (Parīksit is addressed by Śuka) to the inauguration of Nanda 1115 years will elapse" Yet according to the duration of the different intermediate dynasties as enumerated by it in Shānda XII, Chapter I, the interval comes to 1498 years viz.,

Bārhadraṭha kings	1000 years
Pradyōṭa kings	138 "
Śaisunāga kings	360 "
	—
Total	1498 years

This mistake has struck the celebrated commentators, Śridharasvāmin and Virarāghava and they distinctly suggest that the reading should be—

“ एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्येयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ”

For Śridhara in commenting upon this verse states

‘ आरम्भेत्यादिना—वर्षसहस्रं पञ्चशतोत्तरं शतं चेति कथाऽपि विवक्षया अवान्तर सख्येयम् । वस्तुतस्तु परीक्षित्वन्दयोरन्तरं द्वाम्यां दूनं वर्षणां सार्वसहस्रं मवति । यत परीक्षित्समकालं सागर्धं मार्जारेमारम्य रिपुञ्जयान्ता विशतिराजान् । सहस्रसंवत्सरं भाष्यतीत्युक्तं नवमस्कन्धे—

‘ ‘ये बाह्यदृष्टिपूणाला भाव्या साहस्रवत्सरम् ।’—इति । तत् परं पञ्च प्रथोत्तरा अष्टकिंश्चोत्तरं शतम्’ शिशुनागाश्च ‘षष्ठ्युत्तरशतत्रयं मोक्षयन्ति पृथिवीम् इति अखेचोक्तवात् ॥’

Thus we have the authority of Śridharasvāmin and Virarāghava to say that 1500 years is the interval between Parīksit and Nanda

66 But having adopted the wrong readings and reduced the period of interval between the birth of Parīksit and the coronation of Nanda to 1015, 1050 or 1115 years, these Orientalists bring down the date of the commencement of the Kali Yuga itself as low as possible Assuming the wrong synchronism between Sandracottus of the Greeks and Candragupta Maurya, they place the accession of Candragupta Maurya to the throne of Magadha in 322 B.C., and calculating backwards and forwards from that date (while accepting the Lists of Kings given in the Purāṇas and the regnal periods given of those kings as correct) fix the date of the accession of Nanda to the throne in 422 B.C., just placing him 100 years before the accession of Candragupta to the throne, and conclude that Kali Yuga must have commenced 1015, 1050 or 1115 years before that date, that is in 1437 B.C. or 1537 B.C.

conceding for all practical purposes the commencement of the Kali Yuga to be synchronous with the Birth of Parīkṣit, the Coronation of Yudhiṣṭhīra and the Great War of the Mahābhārata. This false synchronism between Sandracottus of the Greeks and Candragupta Maurya of the Indians has become so much rooted in the bed of Indian Chronology, that scholars Śrīsa Chandra Vidyārnava and F. E. Pargiter placed the commencement of Kaliyuga in 1733 B.C.

"The method of calculation", says Śrīsa Chandra "adopted by the Purāṇas, however, is to take Nanda as the starting point. The last of the Śisunāga was Mahānandin, who had a son by a Sūdrā woman. He was known as Mahāpadma or the famous Nanda, whose eight sons succeeded him. This Nanda family was brought to an end by the Indian Machiavelli, Kautilya or Chānakya. Chandragupta was placed on the throne of the Nandas by this Kautilya or Chāṇakya. About this event V. Smith says —

'Mahānandin, the last of the Dynasty, is said to have had, by a Sūdrā or low caste woman, a son, named Mahāpadma Nanda who usurped the throne, and so established the Nanda family or dynasty. This event may be dated in or about 372 B.C.' \* \*

The Greek or Roman historians \* \* \* ranking as contemporary witnesses throw a light on real history. When Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis, in 326 B.C., he was informed \* \* that the king of the Prachei etc \* \* \* was Xandrames or Agramis.'

The reference to this king is evidently to one of the Nandas. The date of the accession of Nanda is calculated from that of Chandragupta Maurya, who ascended the throne in 322 B.C. The Nanda Dynasty according to Mr Vincent Smith, lasted for 50 years, when it was replaced by the Maurya. So adding 50 to 322, the above figure 372 B.C., is arrived at by Mr V. Smith as the date of the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda. But all the Purāṇas are unanimous in stating that the nine Nandas reigned for 100 years, and we have taken that in our calculations. The date of accession of Mahāpadma Nanda would, therefore, be 422 B.C. instead of 372 B.C.

*Thus 422 B.C. is the starting point backwards and forwards in the Purāṇic calculations.*

Chandragupta Maurya displaced the Nanda family. The nine Nandas reigned for 100 years. Before that, there was the Śisunaga Dynasty, and before that was the Pradyota Dynasty, and before that

the Brihadrathas. The following table shows the periods of the reigns of these dynasties —

(1)	Chandragupta's accession	322 B.C.
(2)	Nanda Dynasty	100
(3)	Śisunāgas	360
(4)	Pradyōtas	152 (?)
(5)	Bārhadrathas from the time of Chaidyōparichara	1000
		_____
	Total	1612
Deduct from Chaidya to Sahadēva		171
		_____
	Balance	1441, and
		adding 322
		_____
		1763 B.C., the year of the Great War

The Mahābhārata War took place when Sahadēva of Bārhadratha family, was king. From Vasu Chaidya Uparichara up to Sahadēva there were 13 kings, namely, (1) Vasu Chaidya Uparichara, (2) Brihadratha, (3) Kusāgra, (4) Vṛishabha, (5) Punyavan or Pushpavan, (6) Punya or Pushya, (7) Satyadhṛiti, (8) Dhanusha, (9) Sarva, (10) Sam-bhava, (11) Brihadratha, (12) Jarāsandha, and (13) Sahadēva. After Sahadēva there were 19 or 32 kings (or 22 according to Mr Pargiter) up to Rīpunjaya the last. The Great War, therefore, took place, on the above assumption, *one thousand four hundred and forty one years before the accession of Chandragupta in 322 B.C., or in other words that the Great War took place in or about 1763 B.C.*"

67 Mr Pargiter, however, in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age* arrives at the year 1810 B.C. as the date of the Great War of Mahābhārata. He says that from Sōmādhī to Rīpunjaya there were 22 kings in the Bārhadratha Dynasty who reigned for 920 years. The Pradyōtas after Rīpunjaya were 5 kings who reigned for 138 years. The Śaisunāgas who came after the Pradyōtas were 10 kings and reigned for 330 years. Adding up the above mentioned three figures, 920 plus 138 plus 330, he gets the sum 1388 years, which according to his calculation, was the interval between the installation of Mahāpadma Nanda and the birth of Parīkṣit or the Great War. Adding 422 B.C., the year of the installation of Mahāpadma Nanda (which is of course assumed as a

postulate of Indian History). Mr Pargiter comes to the figure 1810 B C as the date of the Mahābhārata War

The fanciful speculations involved in these theories regarding the date of the Mahābhārata War will be manifest to any disinterested reader of the Purāṇas and Itihāsas. The conclusions were so uncertain that Śrīsa Chandra Vidyārnava reviewed his own original theory at a later stage and refixed the date of the Great War in 1922 B C (still following, the false synchronism between Candragupta Maurya and Sandracottus)

68 Thus, we see that Vincent Smith is the modern protagonist of this identity, *the Anchor-Sheet of Indian Chronology*. It is he that is quoted and followed without inquiry by our Indian Professors of history and it is that chronology that is and *must be* taught in our schools. By sheer repetition by men in authority and in the works that emanate from them, 'the theory had almost become an axiom and rarely does any thought occur for any fair investigation. Day after day the assumed identity takes a firmer root and it is considered a matter of senility or superstition to express a need for a reconsideration. Hasty generalisations lead to prepossessions and it is rarely human to attempt to demonstrate their reality. It may appear therefore, a futile cry to seek to go behind these established opinions and to ask the reader to forbear and see for himself on the original bases of this 'theory, if, after all, the narratives of the Purāṇas, so honestly planned, are 'pious frauds'. For the vindication of the morality of our sages and the merit of our traditional lore, a lore adored by the millions of Hindu India, an attempt must be made, be the effect what it may.'

69 Max Muller himself was not slow to condemn in others this tendency to generalise. Says he "Men who possessed the true faculty of an historian like Niebuhr, have abstained from passing sentence on the history of a nation whose literature had only just been recovered, and had not yet passed through the ordeal of philological criticism. Other historians however thought they could do what Niebuhr had left undone; and after perusing some poems of Kalidasa, some fables of Hitopadesa, some verses of the Ananda-lahari, or the mystic poetry of

---

1 See also R. K. Mookerji, *Later Gupta History and Chronology*, *Jl. of Ind. History*, IV, 17, Dineschandra Sarcar, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Jyotirmoy Sen, *Riddle of Pradyota Dynasty*, *IHQ*, (1980), 678, H. D. Shinde, *Pradyota Dynasty*, *JBORS*, (1921), K. P. Jayaswal, *Chandragupta II and his predecessors*, *JBARS*, XVIII, 17

the Bhagavad-gita, they gave with the aid of Megasthenes and Appollonius of Tyana a so-called historical account of the Indian nation without being aware that they were using as contemporary witnesses authors as distant as Dante and Virgil. No nation has in this respect been more unjustly treated than the Indian. Not only have general conclusions been drawn from the most scanty materials but the most questionable and spurious authorities have been employed without the least historical investigation." H H Wilson, earlier, in the preface to his translation of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, had remarked "Impatience to generalise has availed itself of whatever promised to afford materials for generalisation, and the most erroneous views have often been confidently advocated because the guides to which their authors trusted were ignorant or inefficient."

**70** The various accounts given of Candragupta and Aśoka by Hindu and Buddhist writers, have contributed to a large extent to the manipulation of Indian chronology at the historian's pleasure. In his play Mudrārākṣasa Visākhadatta who wrote about 5th century AD dramatises the events relating to Candragupta and his account is mostly in agreement with the Purāṇic tale. He calls Candragupta a Maurya and does not describe his parentage.

The object of the play, says Wilson, "is to reconcile Rākshasa, the hostile minister of Nanda, the late king of Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra), to the individuals by whom, or on whose behalf, his sovereign was murdered,—the Brāhmaṇ Chāṇakya and the Prince Chandragupta. With this view, he is rendered by the contrivances of Chāṇakya an object of suspicion to the Prince with whom he has taken refuge, and is consequently dismissed by him. In this deserted condition, he learns the imminent danger of a dear friend, whom Chāṇakya is about to put to death, and in order to effect his liberation, surrenders himself to his enemies. They offer him, contrary to his expectations, the rank and power of prime minister, and the parties are finally friends."

**71** The Buddhistic accounts such as Mahāvamsa and Dipavamsa give a description of the first three kings only of the Dynasty. The accounts given of Candragupta's origin and parentage are various and contradictory. By one account it is said that Mūrī, the mother of Candragupta, was the servant girl of Dhana Nanda, the last of the Nanda Dynasty, and by her influence she had her son placed on the throne of Magadha at Pāṭaliputra. Another account makes him a member of an Andhra family, and says that he acquired the sovereign power by his

own skill and exertion. The writer evidently confuses here the accounts of the two Candraguptas, Candragupta of the Maurya Dynasty with Candragupta the Founder of the Gupta Dynasty, and an illegitimate son of the Andhra family, for the Andhra family itself came into existence about 700 years after the accession of Candragupta Maurya.

According to Northern Buddhistic accounts Candragupta was a member of the Sākyā family which in consequence of some political intrigues was driven away from its territory. The family repaired to a forest in the Himavanta and there constructed a new town in a delightful and beautiful locality. The streets and houses in the town having been laid after the pattern of a peacock's neck, it was called by the name of Mōriya-nagara, and the family by the name of *Moriya*, and the kingdom founded by it Mōriya Dynasty. The explanation is ingenious and is probably based upon a confusion of the Prākṛit forms of the words Maurya (मौर्य) and Mayūra (मयूर).

The Tīka on this Buddhistic account gives a curious origin of the name of this prince Cardragupta. It is stated that while Candragupta was still in the womb, his father's dominions were taken possession of by another powerful neighbouring chief, and his father himself was killed in the contest. "His mother, the queen consort of the monarch of the Mōriya-nagara (मयूरनगर), the city before mentioned, was fully pregnant at the time when that powerful provincial Rāja conquered that kingdom, and put the Mōriyan king to death. In her anxiety to preserve the child in her womb, she departed for the capital of Pupphapura (Pushpapura) under the protection of her elder brothers, and under disguise she dwelt there. At the completion of the ordinary term of pregnancy, she gave birth to a son, and relinquishing him to the protection of the *dēvas*, she placed him in a vase, and deposited him at the door of a cattle-pen. A bull named Chando (चन्दो) stationed himself by him, to protect him. A herdsman, on observing this prince, moved by affection, like that borne to his own child, took charge of and tenderly reared him, and in giving him a name, in reference to his having been watched by the bull Chando, he called him 'Chandaguttō' (चन्दगुप्त), and brought him up."

But all the Buddhistic works are agreed on one point that Candragupta owed his sovereignty entirely to Cānakya alias Kautilya, and not 'called to royalty by the power of the gods and by prodigies' as stated by Justin with reference to his Sandracottus. Nor is there any reference either in the Hindu or the Buddhistic accounts to

Candragupta Maurya's "having traversed India with an army of 600,000 men and conquered the whole" as stated by Plutarch

72 The Buddhistic accounts of Asoka, as given by the two great schools of Buddhism—*Mahayana* and *Hinayana*—not only differ from each other but also from the accounts given of Asoka, the grandson of Candragupta Maurya by the Puranic accounts of the Hindus "There is a good deal of confusion in these Buddhistic works as regards the very family and geneology of Asoka, the Buddhistic king, and one can easily trace that the life and time of Asoka must have been constructed by the Buddhistic writers who flourished several hundreds of years after him, by jumbling up the lives of three different Indian kings, viz., (1) of Asoka, (Dharmasoka) the third in ascent from Kanishka belonging to the First Gonanda Dynasty of Kashmir kings as described in the First Book of Kalhana's Raja-Tarangini who is said to have freed himself from sins by embracing the faith of Gautama Buddha and by constructing numerous Viharas and Stupas, and by building the town of Srinagar with its ninety-six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth, (2) of Asokavardhana (Chandrasoka) the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya, as described in the Puranas, and (3) of Samudragupta or Asoka the Great, (Mahasoka) the son of Chandragupta the Founder of the Gupta Dynasty, described by Mr Vincent A Smith himself as the Indian Napolean, as narrated by his biographer Harishena, and in the Kaliyuga Raja-Vrittanta, and as corroborated by his numerous coins and inscriptions recently unearthed by European scholars themselves."

The Mahavamsa, (according Wijesinha's revised edition of Turnour translation) says "One Kalasoka had ten sons, who after his death ruled the kingdom righteously for 22 years. They were succeeded by other nine brothers, who likewise, in order of seniority, ruled the kingdom for 22 years. A Brahman named Chapanaka, who had conceived an implacable hatred against Dhana Nanda, the last survivor of the nine brothers, put that king to death, and placed upon the throne Chandragupta, a member of the princely Monya clan descended from the line of the Sakyas, who ruled the country for 34 years. He was succeeded by his son Bindusara, who ruled the land for 28 years. The sons of Bindusara, the offspring of sixteen mothers, numbered one hundred and one, of whom the eldest was named Sumana, and the youngest Tishya. A third son, Asoka, uterine brother of Tishya, had been appointed Viceroy of Ujjain by his father. On receiving news of King Bindusara's mortal illness, Asoka hastened to Pataliputra, slew his

eldest brother Sumana and his 98 other brothers and ruled the country for 37 years ”

The Dipavamsa, on the other hand, substitutes Śusunāga for Kā-asoka and makes Asōka, the son of Śusunāga himself, and omits all mention of the nine Nanda brothers

The Asōkāvadāna (according to the prose version in the Divyāvadāna) gives the following account of the lineage and family of Asōka —

“(1) King Bimbisāra reigned at Rājagṛīha His son was (2) Ajātasatru, whose son was (3) Udayibhadra, whose son was (4) Munda, whose son was (5) Kākavarṭin, whose son was (6) Sahālin, whose son was (7) Tulakuchi, whose son was (8) Mahāmandala, whose son was (9) Pra-senajit, whose son was (10) Nanda, whose son was (11) Bindusāra King Bindusāra reigned at Pātaliputra and had a son named Susima To him was born of Subhadrāngī, the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa, two sons, the elder named Asōka, and the younger named Vigatāsoka Asoka secured the throne by putting to death the legitimate prince Susima by a stratagem devised by Rādhāgupta by which Susima was inveigled while marching against the capital, so that he fell into a ditch full of burning fuel and there miserably perished ”

Here it will be observed that Candragupta is altogether omitted, and Bindusāra, the father of Asōka, is represented as being the son of Nanda The metrical Asōkāvadāna, on the other hand, substitutes Mahipala for Ajātasatru, and exhibits numerous other variations, which deprive these Buddhistic accounts of historical worth The conquests ascribed to Asōka in the various Buddhistic accounts are no doubt taken from the conquests of Samudragupta or Asōka the Great, and the embassy of the Ceylon king is also traceable to the same origin The story of his having embraced the faith of Buddha, of his having built stūpas and Vihāras, of his having reconstructed the city of Pātalipuṭra and of his having introduced several reforms in the affairs of the kingdom and in the matter of the appointment of officers of state are all taken from the accounts of Asōka and his successors as given by Chhavīlākara and by Kalhaṇa in his Rājaṭaranginī

73 Inferences have been drawn in support of this imaginary synchronism by the dates assigned to Buddha-Nirvāna Opinions are various on that event “The Northern Buddhists give dates ranging from 2422 to 546 B C, and the Ain-i Akbari of Abul Fazl fixes 1246 B C, for

the event The Tamil Manimegalai gives the year 1616 of some unknown era, probably of the Kali, and the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam have uniformly been regulating their calenders on the basis that the Nirvana occurred in BC 543 The Western scholars are likewise as much divided in their opinion, though their dates range only from 544 to 370 BC Professors Rhys Davids and Kern give 412 and 388 BC respectively for the Para Nirvāna, whereas Max Muller to the last maintained that 477 BC, was the correct date Dr Fleet considers the event to have taken place in BC 482<sup>4</sup> and Professor Oldenberg and M Barth fix it in 480 BC Mr V A Smith has given us three different dates, BC 508 in his 'Asoka', 487 in his 'Early India', and 480 to 470 BC in a recently published article "<sup>5</sup>"

The Maurya dynasty ruled at Magadha according to the Purāṇas in 1535-1219 BC, and Candragupta ascended the throne in 1538 BC But according to modern orientalists the Gupta era began somewhere about 325 BC There they vary in arranging the date of Candragupta's coronation between 325 and 312 BC,<sup>6</sup> such as 325, 321, 316, 315 and 312 For instance, V. Smith, as we have seen, fixes the coronation of Candragupta in 321 BC But Fleet has a word of condemnation "<sup>7</sup>" "Mr Smith's chronological details are even *inter se* wrong and irreconcilable The most reliable tradition, adopted by Mr. Smith himself for other ends, gives an interval of 56 years from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta to the *abhisheka* of Asoka, yet on the same page, Mr Smith has adopted only 52 years, placing the *abhisheka* of Asoka in BC 269 And further, he has placed only three years earlier, in BC 272, that which he has termed the "accession"—(in reality, the usurpation)—of Asoka, regardless of the fact that the same tradition makes that interval one of four years<sup>8</sup> A chronology which includes such inconsistencies and errors as these in some of its radical details cannot in any way be accepted as final."

1. *JRAS*, (1906) 179 and 669

2. *Indian Review*, VIII 561.

3. See M. Senart, *IA*, XX 229, V. Gobala Aiyar, *IA*, XXXVII 841; Buhler, *IA*, VI 149, *EI*, III. 184; Fleet, *JRAS*, (1904), 1, (1906), 968, V. Smith, *EHI*, 178

4. *JRAS*, (1906), 984

5. This is easily arrived at, by deduction, from the Dipavamsa, 6, 1 20, 21. It is expressly stated by the commentary on that work, the Mahavamsa, in the statement about Asoka (Turnour 21 f.) that —

Vemātike bhātare so hantvā ekunakam satam !  
sakale Jambudipasmim ekarajam apāpūgi ॥

## INTRODUCTION

In a paper read before the First Oriental Conference in Poona in 1919 on the same subject, the epoch of the Early Guptas, Hiralal Amritalal Shah of Bombay again considered the question, and adducing quite different reasons, arrived at about A.D. 200 for the initial date of the early Gupta era.

74. In a scholarly examination of the subject R Shama Sastry thus summarises the results of his research:

"(1) Alberuni's statement that the Gupta Valabhi era A.D. 319-320 was started from the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas is shown to be correct, inasmuch as it is supported by the *Prabhāvakacharita*

(2) The initial date of the early Gupta era, as distinguished from the Gupta-Valabhi era of A.D. 319-320, is fixed to lie in A.D. 200-201 on the authority of Jinasena's statement that Guptas ruled for 231 years and preceded the rule of Kalki whose birth date is fixed to be in the Mahāmāgha-samvatsara, A.D. 402 on the authority of Nemichandra's statement made in his *Bāhubalicharita* that Chāmundarāya (A.D. 970-1030) set up the statue of Gomateswara in Belgola on Sunday, the Chaitra sukla panchami of the year Vibhava in Kalki era 600 expired, corresponding to Sunday the 3rd March of A.D. 1028

(3) With this starting point for the early Gupta era, the date of Silāditya VII or Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhi, Gupta samvatsara 447 comes out to be  $200-201+447 = \text{A.D. } 647$ , making it possible for the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang to meet him about A.D. 640

(4) With this initial date of the early Guptas, the last date of Samudragupta's rule will be about A.D. 282 when or a little earlier he could possibly conquer the Shahan Shahis and the last king of the Murunda dynasty of Pataliputra, and when he could receive an embassy from Meghavarṇābhaya, king of Ceylon, whose date of accession to the throne is A.D. 254

(5) This initial date of the Early Guptas plus the inscriptive date

Jina-nibbānato pachohhā pure tass=ābhisekato ]  
atīhārasam vassa satam dvayam evam vijaniyam ]]  
Patvā chatuhī vassehi ekaraja mahāya eo :  
pure Pataliputram attanam abhisechayi ]]

"Having slain (*hus*) brothers, born of various mothers, to the number of a hundred less by one, he attained sole sovereignty in the whole of Jambudvipa. After the death of the Conqueror (Buddha), (and) before the anointment of him (Aśoka), (*there were*) 218 years, thus is it to be understood. Having reached (a point of time marked) by four years, he, possessed of the great [glory of sole sovereignty, caused himself to be anointed at the town Pataliputra.

269 of Mahānāman's construction of a Vihara in Bodhgaya is shown to tally with the Ceylonese date of king Dhatusena (469) whose contemporary was Mahānāman, the priest and founder of the Vihara.

(6) It has also been shown how the last of the Āndhrabhritya kings Sātakarni duṭu-kulananda was contemporary with the first of the Guptas, the successors of the Brihadbāṇas in the north and how Mayurasarman, the first of the Kadambas and conqueror of the Brihadbāṇas in Mysore was contemporary with the same Sātakarni and how Kakutsthavarma living in the 80th year of Kadamba victory was contemporary with Chandragupta II living in the 82nd year of the Gupta era and probably gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta II.

(7) It is also shown how with this starting point for the Gupta era, Thursday coincides with Ashadha Sukla Dvādasi of Budhagupta's inscriptional date, G S 165. Here the year taken for verification is A.D. 200-201+G S. 165 expired=365-366. The twelfth Tithi of Ashadha (June) A.D. 365 is shown to fall on Thursday.

(8) For the assumption that there were two Totamanas and two Mihirakulas, the Chinese accounts of the murder of Simha, the 23rd Buddhist Patriarch, by Mihirakula in about 420 A.D. are to be relied upon. It is however immaterial whether this assumption proves acceptable or not, for the burden of proof for the starting point of the Early Gupta era in A.D. 200-201 does not depend upon it.

(9) As the Early Gupta era of A.D. 200-201 is shown to be quite different from the Gupta-Valabhī era used by the Huns and probably by the Parivrājaka Mahārājas, my scheme does not come into clash with Dr. Fleet's scheme.

(10) This scheme throws a flood of light on what has hitherto been regarded as a dark period between A.D. 200 and 300 in the History of India.”<sup>1</sup>

### **75 Speaking of the Indian sources, Fleet writes (IA, XXX 1 :**

“ We should not be able to deduce the date of Asoka from the Puranas. But we should find that the RAJATARANGINI would place him somewhere about B.C. 1260. We shall find, indeed, that the Nepal VAMSAVALI would place him, roughly, about B.C. 2600. As, however, that list does not mention him as a ruler of Nepal but only as a visitor to the country, we should probably infer a mistake in that account, and prefer to select the date of B.C. 1260. And then we should set about arranging the succession of the kings of India, itself, from the Puranas,

---

1. *My. Arch. Rep. (1927).*

with B.C. 1260 for the approximate date of the accession of Asoka as our starting-point”

76 In his dissertation on the Chronology of the Hindus, written in 1788 (As Res Vol II, p. iii, reprint of 1799) Sir William Jones took a different starting-point and fixed it in a different way. His paper was based on a work entitled PURANARTHAPRAKASA, which was composed shortly before the time at which he was writing, by Pandit Radhakant Sarman and which seems to have been based, in its turn, chiefly on the BHAGAVATAPURANA. In the first place he brought forward a verse given to him from a book entitled BHAGAVATAMRITA, composed by “a learned GOSWAMI,” which purported to fix the Kaliyuga year 1002 expired as the date of the manifestation of Buddha. With this he coupled an ‘assertion in the same book that, two years before that date, there occurred the revolution which placed on the throne Pradyoṣa, the first king in the third dynasty before that of the Mauryas. And he thus exhibited a chronology which, taking the accession of Pradyoṣa in B.C. 2100 as its starting-point, placed the accession of Sisunaga in B.C. 1962, the accession of Nanda in B.C. 1602, and the accession of Candragupta (the grandfather of Asoka) in B.C. 1502, and made the dynasty of the Āndhrabṛhmaṇyas run from B.C. 908 to 432. But he considered that the figures put forward by the Puranas were excessive both for generations and for reigns. And adjusting those figures according to his own estimate, and taking, as a starting-point B.C. 1027 for the date of Buddha as fixed by the Chinese authorities as interpreted by De Geignes he submitted a revised scheme, which placed Pradyoṣa B.C. 1029 Nanda B.C. 699, and the rise of the Andhrabṛhmaṇyas in B.C. 149.

77. Paṭanjalī mentions in Mahābhāṣya (I 1, 68) ‘Candragupta-sabhā’ and ‘Pūṣyamitra-sabhā.’ It is said that he mentions Mauryas in V. iii, 39 as the vendors of idol images or beggars carrying these idols but does not connect them with any of the ruling races at all. The reading of the word ‘Maurya’ seems to be wrong. “The old MSS. (of the Mahabhashya) of the South makes the allusion of making and selling idols apply not to Mauryas but to Pouras, a peculiar tribe also mentioned in the Vishnu Purana (IV xxiv), for example MSS Nos 31, 33 of the Adyar Library, which are, on paleographical examination found to be more than 3 and 4 centuries old respectively, may be consulted. If ‘Pouras’ be the right word, so much controversy about the allusion of Patanjali to the Mauryas will vanish at once.”

**78.** Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* is not after all an unreliable record. As a chronicle of Kashmir annals it is a true representation. Its importance in literary history lies in the variety and detail of traditional information it gives of past history over a long period of 3500 years. He wrote the introduction to his work in 1148 A.D. He might have been in error in saying that the Mahābhārata war was fought in 663 of Kali for there were two astronomical views on the movement of Saptaṛṣis and he chose one of them.<sup>1</sup>

Kalhana says that the 24th year of the Laukika corresponded with the year 1070 of Śakakāla "The year 1 of the Laukika coincided with 1047 of the Saka, or A.D. 1025, and as the cycle was a century one, the first year of each century must have corresponded with the 25th year of each Christian century".

**79.** **Loka Kala**, Laukikābda or Sapta-Rṣi-Kāla is so named after the Sapta-Rṣis seven Rṣis or the seven stars of the constellation of Great Bear. It is supposed that the Rṣis move from star to star once in a hundred years, but on the actual reckoning there is a difference of opinion between Vṛddha Garga and Purāṇas on the one side and Varāhamihira and other later astronomers on the other. "By the former it is said the seven rishis were in Māgha between 3177 and 3077 B.C., that is in B.C. 3101 at the beginning of the Kali-yuga, while by the latter they are placed in Māgha just 653 years later, between B.C. 2477 and 2377, that is in B.C. 2448. The reckoning of the Lok-Kal, as now used in Kashmir and the other hill states, is by the common luni-solar years beginning on Chaitrasuddhi 1, or the new moon of Chaitra. The cycle consists of 27 centuries, each counting from 1 to 100 years, when a new reckoning is begun. The first year of each century corresponds with the 25th year of each Christian century."<sup>2</sup>

**80** Modern historians are again uncertain on the date of Kanisṭha but the opinion prevails among them that he ruled in about 78 A.D. and according to some his name is connected with the Śāka era. If according to Kalhana, the reigns of kings that ruled in Kashmir after Kanisṭha made up a period of 2330 years up to his day, that is, the reign of King Jayasimha, Kalhana would then go up to 78 plus 2330 to 2408 A.D., but we are now in 1987 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

1. See paras 184-188 on Kalhana.

2. See for an elaborate discussion, Cunningham's *Indian Brāhmanas*.

3. On Kanisṭha, see V. Gopala Aiyar, *The Chronology of Ancient India*, V. E. Smith, *E.H.*, 89, 251, and 14, X. 218, XIII. 58, XXXV. 88, XLII. 189, XLVI. 961, 1475, II. 24, XXXII. 417.

81. The story of Candragupta as originally given in the Br̥ihāṭ-kaṭhā in the Pāśācī language by Guṇādhya, the prime minister of King Śātavāhana of Praṭiṣṭhāna, and as we now have it in Kaṭhāsarī-sāgara, a true translation of the said work in Sanskrit by Sōmadēva, is somewhat different from the accounts given of that prince in the Purāṇas on the one hand, and in Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa and its commentary on the other. Here Candragupta is represented as the only son of Nandā, the king of Pāṭalipuṭra and a contemporary of Kātyāyana Vararuci, the celebrated author of Vāṛṇikas and a disciple of Varṣācārya, under whom Pāṇini also first began to study Grammar.<sup>1</sup>

82. The following are the passages of Kaṭhāsarī-sāgara, dealing with King Nanda and Candragupta —

अवान्तरे तु उराराद्रौ कृत्वा तीव्रतरं तपः ।  
आराधितो मया देवो वरदः पार्वतीपति ॥

लदेव तेन शास्त्रं मे पाणिनीयं प्रकाशितम् ।  
तदिच्छातु ग्रहदेव मया पूर्णकृतं च तत् ॥

...

वर्णोऽयं मध्यस्वाकैच्छ्वातु व्याकरणं नवयः ।  
तत्. प्रकाशितं स्वामिकुमारेणव तस्य तत् ॥

ततो व्याडीन्द्रदत्ताभ्यां विज्ञप्तो दक्षिणां प्रति ।  
गुरुवोज्जीवत् सर्णकोटिर्में द्वितामिति ॥

अगीकृत्य गुरोर्वाच्यं तौ च मामित्यवेचताम् ।  
एहि राज्ञ सद्य! नन्दाध्याचितु गुरुदक्षिणाम् ॥

गच्छामो नाऽन्यतोऽस्माभिरियत् काचनभाष्यते ।  
नवाधिकाया नवते कोटीनामधिपो हि स. ॥

बाचा तैनोपकोशा च प्राग्भर्मगिनीकृता ।  
अत. साल स ते किंचित् त्वद्गुणै समवाप्यते ॥

इति निश्चित्य नन्दस्य भूपते. कटक वयम् ।  
अयोध्यास्थमगच्छाम तथ. सबलाचारिणः ॥

प्राप्तमातेषु चाऽस्मादु स राज्ञ पचतां गत ।  
राष्ट्रे कोलाहलं जात विषादेन सहैव न ॥

अवोचदिन्द्रदत्तोऽयं तत्क्षणं योगसिद्धिमान् ।  
गतासोरस्य भूपत्य श्रीरं प्रविशाम्यहम् ॥

1. See paras 4-7 post.

अर्थी वररुचिमेऽस्तु दास्याभ्यस्मै च काँचनम् ।  
 व्याडी रक्षतु मे देह तत् प्रलागमावधि ॥  
 इत्युक्त्वा नन्ददेहान्तरिन्द्रदत्त समाविश्वत् ।  
 प्रत्युज्जीवति भूपे च राष्ट्रे तत्रोत्सवो अभवत् ॥  
 शृण्ये देवगृहे देहमिन्द्रदत्तस्य रक्षितुम् ।  
 व्याडौ स्थिते गतोऽमूवमहं राजकुलं तदा ॥  
 प्रविश्य स्वस्तिकारं च विद्याय शुरुदक्षिणाम् ।  
 योगनन्दो भया तव हेमशोटिं स याचितः ॥  
 तत् स सकटालाख्ये सखनन्दस्य मन्त्रिणम् ।  
 सुवर्णकोटिमेतस्मै दापयेति समादिश्वत् ॥  
 मृतस्य जीवितं दृष्ट्वा सद्यश्च प्रासिमार्थिन् ।  
 स तत्त्वं ज्ञातवान् मन्त्री किम्ज्ञेयं हि धीमताम् ॥  
 देव दीयत इत्युक्त्वा स च मन्त्रीत्यविन्तयत् ।  
 नन्दस्य तनयो बालो राज्ये च बहुशत्रुमत् ॥  
 तत् सम्प्रलास्य रक्षगमि तस्य देहमपीष्टशम् ।  
 निश्चिलैतत् स तत्काल यवान् सर्वानिदाहत् ॥  
 चारैरन्विष्य तन्मध्ये लब्ध्वा देवगृहात् ।  
 व्याडि विधूय तद् दर्घमिन्द्रदत्तकलेवरम् ॥

...            ...            ...            ...  
 अथेत्य योगनन्दस्य व्याडिना क्रन्दित पुरः ।  
 अब्द्धाण्यमनुत्कान्तजीवो योगस्थितो द्विजः ॥  
 अनाथश्च इत्यथ बलाद्वर्गस्तवोदये ।  
 तच्छ्रुत्वा योगनन्दस्य काऽप्यवस्थाऽपवच्छुच्चा ॥  
 देहदाहात् स्थिरे तस्मिन् जाते निर्गीत्य मे ददौ ।  
 सुवर्णकोटिं स तत् शकटालो महामति ॥  
 योगनन्दोऽथ विजने सशोको व्याडिमत्रवीत् ।  
 शूद्रीभूतोऽस्मि विश्रोऽपि कि श्रिया स्थिरयापि मे ॥  
 तच्छ्रुत्वाऽश्वास तं व्याडिः कालोचितमावत ।  
 ज्ञातोऽसि शकटालेन तदेन चिन्तयाऽधुना ॥  
 महामन्त्रीश्चायं स्वेच्छमचिरात् त्वा विनाशयेत् ।  
 पूर्वनन्दस्तुतं कुर्याच्चन्द्रशुप्तं हि भूमिषम् ॥

तस्माद्धररुचि मन्त्रिषुस्वत्वे कुरु येन ते ।  
 एतद्गुरुया भवेद्राज्य स्थिर दिव्यानुभावया ॥  
 इत्युक्त्वैव गते व्याङ्गौ दातु ता गुरुदक्षिणाम् ।  
 तदैवाऽजीय दत्ता मे योगनन्देन मानिता ॥

इति कथापीठलम्बके, पचमस्तरंग ॥

दिवसेष्वथ गच्छत्सु तत् तपेवनमेकदा ।  
 अयोध्यात उपागच्छत् विप्र एको मयि स्थिते ॥

स मया योगनन्दस्य राज्यवार्तामपृच्छत ।  
 प्रत्यभिज्ञाय मां सोऽथ सषोकमिद मन्त्रवीत् ॥  
 शृणु नन्दस्य यदवृत्त तत्सकाशाद्गते त्वयि ।  
 लघ्वावकाशस्तवाऽभूच्छकटालश्चिरेण सः ॥

स चिन्तयन् वधोपाय योगनन्दस्य युक्तिः ।  
 क्षिति खनन्तमद्राक्षीच्चाणकयारूप्य द्विज पथि ॥

कि भुव खनसीत्युक्ते तेन विप्रोऽथ सोऽजवीत् ।  
 दर्ममुन्मूलयास्यत्पादो हेतेन मे क्षत ॥  
 तच्छ्रवा सहसा मन्त्री कोपन कूरनिश्चयम् ।  
 तं विप्र योगनन्दस्य वधोपायममन्यत ॥

नाम पृष्ठाऽजवीत् त च हे ब्रह्मन् ! दापयामि ते ।  
 अहं तथोदक्षीश्वरो गृहे नन्दस्य भूपते ॥

कक्षिणातः सुवर्णस्य लङ्घं तव भविष्यति ।  
 मोक्षसे धुरि चाऽन्येषां एहि तावदगृहं मम ॥  
 इत्युक्त्वा शकटालस्त चाणक्यमनवदगृहम् ।  
 श्राद्धहेऽदर्श्यत् ते च राज्ञे स श्रद्धेच च तम् ॥  
 तत् स गत्वा चाणक्यो धुरि श्राद्ध उपाविष्टत् ।  
 सुबन्धुनामा विप्रश्च तामैच्छद्वरमात्मन ॥

तद् गत्वा शकटालेन विक्षिप्तो नन्दभूपातिः ।  
 अवादीशाऽपरो योग्यः सुबन्धुधुरि तिष्ठतु ॥  
 आगत्यैती च राजाज्ञा शकटालो भयानत ।  
 न मेऽपराध इत्युक्त्वा चाणक्याय न्यवेदयत् ॥  
 सोऽथ कोपेन चाणक्यो ज्वलश्चिव समन्ततः ।  
 निर्जी शुक्त्वा क्षिख्वा तत्र ग्रतिशामकरोदिमाम् ॥

अवश्य हन्त ! नन्दोऽयं सप्तमिर्दिवसैर्भया ।  
 विनाशयो बन्धनीयो च तदो निर्मन्युना चिखा ॥  
 इत्युक्तवन्त कुपिते योगनन्दे पलायितम् ।  
 अलाक्षित सग्रहे त शकटालो न्यवेशयत् ॥  
 तत्रोपकरणे दत्ते गुप्त तेनैव मनिक्षणा ।  
 स चाणक्यो द्विज क्वाऽपि गत्वा कृत्यामसाधयत् ॥  
 तद्विद्यायोगनन्दोऽथ दाहज्वरमवाप्य स ।  
 सप्तमे दिवसे प्राते पञ्चत्वं समुपागमत् ॥  
 हृत्वा हिरण्यगुप्तं च शकटालेन तत्सुतम् ।  
 पूर्वनन्दसुते लक्ष्मीश्वन्दगुप्ते निवेशिता ॥  
 मन्त्रित्वे तस्य चाऽम्यर्थं ब्रह्मस्पतिसम धिया ।  
 चाणक्य स्थापयित्वा त स मन्त्री कृतकृताम् ॥  
 मन्त्रानो योगनन्दस्य कृतवैप्रतिक्रिय ।  
 पुलशोकेन निर्विण्णं प्रविवेष महद्वनम् ॥

इति कथापीठलम्बके षष्ठस्तरगः

The above passage has been briefly translated by H H Wilson as follows —

" After living for a considerable period in my hermitage, the death of Yogananda was thus related to me by a Brāhmaṇa, who was travelling from Ayodhya and had rested at my cell. Śakatāla, brooding on his plan of revenge, observed one day a Brāhmaṇa of mean appearance digging in a meadow, and asked him what he was doing there. Chānakya, the Brāhmaṇa, replied " I am rooting out this grass which has hurt my foot." The reply struck the minister as indicative of a character which would contribute to his designs, and he engaged him by the promise of a large reward and high honour, to come and preside at the Śrāddha, which was to be celebrated next new moon at the palace. Chānakya arrived, anticipating the most respectful treatment, but Yogananda had been previously persuaded by Śakatāla to assign precedence to another Brāhmaṇa, Subandhu, so that when Chānakya came to take this place, he was thrust from it with contumely. Burning with rage, he threatened the king before all the court, and announced his death within seven days. Nanda ordered him to be turned out of the palace. Sakatāla received him into his house and persuading Chānakya that he was wholly innocent of being instrumental to his ignominious treatment, and contributed to encourage and inflame his in-

dignation Chānakya thus protected, practised a magical rite, in which he was a proficient, and by which, on the seventh day Nanda was deprived of life Śakatāla, on the father's death, effected the destruction of Hiranyakupta, his son, and raised Chandragupta, the son of genuine Nanda to the throne Chānakya became the prince's minister, and Śakatāla having attained the only object of his existence, retired to end his days in the woods”<sup>1</sup>

83. According to Kāthāsarit-Sāgara therefore Candragupta was the only son of the genuine-king Nanda, and was very young when the genuine Nanda passed away and Indradatta entered the dead body of the king and began to rule the kingdom, so he was called by the name Yoga Nanda Yogananda begot a son on the queen of the late real or Satya Nanda and he was named Hiranyakupta. Besides the mention of these two persons, there is no reference to “Nanda and his eight sons” anywhere in the said poem. These passages also show that Candragupta was but a king in name, that he was in no sense a usurper or adventurer, that he took no active part at all in establishing himself on the throne of Nanda, that it was Śakatāla, the old minister of the king, and Cānakya, a Brahman sage of great learning and determination that planned the death of Yogananda and of his son Hiranyakupta, and raised the young prince Candragupta, the legitimate son of the genuine Nanda to the throne of Magadha Nowhere is there any reference to this Candragupta being a conqueror of enemies or of having received ambassadors from foreign princes, either at Pataliputra or Ayodhya, the permanent and temporary capitals, and it is at Ayodhya the revolution came off on the death of king Nanda, leading to the elevation of Candragupta to the throne.

84. The statements of the early European writers may now be summed up<sup>2</sup> —(a) At the time of Alexander's invasion, the Prasi or eastern kingdom of Magadha was ruled over by a king Xandrames, according to the officers of Alexander sent to investigate the country living ahead, and also according to Poros whom Alexander consulted, Xandrames was a powerful king who could bring into the field 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2900 chariots and 4000 or 3000 elephants, he was nevertheless of mean origin, the queen of his predecessor had fallen

1. (Vide Appendix II to the Preface of his *Mudrarakshasa*, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II. 140-141).

2. McOrindle's collection and translation of all the passages from classical writers in six books are regarded as reliable by Vincent Smith, of which *Indika et Megasthenes* and *Arian* are instructive;

in love with him and had helped him to murder her husband, and therefore he was very unpopular with his subjects (b) Sandrokottos or Androcottos as a young prince had met Alexander, and had offended him and incurred his displeasure, but after the retreat of Alexander he put himself at the head of a band of robbers, drove out the prefects of Alexander, and made himself king (c) Seleukus Nikator tried to regain the Indian conquests of Alexander, but found it wiser to contract an alliance with him<sup>1</sup> (d) Megasthenes the ambassador of Seleucus dwelt at the court of Sandracyptus and wrote an account of those in whose midst he lived (from which account later writers have quoted copiously)

"The Greek writers mention as many as six names or variations, Xandrames, Andrames, Agrammes, Sandrocottus and Sandrocyptus. Whether these apply to one or more than one individual; and Max Muller was not sure but in his obdurate zeal to demonstrate the identity he said "Xandrames ...is the last king of the empire conquered by Sandracotus If however it should be maintained that those two names were intended for one and the same king, the explanation would still be very easy For Chandragupta is also called Chandra, and Chandramas in Sanskrit is a synonym for Chandra"<sup>2</sup>

**85.** What was discovered was simply this—that in the celebrated inscriptions of king Priyadarsin—Rock Edicts III and XIII—Antiochus and Ptolemy are mentioned as Priyadarsin's contemporaries There is nothing in the inscriptions to show that Priyadarsin was Asoka Maurya, grandson of Candragupta Maurya. Strict logic will justify only one inference from the first Greek Synchronism—that Sandrocottus whosver he was was the contemporary of Seleukus Nikator, and only one from the second—that Priyadarsin was the contemporary of a Greek ruler Antiochus. Unless proof is forth coming to show that either Sandrocottus or Priyadarsin was a Maurya King, it is wrong to say as Vincent Smith does say, that by the discovery of these two synchronisms "the chronology of the Maurya dynasty was placed on firm footing, and is no longer open to doubt in its main outlines"

**86.** Who was Xandarmes? Let us compare the Greek and the Indian versions, understanding Xandramas to be the predecessor of Sandrocottus First in Indian traditions Nanda, or more precisely Sumālya Nanda, was the immediate predecessor of Candragupta Maurya. If therefore by Sandrocottus we are to understand Candragupta Maurya,

1. V Smith, *EHI*, 140

2. *ASL*, 148.

## INTRODUCTION

we must identify Xandrames with Nanda. This is exactly what is done by almost all Orientalists like Vincent Smith, with a vague statement "that the king of the Gangaridæ and Parsu . was named, as nearly as the Greeks could catch the unfamiliar sounds, Xandrames or Agrammes..... ....who *must have been* one of the Nandas mentioned in native tradition "<sup>2</sup> and that somehow in order to maintain the hypothesis, Xandrames *must be* identified with Nanda Max Muller as a philologist is convinced that Greek Xandrames is Sanskrit 'Chandramas or Chandra,' and rather than ignore grammar he is for identifying Xandrames and Sandrocottus Secondly the Greek account of Xandrames does not tally either with Hindu or with Buddhist versions of Nanda. According to them Mahāpadma, first king of the Nanda dynasty, was the son of the last Śaisunāga King Mahānandin by a Śūdra wife, and was a powerful, avaricious, wicked king, having Kṣatriya wives, but there is no allusion to any of his father's wives having become his paramour The Purānic writers, had no love for Mahāpadma and they would certainly have mentioned such an incident in his life, if it really referred to him. His father Mahānandin is nowhere stated to have been murdered whether by Mahāpaṭma or his paramour Thus neither from the name nor from the description, can Xandrames be reasonably identified with Nanda.

87 We have no less difficulty in identifying Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus with Candragupta Maurya The description given of the mighty Sandrocottus by the Greeks cannot possibly compare with any Indian account whatsoever of Candragupta Maurya, who, far from being a great conqueror, owed his elevation and rule entirely to the Brāhmaṇa Cāpākyā or Kautilya The Hindu and the Buddhist versions are agreed here Max Muller's explanation is only this, that because Candragupta Maurya was grandfather of the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka, therefore the Brahmanas unduly lowered him, and the Buddhists as excessively exalted him, and that is mere fancy The part played by Rākṣasa, the devoted minister of the Nandas at first and of Candragupta at last, and the power exercised throughout by the Brahman Cānakya over Candragupta amply indicate that Candragupta and his immediate predecessors were in no way considered anti-brahmanical. Even King Priyadarśin of the Edicts was no persecutor of the Brahmans, for in his inscriptions he always enjoins the *highest respect for "brahmanas' and sramanas"*

88 The identification of Rāja Priyadarsin with Raja Asoka was based *entirely* upon Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles. Talboys Wheeler wrote in 1874, "The identification of Raja Priyadarsin of the Edicts with Raja Asoka of the Buddhist chronicles was first pointed out by Mr Turnour who rested it upon a passage in the Dipāvamsa. The late Prof Wilson objected to this identification"<sup>1</sup> Prof Rhys David declared "It is not too much to say that without the help of the Ceylon Books, the striking identification of the King Piyadassi of the edicts with the king Asoka of history would never have been made"<sup>2</sup> But the Ceylon chronicles are admitted to be utterly worthless as history and according to Wheeler "the Buddhist chronicles ....might be dismissed as a monkish jumble of myths and names," and even Vincent Smith in the preface to his *Asoka* himself said "I reject absolutely the Ceylonese chronology..... The undeserved credit given to the monks of Ceylon has been a great hindrance to the right understanding of ancient Indian history." And yet it is on such undeserved credit that the identity of Priyadarśin with Asoka Maurya rests to this day.

89. In the literature of India there is no allusion anywhere to an invasion or inroad into India by foreign nations up to the time of the Āndhra kings; and the only person who bore the name of Candragupta answering to the description of Sandracottus of the Greeks who flourished about the time of Alexander the Great in India, according to the Purāṇas, was Candragupta of the Gupta Dynasty who established the mighty empire of the Guptas on the ruins of the already decayed Āndhra Dynasty about 2811 years after the Mahābhāraṭa War, corresponding to 328 B C, but he is now being placed in the 4th century A D, on the sole strength of this mistaken Greek Synchronism by our Savants of Indian history God save us from our friends!

90 Beyond the verbal resemblance of Candragupta and Sandracottus and Pāṭalipuṭra and Pāliboṭra, there is nothing to justify the identification of Candragupta Maurya and Sandracottus of the Greeks. No attempt has been made to explain the various names Xandrames, Andrames, Andracottus, Sandracottus, Sandrocyptus, and Sandrocuntas as used by the Greek writers to denote *three different persons*, as referring respectively to the last king of the previous dynasty, the usurper who has been actually reigning at Pāṭalipuṭra at the time when Alexander

1. *History of India*, Hindu, Buddhist and Brahmanical, 280

2. *Buddhist India*, 273

3. *MH*, 171

invaded India, and the king who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator at the instance of Megasthenes. These facts would equally apply, if not more pointedly, to Candragupta of the Gupta Dynasty who usurped the throne of Chandrasri, the last virtual king of the Andhra Dynasty, under the pretext of acting as guardian and regent of his minor son Puloman and who was succeeded by Samudragupta who established himself on the throne of his father with the aid of vagabonds and banditti at Patliputra, and who is distinctly stated in inscriptions to have received ambassadors from various foreign princes, to have conquered the whole of India, then extending far beyond its present limits, and to have performed even an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice in honour of his glorious victories.

91 Kaliyugarājavittanṭa, which is a part of Bhavisyoṭharapurāṇa, describes the last two kings of the Andhra dynasty and the advent of Gupta dynasty thus—

चन्द्रश्रीशतकर्णिस्तु शीणि वर्णाणि मोक्षयति ।  
वासिष्ठपुत्रनाम्नातु स्थातो यथा मविष्यति ॥  
पुलोमार्घ्ये तथा चान्यस्समासप्त मविष्यति ।  
कटोत्कचस्य पुत्रेण चन्द्रशुदेन पालित ॥  
एते द्वार्तिशदान्त्रास्तु मोक्षन्ते वस्थामिमाम् ।  
शतानि पञ्च पूर्णानि तेषां राज्य मविष्यति ॥  
तेषां तु संस्थिते राज्ये मूर्मिर्युप्तान् गमिष्यति ।  
श्रीपर्वतीयान्त्रसूत्या इत्यास्थां यान्ति ये नृपा ॥

\*                    \*                    \*

अथ श्रीचन्द्रशुदारूः पार्वतीवकुलोद्धव ।  
श्रीपर्वतेन्द्राधिपते पौत्रं श्रीगुप्तमूपते.<sup>1</sup> ॥

श्रीचटोत्कचगुप्तस्य तमयोऽभितव्यकम् ।  
कुमारदेवीमुद्राद्य नेपालाचीशितु भूताम् ॥

1. The names underlined like thus, श्रीगुप्त, चन्द्र (=इन्दु), स्कन्द, कुमार etc., are mentioned in order shly by Kālidāsa in Baghuvamṣa (I. 11. 18) e.g.,

i आसीन्महीशितामात्र प्रणवच्छन्दसामिव

ii इन्दु क्षीरनिधाविव

iii व्यूहारस्को वृषस्कन्धः ।

Here the word श्री, a single letter, is compared with the word अँ—a single letter of great sanctity. In I. 81, Kālidāsa says that Sudakṣiṇī was a Magadha princess, thus suggesting that Kālidāsa had in mind Magadha kingdom when he wrote this poem.

## INTRODUCTION

cii

लब्धप्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् लिङ्गवीरां सहायतः ।  
 सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥  
  
 लिङ्गवीरां समुद्राद्य देव्याश्चन्द्रश्रियोऽनुजाम् ।  
 राष्ट्रियस्थालको भूत्वा राजपत्न्या च चोदितः ॥  
  
 चन्द्रश्रियं घातयित्वा मिषेणैव हि केनचित् ।  
 तत्पुत्रप्रतिभूत्वे च राज्या चैव नियोजितः ॥  
  
 वर्षेस्तु सप्तसिः प्राप्तराज्यो वीराग्रणीरसौ ।  
 तत्पुत्रं च पुलोभान विनिहल्य नृपार्मकम् ॥  
  
 आनन्देभ्यो मागर्वं राज्यं प्रसादाऽप्यहरिष्यति ।  
 कच्चेन स्नेन पुत्रेण लिङ्गवीरेण संयुतः ॥  
  
 विजयादिलनाम्ना तु सप्त पालयिता समाः ।  
 स्वनाम्ना च शकं त्वेकं स्थापायिष्यति भूतले ॥  
  
 एकच्छसशक्रवर्तीं पुत्रस्तस्य महायथाः ।  
 नेपालाधीशदौहित्रो म्लेच्छसैन्यैः समावृतः ॥  
  
 वज्रकं पितरं हृत्वा सहपुत्रं सवान्धवम् ।  
 अशोकादिलनाम्ना तु प्रस्त्यातो जगतीतले ॥  
  
 सर्वं विगतशोकश्च मातरं चाऽभिनन्दयन् ।  
समुद्रगुणो भविता सर्वमौमस्ततः परम् ॥  
  
 विजिल सकलामृतीं वर्मपुलं हवाऽप्यरः ।  
 समाहरजश्चमेवं यथाशास्त्रं द्विजोत्तमैः ॥  
  
 स्वदेशीयैर्विद्युच्चीयैर्नृपैः समभिपूजितः ।  
 शाकसाहिलसङ्गीतरसिक. कविभिस्तुतः ॥  
  
 समुद्रगुणः पृथिवीं चतुःसागरवेष्टिताम् ।  
 पञ्चाशतं तथा चैका भोक्ष्यत्यवैकराद् समाः ॥  
  
 तस्य पुलोऽपरश्चन्द्रशुप्तास्त्वयो वीरकेसरी ।  
 यवनांश्च तथा हृणान् देशाद्विद्युवयन् बलात् ॥  
  
 विक्रमादिलवज्जिलं पण्डितैः परिसेवितः ।  
 भुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासकाव्यविच्छणः ॥  
  
 विक्रमादिल इलेवं भुवनेषु प्रथां गतः ।  
वाससिन्धून् सप्ततीर्थं वाहिकार्धीन् विजिल च ॥

## INTRODUCTION

सुराप्यदेशपर्यन्तं कीर्तिस्तम्भे समुच्छृङ्खल् ॥  
 वदतिष्ठद्वैश्वयति समास्त्वेकच्छत्रा वसुन्धराम् ॥  
कुमारगुप्तस्तत्पुत्रो वदेवीसमुद्भव ।  
कुमार इव देवारीन् विजेष्यमिजविद्विष ॥  
 समाहृताऽश्वभेषस महेन्द्रादिल्लामत् ।  
 चत्वारिंशत्समा द्वे च पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ॥  
स्कन्दगुप्तोऽपि तत्पुत्र साक्षात् स्कन्द इवाप्यर ।  
हृष्णदर्पणहरश्च पुष्यसेनानिषूदन ॥  
 पराक्रमादिल्लामना विस्थातो धरणीतले ।  
 शासिष्यति महीं कृत्स्ना पञ्चविश्वितवत्सरान् ॥  
 ततो नृसिंहगुप्तच बालादिल इति क्षुत ।  
 पुत्रः प्रकाशादिलस्य स्थिरगुप्तस्य भूपते ॥  
 नियुक्तः सपितृव्येन स्कन्दगुप्तेन जीवता ।  
 पित्रैव साक भविता चत्वारिंशत् समा नृपः ॥  
अन्य कुमारगुप्तोऽपि पुत्रस्तस्य महायथा ।  
कमादिल इति स्थातो हृष्णैर्युद्ध समाचरन् ॥  
 विजिलेशानवर्मादीन् भद्रकर्णाऽनुसेवित ।  
 चतुश्चत्वारिंशदेव समा भोक्ष्यति भेदिनीम् ॥  
 एते प्रणतसामन्ता श्रीमद्गुप्तकुलोद्धवा ।  
 श्रीपार्वतीयन्नपृथिल्लामानश्चकवर्तिन् ॥  
 महाराजाधिराजादिविदावव्यलङ्घता ।  
 भोक्ष्यन्ति द्वे शते पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्वा वै समा ॥  
 मागधानां महाराज्य छिन्ने भिन्ने च सर्वेषां ।  
 साकमेतमैर्हगुप्तवंशैर्यास्ति सस्थितिश् ॥

—Bhāga III, Chapter 3

To translate a few of these verses

“Chandrasri Satakarni, known also as the son of Vashishthi will enjoy (the kingdom) for 3 years After him yet another Puloma, will be king for 7 years under the protection of Chandragupta, son of Ghatotkacha. These thirty-two Andhra kings (already enumerated) will enjoy the earth , and their reign will cover full 500 years (in round

numbers While they are yet on the throne, the country will pass to the Guptas who will be known as the *sriparvatiya andhrabritiya* kings (i.e., those that had come from Sriparvata, and had been in the service of the Andhras) . . . And so the valiant Chandragupta, the head of the Parvatiya clan, grandson of the ruler of Sriparvata named Srigupta, and son of Ghatotkacha Gupta, will marry Kumaradevi daughter of the king of Nepal Then with the help of the Lichchhavis he will gain influence in the Government (of Andhras), become the Commander-in-chief, and head of a large army He will marry a Lichchhavi Princess, the younger sister of the Queen of Chandrasri, and thus will become the King's brother-in-law, And instigated by the Queen he, by some stratagem, will get King Chandrasri killed He will be appointed Regent in place of her son by the Queen , and in seven years he, undaunted, will become sovereign himself, after killing the young Prince Puloman And thus by force he will seize the Kingdom from the Andhras, and will rule Magadha along (or jointly) with Kacha, his son by the Lichchhavi wife He will reign for seven years under the title of *Vijayaditya* and shall establish on earth an era in his own name ”

“After that (i.e., after Chandragupta) his son, son likewise of the daughter of the King of Nepal, with the aid of Miechchha bands, will slay his treacherous father together with his son and other (unfriendly) relations He will be known on earth under the title of *Asokaditya*, himself freed from all misery, (spiritually ?) and causing joy to his mother, Samudragupta will become supreme ruler of earth. He will conquer the whole world like a second Dharmaputra, and with the help of Brahmanas he will perform the horse-sacrifice according to the scriptures He will be honoured by (subject) Kings both in his own and in foreign countries, and will be praised by poets for his learning and talents in music Thus Samudragupta will reign supreme over the earth from sea to sea (*lit* surrounded by the four oceans) ”

**92** This eulogy should bring to mind at once the Greek picture of Sandrocottus The sensitiveness of Prince Samudra must have been stung by his father's undue favouritism towards Kaca The statement that Candragupta ruled along with Kaca not merely indicates the cause of quarrel between Samudragupta and his father, it explains also the numismatic puzzle as to how Kaca's coins came to be struck. Thus, then, Androkottus of Plutarch who tried to persuade Alexander to invade the Prasii, but whose “insolent behaviour” according to Justin led to a quarrel between him and Alexander, the Androkottus who

afterwards collected bands of robbers and drove out the prefects of Alexander, who was called to royalty by the power of the Gods and by prodigies, who overthrew Xandrames, and humbled Seleucus Nikator, was the same as Samudragupta who with Mleccha troops overthrew his "treacherous" father, and whose conquests inscribed by Harisena on "Asoka's pillar" at Allahabad amply bear out the statement of the Puranas that Samudragupta was supreme ruler of the earth from sea to sea, to whom even Ceylon and Bactria and Assyria paid homage. And this same Samudragupta "the Indian Napoleon" of Vincent Smith, was the Sandrocottos of Megasthenes, and he reigned for fifty-one years. Samudragupta like all the Guptas had a title ending in *āditya* he was *ASOKADITYA*!

93. SANDROCOTTOS WAS ALSO PIYADASSI.—We have read of "Asoka the Buddhist Emperor of India" and "The first and most authentic records are the rock and pillar edicts of Raja Piyadassi ....the reputed grandson of Sandrocottos. ....The second .. consist of the Buddhist Chronicles of the Rajah of Megadha."<sup>1</sup> From a careful study of these two classes of records Talboys Wheeler whose "History of India" appeared in 1874, that is, before the traditional conventions of Orientalists took the fatally rigid shape which they have since assumed, drew his picture of Rāja Piyadarsi Asoka and found how like his picture was to that of the Greek Sandrocottus as depicted by Megasthenes Asoka, while young,<sup>2</sup> "was at variance with his father and seems to have gone into exile like another Rama. He is said to have been appointed to the Government of the distant province of Ujjain, and subsequently to have repressed a revolt in Taxila in the Panjab .....The main incidents of Asoka's early career thus present a strange similarity to those recorded of Sandrokottos by Greek writers. Sandrokottos was also an exiled prince from Pataliputra, and he ultimately drove the Greeks from Taxila. Again Asoka usurped a throne and founded an empire, so did Sandrokottos. Asoka originally professed the Brahmanical religion, and then embraced the more practical religion of the edicts. Sandrokottos sacrificed to the Gods in Brahmanical fashion, but he also held a great assembly every year in which every discovery was discussed which was likely to prove beneficial to the earth, to mankind and to animals generally. ... It would be a startling coincidence if the great sovereign whose religion of duty without deity has been engraven for more than twenty centuries on the rocks

1. Talboys Wheeler's History of India, Hindu Buddhist, and Brahmanical p. 269.

2. Ibid. pp. 281, 487.

and pillars of India, should prove to be the same prince who met Alexander at Taxila, who offended the Macedonian conqueror by his insolence and assumption, who expelled the Greeks from the Panjab during the wars of Alexander's successors, and ultimately married the daughter of Seleukos Nikator". In fact Talboys Wheeler had little doubt that Sandrokottos of the Greeks and Asoka of the Buddhists were identical. In one or two places he calls Asoka "the reputed grandson of Sandrocottus or Chandragupta"<sup>1</sup> and adds in a note "The term 'reputed grandson' is here used advisedly. It will appear hereafter<sup>2</sup> that there is reason to believe that the name Sandrocottos and Asoka are applied to the same individual."<sup>3</sup> The title *Asokaditya* applied to the king in the *Kalyugarājavṛttānṭa* confirms the conjecture made by Talboys Wheeler from internal evidence.

**94 Asoka and Samudragupta** —The correspondence between these two names rests on not mere fancy. Asoka is said to have resented the ill-treatment accorded to him by his father, so did Samudragupta resent Asoka in becoming a King became a parricide,<sup>4</sup> or fratricide also, so did Samudragupta become too. Both were Hindus at the outset. Special mention is made of the conquest of Kalinga by both. Asoka was converted to Buddhism by Upagupta,<sup>5</sup> who is described as a blood relation of Asoka's Samudragupta, it is admitted, was a pupil of the celebrated Buddhist teacher Vasubandhu. Asoka of the edicts though an earnest Buddhist enjoined the highest respect for Brāhmaṇas. Samudragupta, though an 'orthodox Hindu' was a great patron of Buddhism, and throughout the Gupta period "the Buddhist rule of life was observed. Buddhist monasteries were liberally endowed by royal grants."<sup>6</sup> Both Asoka and Samudragupta had intimate relations with Ceylon, with Bactria and other foreign countries.<sup>7</sup> These correspondences cannot fail to establish the identity of the two Emperors. Vincent Smith claims that modern oriental investigators have unearthed the history of Samudragupta, and wonders how "this great king, warrior, poet, and musician who conquered nearly all India,

1. *Ibid*, pp 209 and 476

2. *i.e.*, p 487.

3. *Ibid*, p 476.

4. Harisena makes special mention that Samudragupta was received by his father with open arms. Where was the need for this special mention unless it were intended to contradict current beliefs to the contrary?

5. Vincent Smith's Early History, p 159.

6. *Ibid*, pp 283, 323-334, 297

7. *Ibid*, p 286.

and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon was unknown even by name to the historians of India ”<sup>1</sup> The explanation is simple, Asoka, the title assumed by the emperor, completely replaced his personal name, and became a household word all over India, it was carried to Ceylon in the anecdotes regarding Raja Prāyadarsī Asoka But Samudragupta was known to the Greeks as Sandrocottos only, and the name was also inscribed on the coins which lost to mediæval India have now been discovered

**95** Asoka's pillar at Allahabad may, in one word, be said to link together all the three groups of contemporary evidence It is the pillar of Samudragupta Asoka Priyadarsin The Greeks knew him not as Priyadarsin because Megasthenes had left Palibothra before Sandrokoitus became a Buddhist The Ceylonese Buddhists knew not of the Hindu Samudragupta but only the Buddhist Priyadarsin In India itself, except in popular tales about Asoka, both the names Samudragupta and Priyadarsin were forgotten, the older Purātic accounts all close with the Āndhra line of kings practically The monuments were all pulled down by the Mahomedan invaders.

Thus we see that the *Gupta* dynasty ruled from 328 B.C. to 83 B.C., and of these kings *Candragupta* ruled from 328 to 321 (7 years) and *Samudragupta* for 57 years from 321 to 270 B.C. This would make this *Candragupta* and *Samudragupta* contemporaries of Alexander, Seleucus Nicator and Antiochus IS THIS THE CORRECT SYNCHRONISM ?

**96** Here is an inscription on the metal pillar in Buddha Gaya of a king **CANDRA**

यस्योदर्तयत प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेलागतान्  
 वज्ञेष्वाहवर्वतिमोसीलिद्विता खद्वगेन कीर्तिर्पुजे ।  
 तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन सगरे सिन्धोर्जिता बालहका  
 यसाधार्थविवास्यते जलनिधिर्वर्च्यर्यनिलैर्दक्षिण ॥  
 स्तित्वसेव विसुच्य गा नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरा  
 मूर्त्या कर्मजितावनि गतवत कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ ।  
 शान्तसेव महावने (हुतसुजो) यस्य प्रतापो महान्  
 नाथाप्युत्सुजति प्रणाशितरिपोर्यैलस्य शेष स्थितिष ॥  
 प्रासेन लभुजार्जितन्व भुविरन्वैकीविराज्यं क्षितौ  
 चन्द्राहेन समग्रचन्द्रसदर्शी वक्त्राश्रिय विभ्रता ।

1. *Ibid.*, p 269.

तेनाय प्रणिधाय मूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ माति  
प्रांशुविष्णुपदे शिरौ मगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजं स्थापित ॥

“He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vanga countries (Bengal), he kneaded (and turned) back with (His) Breast the enemies who uniting together, come against (Him), he, by whom, having crossed in warfare, the seven mouths of the (River) Sindhu, the Vahlikas were conquered, he by the breezes of whose powers the Southern ocean is even still perfumed. He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroys (his) enemies (like the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a turned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth, though, he, the king, as if wearied has quitted this earth, and gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land of paradise won by (the merits of his) actions, (but) remaining on this earth by (the memory of his) fame; —By him, the King,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm and (enjoyed) for a very long time, (and) who having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full moon having in faith fixed his mind upon the (God), Vishnu, this lofty standard of divine Vishnu was set up on the hill (called) Vishnupada”

97. By this indictment of the present condition of Indian historical studies it is not in the least meant to belittle the labours of those illustrious savants of Sanskrit learning, who had left their countries and devoted their time and means for the understanding and dissemination of India's ancient literature. India owes to them a debt of gratitude, which lapse of time, however long, cannot tend to obliterate, for those scholars, like Max Muller, Jones and Wilson have all left behind them monuments of learning and research in their editions of Sanskrit works and their translations which have gone out to the wide world for appreciation. It is all the same barely consistent with that expression of thankfulness that as time progresses and new material emerges, scholars should exercise their thoughts on questions on which there may be a possibility for review and reconsideration. Among such subjects is this topic of the Greek synchronism. The fancy that dawned in the mind of William Jones, was hatched by Wilford, was reared by Max Muller, was well clothed by Vincent Smith with the garb of reality. The dissent of Taylor expressed in the preface to Rājataranginī was lost to view before the modern ideas of A Stein in his new Edn. of that work, and so too went down the feeble protest of Wilson.

## INTRODUCTION

98. To my lamented friend, T. S. Narayana Sastri, High Court Vakil, Madras, with whom I collaborated, was due a categorical investigation of this faulty identification and his *Age of Sankara* and *The kings of Magadha* embodied the results of our research. Then followed a similar exposition of Śrī Kalyāṇananda Sarasvatī of Virūpākṣa Mutt and an address to an Oriental Conference by M. K. Acharya. Now comes my reiteration. It may not be a forelorn hope that, as I said, at some day or in some clime these thoughts may again have a revival and a recognition. Let me repeat the words of Bhavaḥhūti :

ये नाम कंचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्वहां जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।

उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा कालो शयं निरवधिविपुला च पृष्ठी ॥

These prefatory pages will now introduce the reader to the study of Classical Sanskrit Literature.

## Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	Abhinava-Bhāraṭī of Abhinavagupta
<i>AG</i>	Cunningham's Ancient Geography
<i>Aayar</i>	
<i>CAL</i>	
<i>Annals</i>	Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Adyar Library
<i>ASL</i>	Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona
<i>BP</i>	Max Muller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature
<i>BRI</i>	Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradāṭanaya
<i>BOD</i>	Mss in Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona
<i>Cat Bod</i>	
<i>Oif</i>	
<i>Bibl Ind</i>	Catalogus Codicūm Sanskriticorum Bibliotheca Bodlianae
<i>BKR</i>	Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta
<i>KR</i>	
<i>BSS</i>	Buhler's Kashmir Report
<i>B</i>	Bombay Sanskrit Series
<i>Bik</i>	A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts contained in the Private Libraries of Gujarat, Kathiavad, Kacbchh, &c compiled under the superintendence of G Buhler
<i>Bhr</i>	
<i>BR</i>	A catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the library of the Mahārāja of Bikneer, compiled Rajendra Lala Mitra, Calcutta
<i>Burnell</i>	Report on the search for Sanskrit Mss in the Bombay Presidency by R G Bhandarkar
<i>BTC</i>	
<i>OC I, II, III</i>	A classified index to the Sanskrit Mss in the Palace at Tanjore by A C Burnell, London
<i>CSC</i>	Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Pts 1, 2, 3, Leipzig
<i>COJ</i>	Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta
<i>CUS</i>	Calcutta Oriental Journal
<i>CII</i>	Columbia University—Indo-Iranian series
<i>CAL</i>	Corpus Ins Indicorum
<i>Adyar</i>	
<i>CASB</i>	Catalogue of manuscripts in Adyar Library
<i>Cat CP</i>	Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, .. Hiralal's Catalogue of Manuscripts in Central Provinces

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>DR</i>	Dasarūpa of Dhananjaya
<i>DC</i>	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphica Indica
<i>EHI</i>	{ V Smith's Early History of India
<i>EH</i>	
<i>EHD</i>	R G Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan
<i>EC</i>	Epigraphica Carnatica
<i>Gough</i>	A E Gough's Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature
<i>GOS</i>	Gaekwad Oriental series, Baroda
<i>HOS</i>	Harward University Oriental Series
<i>HR</i>	{ Reports on Sanskrit manuscripts in S India by
<i>HZ</i>	E Hultzsch, Madras 1905
<i>ISt</i>	Indisch Strahlen
<i>IAlt.</i>	Indische Alterthumskunde, Leipzig
<i>IA</i>	Indian Antiquary
<i>IL</i>	Indian Literature
<i>IO</i>	{ Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the India Office,
<i>IOC</i>	London by Eggeling
<i>IW</i>	Momier William's Indian Wisdom
<i>IHQ</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly
<i>Ind Rev</i>	Indian Review, Madras
<i>JA</i>	. Journal Asiatique, Paris
<i>JAHS</i>	. Journal of Andhra Historical Society
<i>JAOS</i>	... Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>JASSP</i>	. Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika
<i>JASB</i>	... Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>JBRAS</i>	... do (Bombay Branch)
<i>JSSP</i>	Journal of Samskrita Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta
<i>JDL</i>	.. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta
<i>JOR</i>	... Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
<i>JRAS</i>	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JMy</i>	Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore
<i>Jess</i>	{ Catalogue of Manuscripts in Jessalmere Library
<i>Jess. Cat</i>	(G O Series)
<i>Kcd</i>	... Kavindracandrodaya
<i>Keith's SD</i>	... A B Keith's Sanskrit Drama
<i>Keith's CSL</i>	... A B Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature
<i>Keith's SL</i>	... A B Keith's San-krit Literature.
<i>Kav</i>	{ F W. Thomas Edn of Kavindrvacanasamuccaya
<i>Kvs</i>	...}

<i>K</i>	... A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts existing in the Central Provinces—Edited by Keilhorn, Nagpur
<i>Kh</i>	... Report on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-1 by Keilhorn, Bombay 1881 8
<i>I. c.</i> <i>loc. cit.</i>	... } ( <i>lico citato</i> )—‘in the passage previously cited.’
<i>L</i>	... }
<i>Mitra</i>	... Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Rajendralala Mitra
<i>Mack</i>	... Mackenzie Collection A descriptive catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts collected by the late Lieut. Col Colin Mackenzie by H H Wilson, Calcutta.
<i>Manj Jl</i>	... Manjuṣa, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta
<i>MBh Jl</i>	... Manjabhāṣī, Sanskrit Journal, Kancī (Conjeevaram)
<i>MG Jl</i>	... Mītragosthi, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta
<i>MM</i>	... A descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in Mithila by K Jayaswal
<i>MV Jl</i>	... Madhuravāpi, Sanskrīt Journal, Belgaum
<i>MI</i>	... C V Vaidya's Mediaval India.
<i>Mys. OML</i>	... }
<i>Mys</i>	Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Oriental Library,
<i>Mys Sup</i>	Mysore and Supplement
<i>Mitra</i>	... Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts
<i>Mod. Rev</i>	... }
<i>MR</i>	Modern Review, Calcutta.
<i>ND</i>	... Nātyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra
<i>NW</i>	... A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of the North-West Provinces, Benares and Allahabad.
<i>NP</i>	... }
<i>Nepal Cat</i>	... }
<i>Nepal</i>	Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal
<i>Oudh</i>	... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh,
<i>Oxf</i>	... }
<i>Bod</i>	Catalogue Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ by Aufrecht, Oxoni, 1864.
<i>Cat. Bod.</i>	... }
<i>op. cit</i>	... }
<i>o. c.</i>	( <i>opere citato</i> )—‘in the work cited.’
<i>Oppert</i>	... Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in
<i>Opp</i>	Southern India by Gustav Oppert, 2 Vols Madras.
<i>OML</i>	... Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
<i>Pdym</i>	... }
<i>Pmt</i>	Padyāmr̥taśārangī

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Pady</i>	... Padyavenī
<i>PR</i>	... Peterson's Reports of the operations in search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Circle (I to IV)
<i>Raj</i>	... Kalahaṇa's Rājaṭaranginī.
<i>RS</i>	... Rasārṇavasudhākara of Singabhūpāla
<i>Rgh</i>	... Report on search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bombay Presidency by B. G. Bhandarkar.
<i>Rs</i>	... Rasikajivana,
<i>Rice</i>	... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg by Lewis Rice, Bangalore
<i>Radh</i>	... Pustakanam Sucipatram of the library of Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore used by Aufrecht.
<i>SB Jl</i>	Samskr̤ta Bhāraṭi, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta.
<i>SC Jt</i>	... Samskr̤tacandrikā, Sanskrit Journal Kolhapur
<i>SMM Jl</i>	... Samskr̤ta-mahā-mandala, Calcutta
<i>SD</i>	... Sāhityaḍarpaṇa of Viśvanātha.
<i>SK</i>	... Saraswatiḥkanthābharaṇa of Bhoja
<i>ŚP</i>	... Śṛṅgāraprakāṣa of Bhoja
<i>SP</i>	... Sanskrit Poetics by S. K. De.
<i>SS</i>	... Saktisundara
<i>SHar</i>	... Subhāsiṭhārāvalī
<i>Smt</i>	... Sūkṣimukṭāvalī.
<i>Sah</i>	... Sahodaya, Sanskrit Journal, Madras
<i>Sam</i>	... Samvat Era
<i>Schuyler, Bibl</i>	A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama by Montgomery Schuyler (Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Series).
<i>SKC</i>	...
<i>KC</i>	Catalogue of Manuscripts in Kashmir.
<i>Stein</i>	...
<i>Subh</i>	... Subhāsiṭhāvalī of Vallabhaṭṭeva Ed by Peterson
<i>Sang</i>	... Śārangadharapaddhaṭṭi.
<i>SSG</i>	... Belvalkar's Systems of Sanskrit Grammar.
<i>SR</i>	.. Seshagiri Sasīrī's Reports, 2 Volumes
<i>SVH</i>	. Sources of Vizianagar History, Madras
<i>Skm</i>	Sadukṭikarṇāmṛṭa of Śridharādāsa.
<i>SPV</i>	Samskr̤ta-Paṭyavānī, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta
<i>SB</i>	... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares, Allahabad.
<i>Sury Jl</i>	... Sūryodaya, Sanskrit Journal, Kāśī.





## Bibliography

- Aiyar, R. S. ... The Nayaks of Madura
- Altekar, A. S. ... The Rastrakutas and their times.
- Bagchi, P. C. ... Sino Indica, 2 vols,
- Ball, U. N. ... Ancient India  
Medieval India.
- Barna, K. L. ... Early History of Kamarupa
- Basak, R. G. ... History of North Eastern India.
- Bhagwat Datta ... History of Vedic Literature, 2 vols
- Bhandarkar, R. G. ... Early History of the Deccan down to the Mahomedan conquest.  
A Peep into the Early History of India.
- Bijanraj Chatterjee ... Indian Culture in Java and Sumatra.
- Bose, P. N. ... Ancient Indian Colony in Siam.
- Chakravarthy, S. K. ... A Story of Ancient Indian Numismatics.  
Ancient Indian Numismatics.
- Chakradhar H. C. ... Social Life on Ancient India,
- Cunningham, Sir Alexander, ... } Ancient Geography of India.
- Das, A. B. ... Rig-vedic India.  
Rig-vedic Culture.
- Diksitar, V. R. R. ... Some Aspects of Vayu Purana.  
" " Matsya Purana.
- Deneschandra Sarcar ... Dynastic History of Northern India.
- Dineschandar Sen ... Vaishnava Literature of Medieval Bengal.  
History of Bengali Language and Literature.
- Duff, C. M. ... Chronology of India, Westminster.
- Dutt, R. C. ... Civilization in Ancient India, 2 vols.
- Edwin Arnold ... Indian Poetry and Indian Idylls.
- Fazlur Rehman ... Outlines of the Religious Literature of India.
- Fausboll ... Indian Mythology.
- Frazer, R. W. ... A Literary History of India, London and New York.
- Gopalan, R. ... Pallavas of Kanchi.
- Henry, Victor ... Les Littératures de l'Inde, Paris.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Heras, H . . . Beginnings of Vijayanagara History  
 The Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar  
 Studies in Pallava History  
 The Pallava Geneology
- Jayaswal, K. P ... History of India (150 A D 350 A D )  
 Jones, J. P ... India—Its life and Thought  
 Krishnaswami Aiyangar S A Little Known Chapter of Vizianagar History  
 A Short History of Hindu India  
 Early History of Vaishnavism in South India  
 Hindu India from Original Sources  
 Studies in Gupta History
- Kulkarni, K. P . . . Sanskrit Drama and Dramatists  
 Tales from Sanskrit Dramatists
- Law, B. C . . . Ancient mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes  
 Ancient Tribes of India  
 Historical Gleanings
- Lassen, Christian .. Indische Alterthumskunde, Leipzig.  
 Macdonell, Arthur, A .. History of Sanskrit Literature, London and New York
- Mc Crindle, J. W . . . Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian  
 Ancient India as described by Ptolemy
- Majumdar, R. C. . . Ancient Indian Colonies in Far East, Vol. I Champa  
 Outlines of Ancient Indian History and Civilization
- Majumdar, A. K . . . The Hindu History (3003 B C 1200 A.D.)  
 Manning, Mrs C. S . . . Ancient and Mediæval India, London  
 Mitra, P. . . Pre-Historic India
- Moraes, G. M . . . Kadambakula—A History of Ancient and Mediæval Karnataka, Bombay
- Mukerjee, P. K . . . Indian Literature Abroad (China).  
 Indian Literature in China and the Far East.
- Nandu Lal Dey . . . Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India  
 Rasatal or The Underworld.
- Oldenberg, N . . . Die Literature des alten Indian, Stuttgart and Berlin.
- Panikkar, K. M . . . Sri Harsha of Kanj

- Pargiter, F. E. ... Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
- Pischel, R. ... Die Indesche Literature, Berlin,
- Pires, E. A. ... The Maukaris
- Rapson ... Ancient India,  
Ancient India (Cambridge),  
History of India.
- Radhakrishna Mukerjee. Fundamental Units of India.
- Sarma, S. H ... Padma Purana.
- Sen and Ray Choudhri. The Germination of Indian History.
- Siddhata, M. K. ... Heroic Age of India.
- Siddhesvara Sastri ... Pracina Caritra Kosa  
Dictionary of Ancient Indian Biographies.
- Sitanath Pradhan ... Chronology of Ancient India (from the Times  
of the Rig-veda, King Devadasa to Chan-  
dragupta Maurya
- Sitanath Tatvabhusan. Krishna and Purana.
- Smith, V. A. ... The Early History of India (from 600 B.C.)  
till Mahomedan conquest.  
Oxford History of India.  
Asoka.
- Vaidya, C. V. ... History of Mediæval Hindu India—3 Vols.  
History of Vedic Literature.
- Von Schordder, L. ... Indian Literature and Kultur, Leipzig.
- Weber, A. ... Indian Literature.
- Williams, Monier ... Indian Wisdom.
- Winternitz, M. ... Der Indeschen Literature, 2 vols. Leipzig.  
Some Problems of Indian Literature.



## TRANSLITERATION

অ	a	ক	k	ନ	t
আ	া	খ	kh	ଥ	th
ই	i	গ	g	ଦ	d
ঈ	ঈ	ঘ	gh	ଧ	dh
উ	u	ভ	n	ନ	n
ঊ	ঁ	চ	c	ପ	p
ঢ	r	ছ	ch	ଫ	ph
ঝ	r	জ	j	ବ	b
ঞ	l	ঝ	jh	ଭ	bh
ম	ে	ঙ	n	ମ	m
ঔ	ai	ঠ	t	য	y
়	o	ঢ	th	ର	r
়ী	au	ঢ	d	ଲ	l
ঁ	m	ঢ	dh	ব	v
.	h, f	ণ	n	শ	ś
		ষ	s		
		স	s		
		হ	h		

*N.B.—(i) In the case ত and ত্ and ତ and ତ্ the transliteration till now adopted by many, t and d and t and d has been reversed in this book as more consistent with the natural sounds of the English alphabets.*

*(ii) In the case of the nasals only the letters n and m have been adopted, without further modifications of these two types, to facilitate printing*

*(iii) In the Sanskrit spelling the strict grammatical rule of nasal sandhis has not been followed for typographical reasons. For instance, মবন্তি might have been spelt as মবঁতি.*







॥ श्री. ॥

ओं नमो नारायणाय

कृजन्तं रामरामेति मधुरं मधुराक्षरम् ।  
आरुष्ठ कविताशाखां वन्दे वाल्मीकिकोकिलम् ॥  
व्यास वसिष्ठनसार चते पौत्रमकल्पम् ।  
पराचरात्मज वन्दे शुक्रतात तपोनिविम् ॥

## BOOK I

### EPIC POETRY

#### CHAPTER I

##### SECTION 1

###### Vedic Forms of Epics

"In India, says M. Wilhams," literature like the whole face of nature, is on a gigantic scale Poetry, born amid the majestic scenery of the Himalayas, and fostered in a climate which inflamed the imaginative powers, developed itself with oriental luxuriance, if not always with true sublimity Although the Hindus like the Greeks, have only two great epic poems (the Ramayana and Mahabharata) yet to compare these vast compositions with the Iliad and the Odyssey, is to compare the Indus and the Ganges, rising in the snows of the world's most colossal ranges, swollen by numerous tributaries, spreading into vast shallows of branching into deep divergent channels, with the streams of Attica or the mountain torrents of Thessaly It is, of course, a principal characteristic of epic poetry, as distinguished from lyrical, that it should concern itself more with external action than internal feelings It is this which makes Epos the natural expression of early national life When centuries of trial have turned the mind of nations inwards, and men begin to speculate, to reason, to elaborate language and cultivate science, there may be no lack of refined poetry, but the spontaneous production of epic song is, at that stage of national existence, as impossible as for the octogenarian to delight in the giants and giant-killers of his childhood The Ramayana and Mahabharata then, as reflecting the Hindu character in ancient times, may be expected to abound in stirring incidents of exaggerated heroic action."<sup>1</sup>

The beginnings of epic poetry in India are to be found in the early Vedic Literature. The *Rg Veda* contained hymns of a narrative character, and short legends in prose and in verse called *Gāthas*, *Nārāsamsis*, *Ithāsas* etc., occur in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature.<sup>1</sup> The *Nirukta* contains prose tales and likewise the metrical *Bṛhaddeveṭa*, The *Yamasabhiyas*, the *Indrajananīyas*, the *Ākhyānas*, *Canaraṭas* and probably *Granṭhas* *Sisukrandiyas*,<sup>2</sup> narrated the course of epic history. In the Vedic literature there was no essential difference between *Aṭīṭa*, *Ākhyāna*, *Purāṇa* and *Ithāsa* and generally *Kathā*. They meant ordinarily an old tale, story, legend or incident and they were often interchangeable.<sup>3</sup> *Kathā* is non-specific and may be a causerie rather than a tale. There may be a *Divyakaṭhā*, like the legend of *Agastya*,<sup>4</sup> or a *Kaṭhampta* or essence of several *Upākhyānas*,<sup>5</sup> or a *Kathāsāra*, an abridgment of a story. But their essential characteristic is the narration of stories of great kings or Gods in the past. So we hear of *Dyumat-sena* solaced by the tales of former kings,<sup>6</sup> such as *Rāma* and *Nala*<sup>7</sup> *Purāṇa*, literally old and *Ithāsa* (*Iti-ha-āsa*), literally 'so it was' are almost synonymous, and these terms are found associated with each other in the early literature.<sup>8</sup> The word *Ithāsa* may become a saying, a proverb rather than a legend.<sup>9</sup> In this sense the words *Gīta* and *Gāthā* were also used. *Gāthā* need not necessarily be sung and means only a proverbial verse.<sup>10</sup> *Vyāsa* called his *Mahābhāraṭa* or "Jaya", *Samhitā*, *Purāṇa*, *Ākhyāna*, *Upākhyāna*, *Kathā*, *Ithāsa*, *Kāvya* etc.<sup>11</sup>

1. *Brhaṭ*, II, 4-10, IV, 1-2, IV, 5-9, *Satapatha* XI 7-1. See also *Atharva Samhitā*, XV 6, *ISI* 188.

2. *Pāṇini*, IV, m 88, VI, 2 108. Goldstucker's *Pāṇini*, 28, *ISI*, V, 27. Maxmuller, *ASL*, 40.

3. *Mah.*, III, 100, 2.

4. *Mah.* XII, 840, 127.

5. *Mah.* XII, 886, 16

6. *Mah* I 140, 74, III, 298-7

चित्राणि॑ पूर्वार्प्तां॒ कथाश्रयै॒

7. The story of *Nala* is being indifferently called *Kirṭana*, *Ithāsa* and *Purāṇa* *Mah.* III 79, 10, 11, 16

8. See *Chān Up.* VII, 1, 2, 4, VII 9, 29, III 45.

9. *Mah.* III 80-91

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमिमित्तिहास पुरातनम् ।

10. *Mah* III 29, 85, III 186, 45, 54

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमिमा गाथोदैवरुदाहता ।

We find these *Gāthās* incorporated in legal and philosophical literature also.

11. *Mah* I 2, 888, 885, 887, 889. Similarly *Rāmāyaṇa* is called *Ākhyāna* and *Samhitā* (*Rām.* VI, 181, 122, 124). This reference as *Kāvya* modifies Lassen's opinion (*Indian Antiquities*, I, 435) that *Kāvya* is a distinct title of *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In thus describing his work Vyāsa must have had in mind some special characteristic of each class and therefore added that his work possessed all these qualities so as to stand forth as an encyclopædia of all learning. In the extant literature, the terms *Ithāsa* and *Purāṇa* have acquired a distinct use *Ithāsa* may correspond to an epic and *Purāṇa* to a series of narrations, without the main porp of a running tale, meant solely to explain cosmological and theological teneis. In this sense a *Purāṇa* has been thus described as *pancalakṣana* it treats of five topics, creation, destruction and recreation, geneology of the Gods, periods of Manus, and history of royal races <sup>1</sup>

सर्वश्च प्रतिसर्वश्च वस्तो मन्वन्तराणि च ।  
वैशाखुचरितं चेति पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

Broadly speaking, therefore, epic literature in India consists of *Ithāsas*, and *Purāṇas*. Of the former we have Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata and with these we shall now proceed to deal

## SECTION II

### Ramayana

Rāmāyana, literally the history of Rama, is the immortal poem of Vālmīki<sup>2</sup>. Vālmīki, known also as Bhārgava and Prācetasa, was a sage with his hermitage on the banks of the Ganges. His original name was Raṭhākara. In the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana Vālmīki describes his

1. See *Vāyu Purāṇa*, IV 10, and Amarasiṁha's *NāmaLingānūḍīśanam*.

2. Vālmīki the descendant of Bhṛigu was the 24th Vyāsa in the Vaivasvata-manvantara (*Vishnu Purāṇa*, III, 3).

श्रीरामजपमहिमप्रकाशको भगवान् वाल्मीकि श्रीरामायणारूपप्रबन्ध निबन्धने ग्रन्थयन् तत्कथोपदेशकेन नारदेनात्मनस्वादमादादौ कथयति—तप इति ।

तपसी तपश्चाली । वाल्मीकि वामदृशप्रभूतमुनि । तपसि साध्याये च । निरतः नितरामासरक् । त वाग्विदा वक्तुणां वर श्रेष्ठम् । मुनिपुङ्कवमृषिश्रेष्ठं नारद परिप्रश्न्तु चुन प्रश्न कृतवान् । वाल्मीकिरिल्यत वाल्मीकिकात्कर्चरणादिविशिष्टतयेत्पञ्चदेव वस्तीकला-पत्तामिलर्थविवक्षायां अत इतिः इत्प्रलयः । ननु वस्तीकलामकसुने. स्कन्द रेत शाचित्सर्पाङ्कना पीत्वा वाल्मीकि जनयामासेति स्कन्दे वैशाखमाहात्म्ये श्रूयते । कविनिषाद. प्राप(र्थु)पदेशेन रामनाम जपत् वने तस्यौ । तत्किरातपत्तरीरे वस्तीकमभूत् । तत कतिपयकाले गते सप्तर्थस्तद्वन्मेल किराततपस्स्त्राचमिति तत्रागत वस्तीक दृष्टा किराताह्नान चक्षु । स . . . . . रामनामजपमहिमप्राप्तमुनिमादो वाल्मीकिरिति प्रथितोऽमूदिति पात्रे पुराणे ।

See Commentary on सप्तर्थस्तद्वन्मेल ITC. IV. 4866-71

past history —By whom or how, O Rama, can the greatness of thy name be rehearsed,—that name by whose power I, O Rama, have attained the rank of a Brahmin saint? In bygone times I was bred among Kiratas, with the children of Kiratas But by birth only was I a Brahmin, for I was perpetually devoted to the practices of Sudras From Sudra women many children were born to me of unsubdued passions And at last, having fallen in with robbers, I myself of yore became a brigand,—bearing constantly a bow and arrows and resembling, to men, God of death In a great forest, on a certain occasion, I saw before me the seven Munis, resplendant, and glorious like fire and the sun Through curiosity I pursued them, longing to seize their possessions, and I shouted "Stop, stop" Seeing me the Munis asked "Wherefore has thou come, base Brahmin?" "To acquire something, O most excellent of Munis" was my reply to them "My children, my wife and others—many—are starving To save them I wander through the mountain forests" Upon this, they, undismayed, said to me, "Go and ask your family one by one, whether they consent or not to participate in the guilt of the numerous sins that are daily committed by thee We will certainly remain here until you return" Replying "yes" I went home, and put the question propounded by the Munis to my children, wife and others They replied to me, O noblest of the Raghavas, "All the sin is, we deem, thy own alone we are willing to be sharers in the immediate fruit of it only Contrite on hearing this, I went back, thoughtful, to the place where the Munis, with hearts full of compassion, were waiting At the very sight of them my soul was purified Flinging away my bow and other weapons I fell prostrate crying, "Save O excellent Munis, me who am on the road to the sea of perdition" Beholding me lying before them, the venerable Munis said to me. "Rise, rise, blessings be upon thee. Communion with the pious is effectual We will instruct thee somewhat, and so thou shalt be saved" Looking at each other they continued "This vile Brahmin, as being addicted to evil course deserves only to be shunned by the virtuous Since, however, he has come for sanctuary, he must be diligently protected by being taught the way of salvation" So saying, O Rama, they enjoined that, with fixed attention, I should unremittingly meditate in that very place, upon thy name, its syllables being transposed namely, *ma ra* "Meditate" said they "as directed, till we come again," Having thus spoken, the divinely wise Munis departed At once I did as I had been bidden by them With concentrated mind I meditated, and lost all consciousness

of thing external Above me, rigid in figure, and detached from all commerce with the world, there arose, after a long lapse of time, thus employed, an ant-hill Subsequently at the close of thousands of cycles, the Rishis returned "Come out" said they to me, and immediately, on hearing this command, I stood up And I emerged from the ant-hill, like the sun from the mist of morning The band of Munis then addressed me, "Great Muni, be thy name Vālmīki, for thy egress from the white-ant-hill (Valmika) has been to thee a second birth Thus speaking, O most eminent of the race of Raghu, they proceeded on the road to heaven."<sup>1</sup>

Nārada was struck with that devotion and thought that he was the best person to commemorate the story of Rāma He narrated to him the story of Rāma and blessed that to him the world would be indebted for its publication Once when out in the forests, Vālmīki was moved by the killing of one of a fond pair of birds by a hunter, leaving the female bird to lament the death of her mate and that feeling of pity manifested itself in the form of a melodious verse —

मा निशाद् प्रतिद्वा त्वसगम शाश्वती समा ।  
यत् कौञ्चमिथुनदेकमवधी काममोहितम् ॥

When contemplating on this verse with melancholy Brahmā appeared and directed him to compose Rāmāyana. Blessed by Brahmā with a perception of the events of Rāma's history, he wrote his poem and gave it the names, Rāmāyana, Sītācarita and Paustyaśavadha. He taught it to his pupils Lava and Kuśa, the sons of Rāma, who were born and bred up in his hermitage while Sītā was in banishment, and they sung it to lyre for the first time at Rāma's Asvamēda sacrifice.

In the present form Rāmāyana is divided into seven Kāndas or books Tradition gives the number of verses as 24,000 in 500 chapters or Sargas, each thousand verses beginning with a letter of Gāyatrī-manṭra Interpolations and alterations made in different parts of India and at different times account for the work now being seen in three distinct recensions, the Bombay, Bengal and the West Indian,<sup>2</sup> the

1. This narrative is to be found at I. 64–85 of the Sixth chapter of the Ayodhyā-kanda of the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana.

2. These recensions are so named by Macdonell (*Sams. Let.* 808) Gorroo's Edition is the Bengali recension. Regarding the Bombay Edition, see *1St*, II, 285. For the differences in the Bengali and Bombay versions, see C. V. Vaidya's Riddle of the Ramayana, Appendix; *J.R.A.S.*, XIX, 808 &, Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 377–418. Rāma's horoscope is not found in the Bengali recension. On Rāma's horoscope,

earliest being probably that of Bombay. These variations, says Macdonell "are of such a kind that they can for the most part be accounted for only by the fluctuations of oral tradition among the professional reciters of the epic, at the time when three recensions assumed definite shape in different parts of the country, by being committed to writing" The manuscripts of the Berlin library, contain, it is said, a fourth recension<sup>1</sup>

The following summary of the story is taken by R C DUTT's *Civilization in Ancient India*

Formerly there ruled over the kingdom of Kosala (capital Ayodhya) a king called Dasaratha He belonged to the Solar race, and counted among his ancestors such famous names as Manu, Ikshvaku (first king of Ayodhya), Sagara, Bhagiratha (who brought the Ganges down from heaven), Kakutstha, and Raghu He had three wives Kausalya, Sumitra, and Kaikeyi , the first was the eldest, the last, the most beloved Dasaratha ruled long and prosperously but had only one daughter, Sita and no sons, though he was getting old Following the advice of Vasishtha, his family preceptor, Dasaratha offered a sacrifice in which his son-in-law Rishyasringa, officiated as head-priest As a consequence, the king got four sons 1 Rama, the eldest, born of Kausalya, 2 Bharata, born of Kaikeyi , 3 Lakshmana and 4. Satrughna, both born of Sumitra

The kingdom of Videha (capital Mithila) was to the east of the kingdom of Kosala It was at this time ruled by the saintly king Janaka, who, as he was once for a holy sacrifice preparing the ground with a plough, came upon an infant, and brought her up as his own daughter. This was Sita thus miraculously sprung from the Earth. The girl grew up in the company of Urmila, another daughter of Janaka, and of Mandavi and Srutakirti, daughters of Janaka's brother Kusadhwaja. As Sita became of an age to be married, Janaka instituted a *Swayamvara* whoever should succeed in bending a mighty bow (which Janaka had received from God Siva) was to marry the princess Many attempted, but none succeeded

---

see Weber, *On the Ramayana*, 1A, I 120) In his abridgment of Rāmāyaṇa (Samksipta-Rāmāyaṇa) C R Vaidya purports to eliminate all accretions and to give what might have been the Rāmāyaṇa as composed by Vālmiki The running story has been culled but and edited by P P S Sastry and A M. Srinivassacarya, Madras. See Karnam Gundurao's essay, *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1916), 216

1. Weber's Cat 119,

One day there came to the court of Dasaratha the royal sage Visvamitra who, finding the demons frequently molesting his penances, requested the king to send two of his sons, Rama and Lakshmana, with him to his penance-grove. Since a person of Visvamitra's position could not be denied anything, Dasaratha reluctantly agreed to give over his sons, though yet in tender years. Visvamitra resumed his holy rites and when the molesters came, Rama, at Visvamitra's behest, killed the demon Subahu and the terrible she-demon Tataka. Pleased at the prince's valour, Visvamitra thereupon taught him the mystic formulae relating to all the missiles that he knew, and particularly the *Jrimbhaka* missile, which had the power of producing instantaneous stupor or paralysis in the ranks of the assailants. After the conclusion of the sacrifice, Visvamitra took Rama and Lakshmana with him to Mithila, the capital of Janaka. Janaka was very favourably impressed by the princes, and Visvamitra called upon Rama to try his hand at the mighty bow. Young though he was, Rama not only succeeded in bending it, but even breaking it in twain, and thus winning him a wife. Visvamitra now proposed that, along with Sita's marriage to Rama, there be celebrated the marriages of Sita's sister Urmila and her cousins Mandavi and Srutakirti to the three brothers of Rama, Lakshmana and Bharata and Satrughna respectively. The proposal was agreed to. Dasaratha was called from Ayodhya, and the marriages were celebrated with due pomp.

The nuptial joys, however, were interrupted by the arrival of Parasurama, son of Jamadagni. Parasurama was a fiery Brahman, sage and warrior, who had twenty-one times rid the earth of all Kshatriyas. He was a devotee of God Siva, and was incensed to learn that Rama had not only bent but broken the bow of his favourite Divinity. As nothing short of a fight with the young prince would satisfy him, Rama managed to reduce him to terms, and sent him away humbled and abashed. The four princes then returned to Ayodhya with their brides. Here they passed some twelve years. END OF BALAKANDA

Dasaratha, finding his eldest son Rama now arrived at a proper age, resolves to crown him heir-apparent. Preparations are accordingly set on foot. But Kaikeyi, the youngest queen following the advice of Manthara, her nurse and confidante, calls upon her husband to fulfil immediately the two boons which on an earlier occasion he had granted her. Dasaratha consents, but is sorely grieved to learn that the boons

are 1 That Bharata, Kaikeyi's son, be appointed heir-apparent, 2 that Rama be forthwith sent away into exile for fourteen years As the king could not belie his words, Rama had to submit to the wishes of his step-mother, which he cheerfully does His wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana refuse to be left behind, and they are all three accordingly carried away through the weeping multitudes The old king was so much afflicted by this great blow that he barely lived to hear the news of the exiles being taken over safe beyond the boundaries of his kingdom.

Bharata, who all this while was in utter ignorance of the happenings at Ayodhya, is now sent for in order to perform the obsequies of his father and assume the sovereignty thus devolved upon him He returns, but discovering the mean conduct of his mother, he reproves her bitterly, and refuses to take charge of the kingdom and thus give his consent to the base intrigue He resolves immediately to start in search of Rama, and to implore him to return. On the other side of the Ganges, near the mountain called Chitrakuta, close by the saint Bharadvaja's hermitage, Bharata finds Rama leading a forester's life in the company of his wife and brother Rama is struck by Bharata's magnanimity, but insists upon the carrying out of his father's command to the letter, and is unwilling to return before the completion of the full term of fourteen years. Bharata thereupon resolves to keep company with Rama , the latter, however, reminds him of the duty they all owed to their subjects, and persuades him to return, which Bharata does, only on the condition that Rama will come back at the appointed time, himself in the meanwhile conducting the affairs of the state only as Rama's agent   END OF AVODHYA-KANDA

Rama now resolves to withdraw further away from his kingdom and learning that the regions on the other side of the Vindhya mountains were infested with wild demons and cannibals, he set forth in that direction At his entrance into the Vindhya forests he meets the demon Viradha, whom he kills He then meets a number of sages and ascetics, in whose company he is said to have passed no less than ten years. Going further south into the Dandaka forests he reaches the river Godavari, and there, in the part of the country known as Janasthana, comes upon the hermitage of Agastya and his wife Lopamudra The holy pair heartily welcome the newcomers, and here at the foot of a mountain called Prasravana, and in a region known as Panchavati, Rama resolves to build a small hut and to pass the rest of his exile

peacefully in the company of the saint Agastya and the vulture-king Jatayus

Peace, however, was not vouchsafed to him long. At this time there ruled in the island of Lanka (identified with modern Ceylon) a demon king, Ravana. He was called ten-headed and was a terror to the world. Having established his power in Lanka proper, Ravana crossed over to the mainland and overran the whole of Southern India, subduing everything that came in his way. Ravana, however, found more than his match in Valin, king of the Monkeys, whose kingdom comprised the part of South India then known as Kishkindha. An agreement was entered into whereby, except for a narrow strip of land along the coast, the bulk of the peninsula came into the possession of Valin. Ravana's territory touched the Janasthana, and here he left a large army of demons under the command of Khara (Ravana's younger brother) and Dushana and Trisiras.

Once Surpanakha, a widowed sister of Ravana, came upon Rama in the Panchavati, and smitten with his graceful form made him frank overtures of love, promising to eat up Sita and thus put her out of the way, if Rama would consent. Rama in jest sent her to Lakshmana, who rewarded her insistence by cutting off her nose and ears. Surpanakha went weeping and bleeding to her brother Khara, who in anger despatched fourteen picked men to capture Rama. As they did not return, Khara marched with his whole army, 14,000 demons strong and engaged Rama in a close fight. Rama stepped back a few paces so as to gain room for working with his bow, and then, one after another, he killed the entire army of demons, as also its three leaders.

Surpanakha vows revenge. She now repairs to Ravana in Lanka and inflames his mind with a passion for Sita, whose charms she praises loudly. Ravana resolves to capture her. He asks Maricha, another demon, to assume the form of a golden deer, and to lure Rama in chase away from his cottage. Maricha does this and is mortally wounded by Rama's arrow. Before he dies, however, imitating the voice of Rama, he calls upon Lakshmana for help. Lakshmana was left behind to guard Sita in the cottage, but upon hearing the cry, which she mistook for her husband's, Sita urges and even commands Lakshmana to go, which he does reluctantly. Utilizing the favourable moment Ravana now pounces upon the forlorn Sita and flies away with her, striking down on his way the vulture-king Jatayus, who from his mountain peak had watched this daring act and attempted to intercept

the abductor. Jatayus falls down to die, surviving just long enough to inform Rama and Lakshmana (already returned from the deer-chase amazed at not finding Sita in the cottage) of what had happened, Rama's grief was unbounded, END OF ARANYA-KANDA

Wandering further onward, the princes at last reach the lake called Pampa, Here they come upon Sugriva and his trusty friend and minister Hanuman, alias Maruti Sugriva was the brother of Valin, king of the Monkeys, and had been dispossessed by him both of his kingdom and his wife Rama and Sugriva enter into an alliance whereby Rama agrees to restore Sugriva to his kingdom, and in return the latter promises to send out search-parties and help Rama to punish the abductor and recover his lost wife Rama accordingly asks Sugriva to challenge Valin to a duel, and as the two brothers join in combat, Rama wounds Valin mortally with an arrow For this unprovoked wrong and treachery Valin reproaches Rama severely, the latter simply replies that as an agent of the sovereign king of Ayodhya he took upon himself the duty of inflicting proper punishment upon malefactors who, like Valin had usurped a brother's throne and wife The death of Valin leaves Sugriva master of the kingdom of Kishkindha , and in gratitude he now sends, under proper leaders, parties of Monkeys in search of Sita. The most important of these was the one sent to the south under the command of Maruti This party presses forward and southward until it gains the sea-coast, END OF KISHKINDHA-KANDA.

The waters seemed to offer an impassable barrier, as the island of Lanka stood on the other side of the ocean , but Maruti undertakes to clear it by a leap This he does and enters Lanka. Here he was fortunate enough to meet Sita, sorrowing in Ravana's garden under the shade of an Asoka tree, she-demons of hideous and terrible looks keeping watch over her day and night In glowing terms they describe to her the glory and the greatness of Ravana, and work alternately upon her hopes and her fears to the end that she may consent to have Ravana Sita refuses to listen, and Ravana is too proud to stoop to force

Maruti soon finds opportunity to console Sita and assure her of a speedy deliverance Having thus achieved the chief object of his journey, Maruti now leaves Lanka, not without meeting sundry adventures, in the course of which he succeeds in killing a few hundred demons and setting the whole city on fire Once more he leaps over the ocean and returns to Kishkindha with the glad news END OF SUNDARAKANDA.

Rama immediately resolves to invade Lanka Sugriva with his army of Monkeys and Jambavant with his army of Bears offer their assistance and the whole army soon gains the Southern Ocean Here they are joined by Vibhishana, the youngest brother of Ravana Vibhishana had tried to remonstrate with his eldest brother against the evil course of conduct he was pursuing, and being rewarded with contempt he now came over to Rama's side. Rama receives him well and promises him the kingdom of Lanka after Ravana's death. To make it possible for the army to cross over, Rama now resolves to construct a stone bridge over the ocean, and to this he is helped by the engineering genius of Nala Having gained the island he next lays siege to the capital The battle which follows lasts, according to the several inconsistent time-indications, for four or fifteen or thirty-nine or eighty-eight days , Ravana together with his brothers and sons and the entire army of demons is put to death , and Rama, in accordance with his promise, installs Vibhishana as king of Lanka.

Having thus vanquished the enemy and wiped out the insult, Rama now meets Sita He is, however, unwilling, for fear of public scandal, to take his wife back until she has proved her purity Pierced to the quick by Rama's suspicion Sita proposes the fire-ordeal. A huge pyre is kindled and with a firm tread she walks towards it and is engulfed by the flames Immediately, however, she reappears, led forth by the Fire-god himself, who in the hearing of all proclaims her innocence. Rama now accepts her, saying that he never doubted her innocence, but had to do what he did for the sake of the people The fourteen-year period of exile having now almost expired, Rama, along with his wife, brother, friends, and allies, makes a journey northwards, utilizing for the purpose the aerial car called *Pushpaka* which belonged to Ravana. The reach their home, where they meet Bharata and the Queen-mothers anxiously awaiting the return of the exiles, Rama's coronation is now celebrated with due pomp and there is rejoicing everywhere.  
END OF YUDDHA-KĀNDĀ.

The epic should naturally end here, but there is one more book or kanda dealing with the history of Rama from his coronation to his death Here we are told how a few months after the coronation rumours regarding Sita began to be circulated amongst the people, who did not like that Rama should have received his wife back after she had been nearly a year in the house of Ravana Through his spies Rama comes to know of this, and resolves to abandon Sita, although at this

time she was in a state of advanced pregnancy Rama charges his brother Lakshmana with the carrying out of this plan Lakshmana obeys, places Sita in a chariot, takes her into a forest on the other side of the Ganges, and there leaves her, after communicating to her the actual state of things

Thereupon Sita sends back to Rama a spirited reply and patiently succumbs to the inevitable In her forlorn condition she fortunately chances upon the saint Valmiki, whose hermitage was near by. Valmiki receives the exiled queen under his protection In his hermitage she gives birth to twin sons, Kusa and Lava, whom Valmiki brings up and educates along with his other pupils

Meanwhile in Ayodhya Rama is not at peace From a mere sense of duty he discharges his manifold functions as a king, but is always haunted by the image of her whom he had treated so unjustly Years go by, and at last he resolves to perform a horse-sacrifice. For the festivities attending the completion of the sacrifice there came Valmiki bringing with him the twins, Kusa and Lava, whom he had taught to sing the Ramayana, a panegyric poem on Rama which Valmiki had composed With great applause the boys recite the poem in the presence of Rama and the whole assembly Rama inquires about the boys and is pleasantly surprised to learn from Valmiki that they are Rama's own sons Understanding that Sita is still alive, he sends for her Sita comes. Rama asks her to give further evidence of her innocence and purity 'If it is true', exclaims Sita, 'that in mind and deed and word I have never been unfaithful to Rama, may Mother Earth receive me into her bosom!' Just as she utters these words the Earth gapes open and a divine form stretches forth her hands to Sita, who enters the abyss and there finds eternal rest.

Soon after the disappearance of Sita, Rama feels his own end drawing near. The kingdom is divided amongst the four brothers, who in turn settle it upon their children In the meantime the aged queen-mothers die. Thereafter Lakshmana whom Rama, for no fault of his own, was compelled to send away from him, gives up the ghost. Finally Rama himself enters the waters of the river Sarayu, and his other brothers, and the whole city of Ayodhya in fact, follow after him to heaven **END OF UTTARA-KANDA.<sup>2</sup>**

---

(1) Similar summaries of the story are found in several books, such as Sir William Jones's works, Maurice's *Hindustan*, Moor's *Pantheon* etc.

On the authenticity and signification of the narrative itself, various THEORIES have been advanced

*R C Dutt*—“The Ramayana is utterly valueless as a narrative of historical events and incidents. The heroes are myths, pure and simple. Sita, the field-furrow, had received divine honors from the time of the Rig Veda and had been worshipped as a goddess. When cultivation gradually spread towards Southern India, it is not difficult to invent a poetical myth that Sita was carried to the south. And when this goddess and woman—the noblest creation of human imagination—had acquired a distinct and lovely individuality, she was naturally described as the daughter of the holiest and most learned King on record, Janaka of the Videhas! “But who is Rama, described as Sita’s husband and King of the Kosalas? The later Puranas tell us he was an incarnation of Vishnu—but Vishnu himself had not risen to prominence at the time at which we are speaking! Indra was the chief of the Gods in the Epic period. In the Sutra literature we learn that Sita the furrow goddess is the wife of Indra. Is it then an untenable conjecture that Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, is in his original conception like Arjuna, the hero of Mahabharata, only a new edition of the Indra of the Rig Veda, battling with the demons of drought? The myth of Indra has thus been mixed up with the epic which describes a historic conquest of Southern India”<sup>1</sup>

*Jacobi*—The foundation of the Ramayana would be a celestial myth of the Veda transformed into a narrative of earthly adventures according to a not uncommon development. Sita can be traced to the Rig Veda, where she appears as the Furrow personified and invoked as a goddess. In some of the Grihya-sutras, she again appears as a genius of the plough-fields, is praised as a being of great beauty and is accounted the wife of Indra or Parjanya the rain-god. There are traces of this origin in the Ramayana itself. For Sita is represented, as having emerged from the earth, when her father Janaka was once ploughing and at last disappears underground in the arms of the goddess Earth. Her husband Rama would be no other than Indra, and his conflict with Ravana would represent the *Indra-Vrutra* myth of the Rig Veda. This identification is confirmed by the name of Ravana’s son being Indrajit or Indra-Satru, the latter being actually an

epithet of Vritra in the Rig Veda Ravana's most notable feat, the rape of Sita, has its prototype in the stealing of the cows recovered by Indra, Hanumat, the chief of the monkeys and Rama's ally in the recovery of Sita is the son of the wind-god with the patronymic Maruti and is described as flying hundreds of leagues through the air to find Sita Hence in his figure perhaps survives reminiscence of Indra's alliance with the Maruts in his conflict with Vritra and the dog Sarama who as Indra's messenger crosses the waters of the Rasa and tracks the cows occurs as the name of the demoness who consoles Sita in her captivity<sup>1</sup>

Weber —(1) "In the Ramayana we find ourselves from the very outset in the region of allegory and we only move upon historical ground in so far as the allegory is applied to an historical fact, *vis*, to the spread of Aryan civilization to the south more especially to Ceylon (2) The Greeks are mentioned only twice and that under the vague name of Yavanas, which word embraces not only the Greeks but many of those alien races that have from time to time made inroads on N. W India. The theory of the translation of the Greek poems into the Indian epics has no standing ground So our epic composition must have preceded the Greek invasions (3) The city of Pataliputra was built about 400 B C under Kalasoka and which about 350 B C became the capital of an empire While the Ramayana refers to cities of Eastern Hindustan, it makes no mention of this important city The only deduction is that its composition preceded the foundation of the city. (4) The capital of the Kosala Kingdom is called *Ayodhya* in the poem, whereas the name *Saketa* is given to it by the Buddhists and the Jains It is said that Lava fixed his seat of Government at Sravasti Our poem must have been composed when the old capital Ayodhya was not yet deserted and by Buddha's time the Kosala capital was under King Prasenajit of Sravasti (5) The Ramayana speaks of Mithila and Visala as two independent principalities, whereas by Buddha's time they were united into the single city of Vaisali under an oligarchical Government. (6) The characters are not historical figures but merely personifications of certain occurrences and situations. Sita, in the first place, whose abduction by a giant demon and her subsequent recovery by her husband Rama, constitute the plot of the entire poem, is but the field-furrow to whom divine honors were paid in

---

1. *Das Ramayana*, Bonn, 1898, ZDMG, XLVII, 407

the songs of the Rik and in the Grihya ritual. She accordingly represents Aryan husbandry, which has to be protected by Rama—whom I regard as originally identical with Balarama ‘*halabrit*’ ‘*the plough-bearer*,’ though the two were afterwards separated—against the attacks of the predatory aborigines. These latter appear to be demons and giants, whereas those natives who were well-disposed towards the Aryan civilization are represented as monkeys—a comparison which was doubtless not exactly intended to be flattering and which rests on the striking ugliness of the Indian aborigines as compared with the Aryan race” (7) “It is uncertain how far the story of Rama and Sita, as contained in its earliest form in the Dasaratha Jataka, may have a historical germ, or whether even that earliest version may not also have had as its ground work, in addition to such a germ, what Valmiki has undoubtedly interwoven into his representation of the story, namely, the adoration of a Demi-God, bearing the name of Rama, and regarded as the guardian of agriculture, but hindered in his beneficent activity by a temporary exile, and also of the field-furrow deified under the name of Sita”<sup>1</sup>

According to Lassen,<sup>2</sup> “the development of the story of Rama may be divided into four stages. The first construction of the poem did not carry the narrative beyond the banishment of Rama to the Himalayas and the circumstances which caused his wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana to follow him into exile. The second changed the place of banishment to the Godavari and described the protection afforded to the hermits against the attacks of the aborigines. The third embraced the account of the first attempts to subdue the inhabitants of the Dekkan. The fourth modification which resulted from the knowledge gained by the Hindus of the island of Ceylon included the description of Rama’s expedition against Lanka.”<sup>3</sup> Lassen commented on the views of Weber and his comments are instructive. It may be regarded as true that the now existing oldest form of the Rama-legend is presented in a Buddhistic narrative, according to which Rama, with his brother, and his sister Sita, is banished to the Himavat. But this narrative appears to me to be a misconception or distortion of the Brahmanical original, due to the Buddhists, who represent the sister as following the banished prince—a duty which elsewhere is only regarded as incumbent on the

1. See ‘*On the Ramayana*’ as translated by BOYD, IA, I 120 ff

2. *Ind. Alt.* II 505.

3. IA, III 102-4

wife This conjecture would be raised to certainty if it should be discovered that any verses of the *Ramayana* were to be found in the Buddhist narrative Secondly, in the *Ramayana*, with the exception of one single passage, no allusions to the Buddhist occur In the passage referred to a Nastika is treated with contempt on account of his reprehensible principles , but this word, moreover, does not necessarily denote a Buddhist, but can just as well refer to a Charvaka, or materialist But, besides, the passage is interpolated It is further to be considered that the powerful kingdoms in Southern India were ruled by kings of Brahmanical sentiments, and that consequently an attack on the part of the Buddhists could only proceed from the side of Ceylon, the history of which is correctly handed down to us from the time of the second Asoka, and only relates war of the Singalese kings with the rulers of the opposite coasts Again, the Brahmins always accurately distinguish second and the third Rama , and there is no ground for regarding the second as a divine personification of agriculture As the story of the first Rama is to be found in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, a work which makes no reference whatever to incarnations of Vishnu, it will be impossible to deny the historical character of the Pithoid (?) Rama, although at a later period he was included in the circle of the *avatars* On the same ground I consider myself bound to accept as an historical personage the Dasarathi Rama, As soon as he was transported into the ranks of the gods, he was naturally followed by Sita, whose name of itself led to her being turned into a daughter of the Earth—into a deified Furrow Again, the assumption that the flight to Helen and Trojan war were the prototypes of the abduction of Sita, and of the conflict around Lanka, appears very paradoxical It presupposes, further, an acquaintance with the Homeric poems, of which there is no proof whatever Among a people one of whose chief weapons was the bow, it was natural that stories of heroes who conquered their foes by superiority in the use of this weapon should be invented By means of this style of comparison, the account of Arjuna's defeat of the rival suitors for Draupadi's hand through his superior skill in archery might be ascribed to Homeric influence Besides, a comparison of the circle of tales current among the two nations would not be quite appropriate, as in the *Ramayana* the abduction of Sita forms an important part of the story, while in the Homeric songs the rape of Helen is indeed introduced as the motive of the war, but is nowhere described at length Finally, although I am still convinced that the

nians have derived their zodiacal signs, not from the Greek but from the Chaldaean astrologers, the astronomical data occurring in the *Ramayana* have no force as proofs. The reference to the Yavanas and Sakas as powerful nations in the northern region only shows, strictly speaking, that these nations were known to the Indians as such, but not that they had already established their dominion in that quarter. In conformity with my views on the history of Indian epic poetry, I regard as admissible the statement of the historian of Kashmir (*Rajatarangini*, I 166) that the king of that country, Damodara, caused the *Ramayana*, with all its episodes, to be read to him. How much sooner the existing poem was composed will probably never admit of determination<sup>1</sup>.

According to M. Williams, "the first orderly completion, of the two poems in their brahmanized form, may have taken place, in the case of the *Ramayana* about the beginning of the third century B C, and in the case of the *Mahabharata* (the original story of which is possibly more ancient than that of the *Ramayana*) still later,—perhaps as late as the second century B C. The posteriority of the brahmanized *Mahabharata* may be supported by the more frequent allusions it contains to the progress of Buddhistic opinions, and to the intercourse with the Yavanas or Greeks, who had no considerable dealings with the Hindus till two or three centuries after Alexander's invasion"<sup>2</sup>.

Talboys Wheeler says that the war between Rama and Ravana is but a poetic version of the conflict between Brahminism and Buddhism in the south.

H. H. Wilson says that the story of the *Ramayana* seems to be founded on historical fact and the traditions of the South of India uniformly ascribe its civilization to the subjugation or dispersion of its forest tribes of barbarians and the settlement of civilized Hindus to the conquest of Lanka by Rāma<sup>3</sup>.

J. C. Chatterjee refers the incidents and locality of the Rāmāyana to the advance of the Aryans eastwards and to the Caucasus and shores of the Caspian, the Black and Mediterranean seas<sup>4</sup>.

M. V. Kibi discovers, after elaborate literary and geographical research, the real Lankā of the Rāmāyana "A mysterious peak which

I Indian Wisdom, 31-6 See Gauranganath Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 288-6

2 Translation of *Vāyu Purāṇa*, III 317 note

3 "Aryan Ancestors, where did they come from?"—Paper read at the Asiatic Society of Bengal—Hindu, Madras, 14th April, 1916.

is visible from the neighbourhood of the Amorakantak, the source of the Nurbudda, and which is surrounded by marshy land may be identified with Lanka”<sup>1</sup> There is much there for appreciation.

Another theory is “that the Ramayana exhibits the progress of Aryan plough husbandry among the mountains and the fastnesses of Central and Southern India and the perils of the agricultural settlers from non-ploughing nomadic hunting tribes”<sup>2</sup>

It is said in the Rājatarangnī (I 116) that king Dāmodara was condemned to wear the form of a serpent “until he should have heard the whole of the Rāmāyana in one day”. Gossman therefore infers that inasmuch as king Dāmodara lived about the beginning of the 14th century B C, the passage decides in favour of at least the “remota antiquità del poema”<sup>3</sup>. But Weber almost derides him by saying that “the Ramayana is brought into connection with the banishment of a king, who is presumed to have reigned 2400 years before the date of Kalhana”<sup>4</sup>.

The fantastic differences about dates among orientalists are seen for instance, in the following summary about Rāma in Balfour’s *Cyclopaedia of India*, Volume III. “Rama of the solar line of Hindu chronology is, however, placed by brahmins, 867,102 B C between the silver and brazen ages. But he has been variously supposed to have lived, 2022 B C Jones, 950 Hamilton, and 1100 Todd, and according to Bently he was one year old in 960, born in 6th April 961, Rama preceded Krishna but as their historians Valmiki and Vyasa, who wrote events they witnessed, were contemporaries, it could not have been many years”

Whatever may have been the fanciful interpretations of western savants and modern theorists, the epic has maintained its unity of plot and action from time immemorial. It is the Ādikāvya, the first poem and Vālmiki was Ādikavi, the first poet in Indian Literature. As a piece of poetic art the Rāmayana stands supreme and Vālmiki’s poetic fancy and imagery have been the standard for imitation. There is no ideal, there is no reality, there is no fancy, there is no sentiment which Vālmiki has not depicted and there is no expression which can excel or equal

1 First Oriental Conference, Poona, *Summaries of Papers*, 128

2 See Vaidya’s *Riddle of the Ramayana*, 64, Narayan Aiyangar’s *Essays on Indo-Aryan Mythology*, Tilak’s *Arcto home in the Vedas*, 348

3 Vol I Introduction, xcvi

4 On the Rāmāyana, IA, I 239,

his in grace or eloquence Cosmogony and theogony, folk-lore and tradition, mythology and history, have all formed a part "in the weaving of the mighty web and work of magic drapers evolved by Vālmīki" "Notwithstanding the wilderness of exaggeration and hyperbole through which the reader of the Indian Epics has occasionally to wander," says W. Williams<sup>1</sup> "there are in the whole range of the world's literature few more charming poems than the Rāmāyana. The classical purity, clearness and simplicity of its style, the exquisite touches of true poetic feeling with which it abounds, its graphic descriptions of heroic incidents and of nature's grandest scenes, the deep acquaintance it displays with the conflicting working and most refined emotions of the human heart, all entitle it to rank among the most beautiful compositions that have appeared at any period and in any country. It is like a spacious and delightful garden, here and there allowed to run wild, but teeming with fruits and flowers, watered by perennial streams and even its most tangled thickets intersected with delightful pathways."

These excellences of thought and expression have gained for Vālmīki the highest place in the pantheon of the world's poetic geniuses. Wherever you roam over the vast continent of India, be it a peasant's hut or a lord's parlour, the story of Rāma is familiar and is listened to with pleasure and devotion. This is the prediction of Brahma,

Yāvat sthāsyanti girayas saritas ca mahitale  
Tāvāt Rāmāvana-kathā lokesu pracari-yati—I 240.

And the name of Rāma and the narration of his heroism will be current in the world "as long as mountains and rivers stand on the surface of the earth" There is not one devout Hindu who does not believe in these words of Vālmīki "He who reads and repeats this holy life-giving Rāmāyana is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven" Vālmīki reiterated the doctrine of fate and hope and thus expressed the means of solace in distress and when that poet put the old saying in the lips of despairing Sīta,

Kalyāni bata gātHEYAM laukiki pratibhāti me  
Etī jivantam ānando naram varṣaśatādapi

he had said all that could be said for peace in this mortal world.<sup>2</sup>

I. *Indian Wisdom*, 365

2. Ed by V L S Pansikar with Tilaka Commentary (Bombay), Ed by R L Bhattacharya, Benares), Ed by A G V Schlegel with Latin preface (Bonn), Ed

Rāmāyapakathāsāra is a brief narrative of the Rāmāyana in seven Kāndas, each Kānda in a different metre, by Subbaya Śāstrin, son of Tegnese Sūrin of Pulyala family and daughter's son of Venkata Śvetamukha Makhin of Kompe�a family<sup>1</sup>. There are short poetical summaries, Āryā Rāmāyana by Suryakavi<sup>2</sup> and Sister Balambal<sup>3</sup>.

Iatvasangraharāmāyana of Rāmabrahmānanda in seven adhyay mentions the story of the Rāmāyana, but adds many incidents not found in Vālmīki's work<sup>4</sup>.

by Gorresio, Paris, Ed., by Durgaprasad (Nirnaya Sanara Press, Bombay), Ed by Gopal Narayana (Bombay), Ed by Vyasaçarya (Kumbakonam) with Govindaraja's Commentary Translated into English verse by Griffith (Benares) and into English Prose, by M N Dutt, Calcutta, by Makhan Lal Sen (Calcutta, with a valuable introduction) and by C R. Srinivasa Iyengar with notes, Madras)

For versions of the story, see Belvalkar's Int to Uttararamacarita (*HOS*, 21)

For critical remarks on composition and contents, see *IA*, I 120, 172, 29 III 102, IV 247, XXIX, 8 For Bhavabhutis quotation, see *IA*, II 123 On the author, and different versions, see *IA*, XXXI 351-2 For an Italian story resembling Rāmāyana, see *IA*, VII 202, 292.

*Was Ramayana copied from Homer?* (*IA*, II 219, XIII 336, 480, III. 124, 267) As to the quotation of the verse in the Mahabhashya of Patanjali, see *IA*, IV 247 ff Weber, *On the Rāmāyana* translated by D C Boyd (*IA*, I. 120, 172, 239), *Ramayana and Jatakas* (*Mod Rev XVIII* 96), *Valmiki and Kalidasa* by R V Krishnamacharya (*Sahridaya*, XVIII), *Life of Valmiki* (*JASB*, XXIII 494), *Ein Beitrag Zur Ramayana Kritik* by Jacobi (*ZDMG*, XLI), *Geography of Rama's exile* by Pargiter (*JRAS*, 1894, 231), *Linguistic Archaisms of the Ramayana* by T Michelson (*IAOS*, 1904), *Valmiki, as he reveals himself in his poem*, by B Barna (*JCU*, III. 251-90)

Jacobi, *Das Ramayana* (Bonn), Ludwig, *Über Das Ramayana* (Prag), Baumgartner, *Das Ramayana* (Freiburg), Hans Wirtz, *Die Westliche Rezension des Ramayana*, H. Luders, *Die Sage von Rasyamunga*.

*The Triumph of Valmiki* (in Bengali) by H P Shasti and translated in English by R R. Sen (Luzac & Co., London), *The Riddle of the Ramayana* by C V Vaidya, Bombay, *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata*, by the Maharaja of Bobbili (in Telugu).

Vaidya's *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Epic India* reviewed in *Ind Rev* IX 686, *Sri Ramachandra, the Ideal King* by T Michelson (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar) For a valuable critique, see the Introduction (Telugu) to *Gopinatha Ramayana*, (Madras).

1 DC, XX 7909

2 TC, III 3021 It was composed on Sunday, the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the year Yuva

3 Printed, Madras

4 TC, I 955

Vālmīkībhāvadīpam<sup>1</sup> is an interpretation in verse of the spiritual significance of the story of Rāma. The author Ānantaśārva is the son of Kr̄namācārya and the head of the famous Partivādībhavankarā Mutt of Kāncī. He was born on 24th March 1874 and is the author of several works in philosophy. By his extensive tours all over India he is spreading knowledge and religion. Among his works is Samskr̄takram, a sanskrit novel, which will be noticed in a later Chapter.

Vāsistha Rāmāyana, also called Jñāna Vāsistha, is said to have been composed by Vālmīki himself as an appendage to the Rāmāyana and originally taught by Vāsistha to Rāma. It is in six chapters, Vairigya, Mumukṣutva, Utpatti, Sthiti, Upasana and Nirvāṇa and treats mainly of Yoga and Advaita Vedānta by means of illustrative stories, intended to explain the best means of attaining true happiness.<sup>2</sup> There is commentary on it by Ānandabodhendra Sarasvatī<sup>3</sup> and a short compendium of it (anonymous) in 10 Prakaranas with a commentary by Mahidhara.<sup>4</sup>

Vāsisthottararāmāyana is not fully extant. In the 12th chapter there is the legendary account of the vanquishment of hundred-headed Rāvana by Sītā. It is called Sītāvijayam.<sup>5</sup>

Adbhuṭa-Rāmāyana or Adbhutottararāmāyana, also attributed to Vālmīki, describes in 27 Cantos as a sequel to the Rāmāyana the early story and real nature of Sītā. In it Sītā is represented as having killed a Rāvana with hundred heads, whom Rāma was unable to vanquish.<sup>6</sup>

Adhyātma-Rāmāyana is an extract from the Brahmānda Purāṇa. It is divided into seven books, bearing the same name as the Rāmāyana and its object is to show "that Rāma was a manifestation of the supreme spirit and Sita, identified with Lakṣmī, a type of nature." It is in the

1. Printed at Conjeeveram by the author

2 An abridgment (Laghu) has been translated by K. Narayanaswami Iyer, (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). This work is a standard book of study among the members of the Theosophical society. See further, M Williams' Indian Wisdom, 368

3 He was the pupil of Gangādharendra Sarasvatī who was the disciple of Rāmacandrendra Sarasvatī, who was the disciple of Sarvayna Sarasvatī. See DC, IV 1292—1302

4. TC, II 2644, IOC, 232, 783.

5 TG, I 881, 882, II. 1303

6 IOC, No. 3331—33, DC XX. 7689, Ed. Bombay. This edition contains 27 cantos

form of a dialogue between Umā and va Two Sūchapters are held to be particularly sacred. In the first chapter, Rāmāhīdaya, the inner nature of Rāma is explained and his identification of Rāma with Vishnu as the supreme spirit is asserted. The fifth chapter of the seventh book, the Rāmagīta, explains the advantage of giving up all work in order to meditate upon and become united with the supreme spirit<sup>1</sup>.

Mūla Rāmāyana<sup>2</sup> and Ānanda Rāmāyana<sup>3</sup> describe the importance of Hanūmaṭ and is read much by the followers of Sri Madhva.

Satyoḍākhyāna narrates the history of Rāma illustrated with a variety of stories not found in the Rāmāyana. It is said to have been originally imparted to Mārkandeya by Vālmiki, and then by him to Vyāsa, by Vyāsa to Sūta and lastly recounted by Sūta to the Rsis in the forest of Naimisā. It may have been part of a Purāna but it has not been possible to identify the source<sup>4</sup>.

Rāmācaritra or Rāmāvana is a long work in prose and verse based on the Rāmāvana of Hemācarya. It differs considerably from the work of Vālmiki, and is an extravagant travesty of it. It closes with the narration of the death of Lakṣmana on hearing a false report of the slaying of Rāma and Rāma becoming an ascetic and attaining salvation, after which his sons Lava and Kusa became initiated into the Jain religion. Padmavijayagāṇi, the author, was a disciple of Rajavijaya Sūri, a disciple of Vijayasena Suri and composed the work in 1596, during the reign of Emperor Akbar<sup>5</sup>.

### COMMENTARIES

The most well-known commentary is the Bhūvanam of Govindarāja, of Kauśika-gotra. He was the son of Varadarāja. He was a Sri-vaiṣṇava brahmin, a resident of Kānci or Sholinghur. He calls himself a disciple of Saṭhagopadeśika. The latter is probably the 6th Swami of the Ahobilam Mutt, who lived about the beginning of the 16th century<sup>6</sup>. At the end of Yuddhakānda, Govindarāja says he was en-

1 Printed in all provinces. See Monier William's *Indian Wisdom*, 368. Translated into English by Lala Baij Nath, Panini office, Allahabad (See *Ind Rev*, XIII. 334).

2 Ed Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay Theosophical Publishing House Adyar

3 Ed by Jyestaram Mukundjee, Bombay

4 Ed Sri Venkateswar Press, Bombay

5. See *Mitra's Rev* V

couraged in his composition by Bhāvanācārya Bhāvanācārvā was the great scion of Kandāla family of Vadhūla gotra and his son Sriranga's desciple, Tenali Annaiya (brother of Tenali Ramakrishna) lived in the days of kings Krṣṇadevarāya and Rāmadevarāya of Vijayanagar<sup>1</sup> We may therefore safely assign this commentary to the middle of the 16th century When once on a visit to Tirupati he was directed in his dream at the entrance of the temple of Venkateśa to compose a commentary on the Rāmāyana The work is learned, discursive and authoritative and comprehends all that a reader may desire for a proper appreciation of the poem The commentaries on the Cantos have separate names, Manimanjira, Pitāmbara, Ratnamekhala, Muktāhāra, Srngāratilaka, the Manimukuta, and Ratnakirita<sup>2</sup>

Vālmīkihrdayam<sup>3</sup> is a commentary by Ahobala of Atreya gotra He lived at Conjeeveram He was the desciple of Parānkusa, the 6th Swami of Ahobila Mutt who was contemporary of Emperor Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar of the 16th century He also translated into Sanskrit the commentary in Tamil of select verses of the Rāmāyana by the commentators on the Dramidopanishad or Tiruvaymuli<sup>4</sup> In his tours in the north of India, he installed the images of Alwars in the temple of Jagannātha<sup>5</sup> Ahobala's pupil Brahnavidyadhvārin wrote a critical commentary on stray verses called Virodhabhanjanī He was son of Nṛsimha and Bhavāṇī of the Vāna family<sup>6</sup>

Dharmākūṭam is a splendid critique on the Rāmāyana Its object, as the name indicates, is to demonstrate to the reader how at every step of the poem, the story of the Rāmāyana illustrates the code of morals by reference to the original sources of the Vēdas and the Dharma Sāstras<sup>7</sup> It is a unique work of the kind and was almost an original conception in Sanskrit literature

Its author is Tryambaka Makhin<sup>8</sup> He was the son of Gangādhara, the minister of Ekoji, the founder of the Kingdom of Tanjore (1674-1687) and brother of Nṛsimha His father's father was Tryam-

<sup>1</sup> See Veerasingam's Lives of Telugu poets, Part II 322

<sup>2</sup> Ed Madras and elsewhere

<sup>3</sup> DC, IV 1272

<sup>4</sup> TC, II 2305

<sup>5</sup> See Ahobilam Inscriptions

<sup>6</sup> DC, IV 1277 Probably it was this Nṛsimha that also wrote a commentary on the Rāmāyana, TC, III 3071

<sup>7</sup> The work is thus described Kr̄tiyam sakalaśrutiśammataśmṛti-purāṇavacobhīralankṛta

<sup>8</sup> His brother Nārāyaṇa wrote the Vikramasenacampū (IC, II 264)

bakūmātva When Shahaji became king (1687-1711), Tryambaka was appointed his minister and continued in that position throughout the reign. After the death of Shahaji and accession of Sarabhoji (1712-1727), Tryambaka was in charge of the portfolio of charitable endowments. After receiving a munificent grant of land, he retired for meditation to Swāmimalai (near Kumbakonam) where stands the ancient temple of Skanda. Only a few chapters have been printed by the Vanivilas Press, Srirangam and it is still unfinished. Probably the manuscript is in the Tanjore Library.

Rāmāyapānayī is a commentary by Rangīcarya, of Kidīmbi family and of Ātreya gotra. He was the pupil of Gopīla, a descendant of Vādihamsa family. He probably lived at Arasanipalai near Conjeevaram.<sup>1</sup> Rāmāyapa-bhūsanam is a commentary by Prabalamukundasūri, son of Singayarya.<sup>2</sup> Subodhini is a commentary by Abhinava Rāma-bhadrāśramī, a disciple of Raghūttamāśrama. He was an ascetic, probably a resident of the Circars.<sup>3</sup> Guruvālmīkibhāvaprakāśikā is a commentary by Haripandita, son of Lakṣmīnārāyanāmītya of the Mudigunda family, and of the Kaundinya gotra.<sup>4</sup> Appayadikārita wrote Rāmāyapatātparyanurnava and Rāmāyanasārasangraha.<sup>5</sup>

Rāmāyana-tattva-dīpikā, familiarly known as Tīrthiyam is a commentary by Maheśatirtha. He was an ascetic and pupil of Nārāyanatirtha.<sup>6</sup> Rāmāyana-Dīpikā is a commentary by Vidyānātha Dikṣita.<sup>7</sup> So is Sarvārthasāra by Venkatesvara,<sup>8</sup> Varadarāja of Udalī family of Malabar has left a fragmentary commentary.<sup>9</sup> Aufrecht gives the names of the following commentators Isvaradikārita, Umāmaheśvara, Nāgeśa, Rāmānandatirtha, Lokanātha, Viśvānātha, Śivara Sanyāsin, Hari Pandita.<sup>10</sup>

Caturarthī is an anonymous commentary giving four meanings to several important verses. The author displays much learning and

<sup>1</sup> DC, IV 1284 Vādihamsa-budācārya was the maternal uncle of Vedānta Deśika

<sup>2</sup> TC, II 1235, 2057 He refers to a commentator Varadaraya

<sup>3</sup> TC, II 2491, III 3753

<sup>4</sup> TC, II 2315, 2652

<sup>5</sup> Op. II 4884, 8336

<sup>6</sup> Printed Madras and Bombay and elsewhere

<sup>7</sup> DC, IV 1274 Described in Burnell's Tan Cat p 178.

<sup>8</sup> TC, II 1373 (1910-13)

<sup>9</sup> TC, III, 2722

<sup>10</sup> CC, I. 522-4.

ingenuity in his interpretations<sup>1</sup> Amrtakataka,<sup>2</sup> Rāmāyāpasāradīpikā,<sup>3</sup> Gurubālacittaranjani,<sup>4</sup> and Viḍvanmanoranjanī,<sup>5</sup> are anonymous and except the first, are only available in fragments

Rāmāyāpārasangraha<sup>6</sup> is an exposition of stray verses by Varadaraja of Nodari family and of Ātreya gotra, known also as Chola-pandita Brahmādhīrāja Rāmāyāpāracandrika<sup>7</sup> is a commentary on some select verses by Srinivāsarāghavacārya of Srirangam He calls himself a disciple of the ascetic Ranganātha. Rāmāyapa Tāniśloki<sup>8</sup> Vyākhyā is an elaborate exposition in Tamil by Periavāchāmbillai It has been rendered into Sanskrit by some unknown author and is very interesting study Hamsayogin's Ārsagītā composed in Kali 3604 (502 A D ) explains important passages There is a commentary on it Khandarahasya<sup>9</sup>

Rāmāyana-viśama-paṭārtha-vyākhyāna by Bhatta Devarāma is a running gloss on difficult portions of the Rāmāyāṇa<sup>10</sup> Kalpavallikā is a similar exposition of several important verses by Bommakanti Nṛsimhasāstṛin, an aged living Pandit of Cocanada He is the son of Peru Sastri He interprets the Rāmāyana as the manifestation of the will of Tripurasundarī and Rāma as her incarnation<sup>11</sup> Rasaniṣyandīni is a learned original commentary on important verses by Parithiyur Krṣṇa Sāstrigal of South Indian Puranic fame<sup>12</sup>

Rāmāyāpārthaprakāśikā is a running discussion on certain minor incidents of the story of the Rāmāyāṇa The author is Venkata, son of Lakṣmipaṭa<sup>13</sup> Rāmāyāpa-mahimādarsa<sup>14</sup> is a discussion of several controversial points in the events and interpretation of the Rāmāyāṇa

1. DC, IV 1274.

2. DC, IV 1286-8.

3. DC, IV 1283

4. TC, I 233-4

5. TC, III 3951

6. TC, II 2457

7. TC, II 2100 The manuscript ends with 119th canto of Yudhakanda.

8. Printed by Sri Venkateswar Press, Bombay.

9. This is being edited by Pandit Sadagopachārya of the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras

10. KC, 198

11. The work is being printed by the author at Cocanada,

12. The manuscript is with his son Mr. Kalyanarama Sastri. On the author, see Chapter on Sanskrit drama, post He lived between 1842-1917

13. DC, IV 1287

14. TC, II. 2515.

in five Bimbas or chapters. The author was Purāṇam Hayagrīvaśāstr the first Sanskrit Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras He w the first editor of the Mahābhārata in South India in Telugu characte He lived in the sixties of the last century Rāmāyaṇakathāvimarśa | Venkatārya is a short narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa giving the time of the occurrence of the leading events<sup>1</sup> Rāmāyaṇasāradīpikā is in frag ments<sup>2</sup> Rāmāyaṇasārasangraha of Venkatācārya, of Kaundinyagot of Muppūrlā contains a statement in chronological order of the even of the Rāmāyaṇa and gives a computation of dates<sup>3</sup> Rāmāyanasāra Agniveṣa is a record of the leading events of the Rāmāyaṇa with the dates and intervals, composed in verse in Sāṛḍula metre and well-known.<sup>4</sup> Rāmāyaṇakālānirṇaya-sūcikā is a similar work, b anonymous, discussing the date of the birth of Rama and other incidents of his life<sup>5</sup> There is a similar work called Rāmākālānirṇay boḍhimu by Kovil Kandadai Venkata Sundarācārya of Cocanada The date of the birth of Rāma is also discussed in Telugu by Nadathu Ananthalwar Aiyangar, the grandson of the famous Mahāmahopadhyaya Paravastu Venkata Rangacharya of Vizagapatam and the pamphle is named Rāmāvatarakālānirṇaya<sup>6</sup>

Satyaparākrama is an essay elaborating that aspect of truthfulness in Rāma's character by K R Visvanatha Sastry, of Kanadukathan, Ram nad Sāraṇāgati is an essay treating of that doctrine as expounded in the Rāmāyaṇa by T Srinivasa Rāghavacārya, B A of Conjeeveram

Rāmāyaṇatātparyadīpika is said to have been an exposition of the real meaning and import of the Rāmāyaṇa by Vyāsa made at the request of Dharmaraja<sup>7</sup> Rāmāyaṇatātvadarpana by Nārāyana Yati explains the nine truths and significance of the Rāmāyaṇa in long discourses in 15 chapters<sup>8</sup>

1. DC, IV 1274.

2. TC, II, 1373.

3. DC, I 1288-91

4. TC, II 2060

5. DC, IV 1291, TC, I 85

6. Printed, Scape & Co Press, Cocanada.

7. Printed at the Arsha Press, Vizagapatam, 1905

8. TC, II 2079, 2148

9. TC, II 2217

## SECTION III

**Mahābhārata**

Vēda Vyāsa the author of Mahābhārata and the Purānas was the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī. His name was Kṛṣṇa and he had the appellation Dvaipayna, because soon after birth he was abandoned by his unmarried mother in a *dvīpa* (island). He compiled the Vēdas and was thence known as Vyāsa.<sup>1</sup> Satyavatī married King Śāntanu. Śāntanu's son Vicitravirya had two wives Ambikā and Ambālikā. He died issueless and to perpetuate his progeny, Vyāsa procreated three sons, Dhṛitarāṣṭra, Pāndu and Viṣṇu on these childless widows at the behest of his mother Satyavatī.<sup>2</sup> Then he betook himself to a life of penance, until after this progeny became old and passed away, he "spoke the Bhārata in this human world". He composed the Bhārata of 26,000 verses. The learned say that is the extent of the Bhārata without the Upākhyānas. And he compiled a chapter of 150 verses setting out the contents of the several Books of the poem. This of old Vyāsa taught to his son Śuka and then he gave to others of his pupils whom he found apt and promising. Vyāsa composed another poem of 60 lakhs of verses. Of this work 30 lakhs were published in the world of Gods, 15 lakhs in the region of the Pitṛs, 14 lakhs were given to the Gandharvas, and one lakh was published among men. Nārāḍa recited it to the Gods, Devala to the Pitṛs, Śuka to the Gandharvas and other Demons. In this land of man Vaishampāyana recited, the pupil of Vyāsa, and the best of those learned in the Vēda.<sup>3</sup> When Vyāsa was considering how best to transmit it to his disciples, Brahma appeared to him. "Then the great glorious Vyāsa, addressing Brahma Paramesthi said 'O divine Brahma, by me a poem hath been composed which is greatly respected, the [mystery of the Vēda and what other subjects have been explained by me, the various ritual of Upanishadas with the Angas, the compilation of the Purānas formed by me and named after the three divisions of time, past, present, and future, the determination of the nature of decay, death, fear, disease, existence and non-existence, a description of creeds and of the various modes of life, rules for the four castes, and' the important of the Purānas an account of asceticism and of the duties of religion.'

1. Mah. I. 64.

2. Mah. I. 112.

3. Mah. I. 72 et seqq.

student, the dimensions of the sun and moon, the planets, constellations and stars, together with the duration of the four ages, the Rik, Sama and Yajur Vedas, also the Adhyatma, the sciences cakled Nyaya, Orthoepy and Treatment of disease, charity and Pasupata, birth, celestial and human, for particular purposes, also a description of places of pilgrimage and other holy places, of rivers and mountains forests, the ocean of heavenly cities and the kalpas, the art of war, the different kinds of nations and language, the nature of the maners of the people and the all-pervading spirit-ball, these have been represented. But after all, no writer of this work is to be found on earth."

"Brahma said.—"I esteem thee for thy knowledge of divine mysteries, before the whole body of celebrated Munis distinguished for the sanctity of their lives I know thou has revealed the divine word, even from its first utterance, in the language of truth Thou hast called thy present work a poem, wherefore it shall be a poem There shall be no poets whose works may equal the descriptions of this poem, even as the three other modes called Asrama are ever unequal in merit to the domestic Asrama Let Ganeśa be thought of, O Muni, for the purpose of writing the poem "

Sauti said, "Brahma having thus spoken to Vyāsa, retired to his own abode Then Vyāsa began to call to mind to Ganeśa And Ganeśa, obviator of obstacles, ready to fulfil the desires of his votaries, was no sooner thought of, than he repaired to the place where Vyāsa was seated. And when he had been saluted, and was seated, Vyāsa addressed him thus,—'O guide of the Ganas, be thou the writer of the Bhārata which I have formed in my imagination, and which I am about to repeat."

"Ganeśa upon hearing his address thus answered —I will become the writer of thy work, provided my pen do not for a moment cease writing." And Vyāsa said unto that divinity, "wherever there be anything thou does not comprehend, cease to continue writing" Ganeśa having signified his assent, by repeating the word 'Om!' proceeded to write, and Vyāsa began, and, by way of diversion, he knit the knots of composition exceeding close, by doing which he dictated this work according to his engagement."

Vaīśampayana repeated it to King Janamejaya at his serpent sacrifice and Sauti heard that narration. The Mahābhārata, as we have

it, was given out by Sautī, as he heard it from Vaiśampayana, to the assembled sages during Saunata's sacrifice in the forests of Nauniśā

We have therefore three points at which the Mahābhārata may actually be said to begin. *First*, from the very beginning of the text as we have it, with the invocation of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, following the invocation we have the conversation, when Sautī and the sages of Saunakas' hermitage. *Second*, from the description of the *Sarpa Sattra*<sup>1</sup> (serpent sacrifice) of Janamejaya where commences the Āstikaparvan. *Third*, from the commencement of the actual narrative of the history of the Bhārata race, where begins the Amśāvataरापा parvan. In the course of the narrative as repeated Vaiśampayana, it is observed that on some occasions, King Janamejaya asks Vaiśampayana for an elaboration of the story or an elucidation of any earlier event alluded with it and Vaiśampayana answers Janamejaya. These answers could not have been part of Vyasar's narration and must be said to be of Vaisampayana's authorship, just as the earlier Chapters describing the concourse at Saunaka's sacrifice and the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya must be ascribed to Sautī, who to us is the publisher of the Mahābhārata. It is however seen that Sautī's narrative is read and taken as the Mahābhārata. There was a difference of opinion even when Sautī made his narration. So it was said

Manvādi Bhāraam ke cit Āstikādi ṣaṭhāpare  
Taṭhoparicarādhyanye vīrās samyag adhīyire

"Brahmins have studied the Bhārata sedulously, some from the Chapter about Manu, others from the Chapter about Āstika,<sup>2</sup> yet others, from the Chapter about Uparicaravasu"<sup>3</sup> Sri Maṭhva in his *Taṭparyanirṇaya* however gives a traditional explanation of this verse "The meaning of the Bhārata, in so far as it is a relation of the facts and events of which Sri Kṛiṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas are connected, is called Āstikādi (historical). That interpretation by which we find lessons on Dharma, Bhakti and other ten qualities, Sruta (sacred study) and righteous practices, character and training, on Brahma and the other

1. *Mah.* I. 1-II.

2. *Mah.* I. 32-58.

3. *Mah.* I. 59.

4. For a critical discussion of the preliminary Chapters, see Notes of a study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahabharata by V. Venkatachela Iyer, High Court, Vizianagaram, Nellore.

Gods is called *Manvdda* (religious and moral) Thirdly, the interpretation by which every sentence, word or syllable is shown to be the significant name, or to be the declaration of the glories of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe is called *Auparicara* (transcendental)"

The vast extent of the work was easily the cause of much interpolation Sri Mañhva found it deplorable "In some places we find interpolations , in other cases texts are altogether lost , in some others, they have changed the character of the text either by mistake or on purpose. Even those that might be said to be extant are in a state of utter confusion , mostly they are lost A millionth part of the real text is not available , what could then be said of their meaning hard to be grasped even by the Gods ?" If we would not be hypercritical, we may safely take it that *Vyāsū's text can be fairly distinguished*, if we omit the earlier Chapters related by Sauti ending with the Āstikaparvan texts and the special explanations and narrations of Vaiśampāyana, in answer to particular questions of King Janamejaya as the narration progressed in the Court of King Janamejaya <sup>1</sup>

The name Mahābhārata has been significantly explained in the prefatory Chapter . "The Gods all came together of old and weighed the Bhārata in the balance against the four Vedas. As the Bhāraṭa outweighed the four Vedas and all the secrets they contained, from that time forward, it has been known in this world as Mahābhārata , for it being esteemed superior both in substance and gravity of import, is denominated Māhabhārata from such substance and gravity of import"

For the views of a non-Hindu or a sceptic Hindu, we cannot vouchsafe To the ordinary Hindu in whom the sense of piety has not yet vanished, the Mahābhārata is a fifth Veda As Vyāsa said "By the aid of History and the Purāṇas, Veda may be expounded, but the Veda is afraid of one of little information, lest he should injure it. The learned man who recites to others this Veda of Vyāsa reaps advantage It may without doubt destroy even the sin of killing the embryo and the like He that readeth this holy Chapter at every change of the moon, readeth the whole of the Bhāraṭa, I ween. The man who with reverence daily listeneth to this sacred work acquireth long life and renown and ascendeth to heaven ,," and may this blessing be true for ever !

---

i. G. V Vaidya's Mahābhārata (epitome) is an attempt in this direction.

<sup>2</sup> Tradition accepts that Kr̄hnadvaipāvana or Veda Vyāsa is identical with Bādarāyana author of the Brahma Sūtras Skandā Purāna expressly says that God incarnate as Vyāsa son of Satyavati and Parāśara arranged the Vedas and composed the aphorisms Rāmānuja in his Sūtra Bhāṣya in Upatṭyasambhavādhikarana, says Sūtrakarepa Vedantānyābhīdhyayinī Sūtrāyabhīdhyaya Vedopabramhanā;

I T. S NARAYANA SASTRI in his *Age of Sankara* (p 39 note) expresses a contrary view Badarayana in his Vedanta Sutras quotes and refutes the doctrines of almost all the other schools of Indian Philosophy including those of the Lokayatikas, Jaimas and Baudhas and he cannot, therefore, be identical with Krishna Dvaiapayana who was a contemporary of Sri Krishna and the Pandavas and who lived in the interval of time between Dvaparayuga and Kaliyuga, at about 3102 B C Further Badarayana quotes from Patanjali, the renowned author of the Mahabhashya on Panini's Vyakarana and he is also accredited as having written the Bhashya on Patanjali's Yoga Sutras As Patanjali's date is fixed between the 10th and 9th Century B C , (Vide 'Age of Patanjali' by the late Pandit N. Bhashyacharya) Badarayana can, under no circumstances, be placed before the 10th Century B C Moreover, Bhagavadgīta, which forms a portion of the Mahabharata written by Veda Vyasa is quoted as an authority by Badarsyana in his Vedanta Sutras under the name of Smṛti, but this could hardly be the case if the author of both these works—the Bhagavadgīta and the Vedanta Sutras—were one and the same Veda Vyasa's patronymic name is Krishna Dvaiapayana and he is said to be the son of the great sage Parasara by Satyavati and his hermitage was near Prayaga (Allahabad) between the Ganges and the Jumna Whereas, Badarayana, as the name itself clearly shows, was the son of Badari and his hermitage was at Badarikāsrama on the Himalayas It is possible that Badarayana's father and preceptor was called Badari after the name of the sacred hermitage, which soon became a great seat of learning for the Vedanta school of Philosophy The earliest authentic reference to Badarayana and Veda Vyasa is by Sankara himself, and it is clear from his works that he always made a distinction between Krishna Dvaiapayana or Veda Vyasa, the author of the Bhagavadgīta, and Badarayana or Vyasa, the author of the Vedanta Sutras. In commenting on Bhagavadgīta, Sankara refers to the author in the preface in the following terms —*Tam dharmaṁ Bhagavatā Yathopāśtam Vedavyāsas Sarvagno Bhagavān Gitākhyais saptaḥbis slokasataḥ upanibhanda* (It is this Dharma which was taught by the Lord, that the omniscient and adorable Veda Vyasa embodied in the seven hundred verses called Gitā) But in the only place where he names the author of the Vedanta Sutras, Sankara says, as follows :—*Nanvevam sati, sātisayaṇvāt antavaṇvām anuvarsya syāt, tajñacalām āvritih prasayeja iti aja ut्तaram Bhagavān Bādarāyana Ačāhryāḥ pathayi?* (But from the circumstances of the Lordly power of the released souls not being absolute, it follows that it comes to an end, and then they will have to return from the world of Brahman To this objection, the reverend Badarayana Acharya replies in the following Sutra. Of them, there is non-return according to scripture; non-return according to scripture. (Vide Sankara's preface to Vedanta Sutra, IV, 422). It is apparent from these two passages that Sankara makes a

ca Bhāraṭa Samhitām śaṭasāhasrikām kurvaṭā Mokṣadharme Jñānakānde abhīhiṭam So says the author of Sruṭaprakāśikā in his commentary on the Mangalaśloka referring to Śruti. Sahovaca Vyāsaḥ Pārā�aryah In the traditional invocation adopted by readers of the Bhāṣyas, we have Samyangnyāyakalāpena mahaṭā Bhāraṭena ca, Upabrahmiṭa Vedaya namo Vyāsāya Viṣṇave In the benedictory verse commencing the

clear distinction between the author of the Bhagavadgīta and that of the Vedanta Sutras, taking the one as the incarnation of the Omniscient Lord himself, and the other as one of his own respected Acharyas or teachers Further in Sutra III, 3-32 of his Vedanta Darsana, Badarayana himself refers to Krishna Dvaiapayana, as an instance of persons who knew Brahman and yet took on new bodies for the purpose of saving the world In commenting upon this Sutra, Sankara says — “Upapanna tvyam Cintā Brahmatvādāpi Kesamcit itihāsapurāṇayor debānṭaroṭpaṭṭidarsanāt Ṭajjhāti, apānṭarātāmā nāma Veḍācāryah purāṇarsh Visnuniyogaḥ Kalidvāparayos sandhau Kṛṣṇa ḍvaiḍyānas sambabhūveti smaranṭi (There is indeed room for the inquiry proposed, as we know from Itihāsa and Purana, that some persons although knowing Brahman, yet obtained new bodies Tradition informs us that Apantaratas, an ancient Rishi and teacher of the Vedas, was, by the order of Vishnu, born on this earth as Krishna Dvaiapayana at the interval of time between the Dvapara Yuga and Kali Yuga) If Krishna Dvaiapayana was the author of these Sutras, nothing would have been more natural and easier for Sankara than to refer to the author himself as an instance Further it is clear from this passage, that Krishna Dvaiapayana, according to Sankara, lived before the Kaliyuga and he could not be, therefore, identical with Badarayana, the author of the Vedanta Sutras and the reputed commentator of Patanjali's Yoga Sutras Moreover, the Vedanta Sutras are widely known as Badarayana Sutras, but no one has yet called them Krishna Dvaiapayana Sutras Sankarananda, one of the successors of Sankara, and one of the greatest of Sanskrit scholars, makes it clear in his preface to his commentary on the Bhagavadgīta, that these two persons could never be identical In that preface, he refers to the various works ascribed to Krishna Dvaiapayana, but makes no mention of the Vedanta Sutras, as one of his works. No doubt some of the later Acharyas have made a confusion between these two names, but that is no reason why the authors of the Bhagavadgīta but the Vedanta Sutras should be blindly identified and looked upon as one person ”

“ We are in a position to adduce other passages from the works of Sankaracharya, which strengthen to a greater or less extent, the conclusion derived from the one passage above referred to The twelfth aphorism of the first Pada of the second Adhyaya of the Brahma Sutras says “ By this those (doctrines) which are not received by the learned have also been answered ” And Sankaracharya, commenting upon this aphorism explains “ the learned ” to mean “ Manu, Vyasa and others ”<sup>1</sup> Now is it likely that Sankaracharya would give this explanation, if he thought Vyasa to be the author of the Brahma Sutras? I think it is most unlikely, for otherwise the aphorism, amplified according to Sankara's explanation, would run something like this, “ What has been said above furnishes an answer to all those doctrines which such learned men as Manu and

Dvartacārya Jayatīrtha's commentary, Vyāsa is described as the author of the Sūtras and Mahābhārata and Purāṇas<sup>1</sup>

Sir EDWIN ARNOLD in his "Indian Idylls" claims for parts of it "an origin anterior to writing, anterior to Puranic theology, anterior to Homer, perhaps old muses" and accepts it as one of the priceless, treasures of East Dr F A HASSLER wages eloquent in its praise "The Mahabharata has opened to me, as it were, a new world, and I have been surprised beyond measure at the wisdom, truth, knowledge and love of the right which I have found displayed in its pages not only so, but I have found many of the truths which my own heart hears taught me in regard to the supreme Being and His creations set forth in beautiful, clear language "

M WILLIAMS gives the names of the eighteen sections or Books which constitute the poem, with a brief statement of their contents —

1 Adi-Parvan, introductory Book, describes how the two brothers, Dhritarashtra and Pandu, are brought up by their uncle Bhishma, and how Dhritarashtra, who is blind, has one hundred sons, commonly called the Kuru princes, by his wife Ghandhari, and

---

myself have rejected" I confess that this seems to me *reductio ad absurdum*. Again, the forty-seventh aphorism of the third Pada of the second Adhyaya is as follows "And there are Smritis to the same effect," on which Sankarachārya has this commentary "And there are Smritis of Vyāsa and others saying that the supreme soul suffers no pain in consequence of any pain suffered by the individual soul" Here we go one step beyond the point at which the previous passage carried us For if Sankara thought Vyāsa to be the author of the Brahma Sutras, the result of the exposition above set out would be that, in Sankara's judgment, Vyāsa, in this aphorism was speaking of another work of his own as a Smriti, and citing it as an authority Is this probable? Still another passage of a somewhat similar description occurs in the commentary of Sankarachārya on the fourteenth aphorism of the first Pada of the third Adhyaya. This aphorism is in words the same as the last, and the comment of Sankara runs thus "And there are also Smritis of learned persons such as Manu, Vyāsa, and others."

"Here we have Vyāsa, on the hypothesis above stated, referring to himself as an author of a Smriti, and quoting himself as an authority, in his own aphorism, and Sankara in his exposition of that aphorism calling him further a learned person."

1. Colebrooke refers to this last question (Essays I, 327) He and Windischman say they are different personages. So says T K Telang a note on *Brahma-Sutra and the author of the Brahma-Sutras*. Weber (IL 243) thinks they are identical.

how the two wives, of Pandu, Pritha (Kunti) and Madri, have five sons, called the Pandavas or Pandu princes.

2 Sabha-Parvan describes the great SABHA or 'assembly of princes' at Hastinapura, when Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five Pandavas, is persuaded to play at dice with Sakuni and loses his kingdom. The five Pandavas and Draupadi, their wife, are required to live for twelve years in the woods.

3 Vana-Parvan narrates the life of the Pandavas in the Kamyaka forest. This is one of the longest books, and full of episodes such as the story of Nala and that of the Kiratarjuniya.

4 Virata-Parvan describes the thirteenth year of exile and the adventures of the Pandavas while living disguised in the service of king Virata.

5 Udyoga-Parvan In this the preparations for war on the side of both Pandavas and Kauravas are described.

6 Bhishma-Parvan In this both armies join battle on Kurukshetra, a plain north-west of Delhi. The Kauravas are commanded by Bhishma, who falls transfixed with arrows by Arjuna.

7 Drona-Parvan In this the Kuru forces are commanded by Drona, and numerous battles take place. Drona falls in a fight with Dhrishtadyumna (son of Drupada).

8 Karna-Parvan In this the Kurus are led by Karna. Other battles are described. Arjuna kills Karna.

9. Salya-Parvan In this Salya is made general of the Kuru army. The concluding battles take place, and only three of the Kuru warriors, with Duryodhana, are left alive. Bhima and Duryodhana then fight with clubs. Duryodhana, chief and eldest of the Kurus, is struck down.

10 Sauptika-Parvan In this three surviving Kurus make a night attack on the Camp of the Pandavas and kill all their army, but not the five Pandavas.

11 Sri-Parvan describes the lamentations of queen Gandhari and the other wives and women over the bodies of the slain heroes.

12 Santi-Parvan In this Yudhishthira is crowned in Hastinapura To calm his spirit, troubled with the slaughter of his kindred, Bhishma, still alive, instructs him at great length in the duties of kings (*Rajadharma* 1995-4778), rules for adversity (*Apad Dharma* 4779-6445), rules for attaining final emancipation (*Moksha Dharma* 6456 to end)

13 Anusasana-Parvan In this the instruction is continued by Bhishma, who gives precepts and wise axioms on all subjects, such as the duties of the kings, liberality, fasting, eating &c., mixed up with tales, moral and religious discourses, and metaphysical disquisitions At the conclusion of his long sermon Bhishma dies

14. Asvamedhika-Parvan In this Yudhishthira, having assumed the government, performs an Asvamedha or 'horse sacrifice' in token of his supremacy

15 Asramavasika-Parvan narrates how the old blind king Dhritarashtra, with his queen Gandhari and with Kunti, mother of the Pandavas, retires to a hermitage in the woods After two years a forest conflagration takes place, and they immolate themselves in the fire to secure heaven and felicity

16 Mausala-Parvan narrates the death of Krishna and Balarama, their return to heaven, the submergence of Krishna's city Dvaraka by the sea, and the self-slaughter in a fight with clubs of Krishna's family, the Yadavas, through the curse of some Brahmins.

17 Mahaprasthanika-Parvan describes the renunciation of their kingdom by Yudhishthira and his four brothers, and their departure towards Indra's heaven in Mount Meru.

18 Svargarohanika-Parvan narrates the ascent and admission to heaven of the five Pandavas, their wife Draupadi, and kindred

Supplement or Harivamsa-Parvan, a later addition, recounting the genealogy and birth of Krishna and the details of his early life

The following SUMMARY OF THE STORY is taken from R. C. DUTT'S *Civilisation in Ancient India*

Santana, the old king of Hastinapura, died, leaving two sons, Bhishma, who had taken a vow of celibacy, and a younger prince who became king. This young prince died in his turn, leaving

two sons, Dhritarashtra, who was blind, and Pandu who ascended the throne. Pandu died, leaving five sons who are the heroes of the epic. Dhritarashtra remained virtually the king during the minority of the five Pandavas and of his own children, while Dhritarashtra's uncle Bhishma, a renowned warrior, remained the chief counsellor and friend of the state. Yudhishthira, the eldest of the Pandavas, never became much of a warrior, but became versed in the religious learning of the age, and is the most righteous character in the epic. Bhima, the second, learnt to use the club, and was renowned for his gigantic size and giant strength, and is indeed the Ajax of the poem. The third, Arjuna, excelled all other princes in the skill of arms, and aroused the jealousy and hatred of the sons of Dhritarashtra, even in their boyhood. Nakula, the fourth, learned to tame horses, and Sahadeva, the fifth, became proficient in astronomy. Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhritarashtra, was proficient in the use of the club, and was a rival to Bhima.

At last the day came for a public exhibition of the proficiency which the princes had acquired in the use of arms. A spacious area was enclosed. Seats were arranged all round for the accommodation of ancient warriors and chieftains, of ladies and courtiers. The whole population of Kuruland flocked to see the skill of their young princes. The blind king Dhritarashtra was led to his seat, and foremost among the ladies were Gandhari, the queen of Dhritarashtra, and Kunti, the mother of the first three Pandavas. The last two were Pandu's sons by another wife. There was shooting of arrows at a butt, and there was fighting with swords and bucklers and clubs. Duryodhana and Bhima soon began to fight in right earnest, and rushed towards each other like mad elephants. Shouts ascended to the sky, and soon the fight threatened to have a tragic end. At last the infuriated young men were parted and peace was restored.

Then the young Arjuna entered the lists in golden mail with his wondrous bow. His splendid archery surprised his most passionate admirers and thrilled the heart of his mother with joy, while shouts of admiration rose from the multitude like the roar of the ocean. He played with his sword, which flashed like lightning, and also with his sharp-edged quoit or chakra, and never missed his mark. Lastly, he brought down horses and deer to the ground by the noose, and concluded by doing obeisance to his worthy preceptor Drona, amidst the ringing cheers of the assembled multitude.

The dark cloud of jealousy lowered on the brow of Dhritarashtra's sons, and soon they brought to the field an unknown warrior, Karna who was a match for Arjuna in archery. King's sons could only fight with their peers, like the knights of old, and Dhritarashtra therefore knighted the unknown warrior, or rather made him a king on the spot so that Arjuna might have no excuse for declining the fight. To awkward questions which were put to him the haughty Karna replied that rivers and warriors knew not of their origin and birth, then prowess was their genealogy. But the Pandavas declined the fight and the haughty Karna retired in silence and in rage. Drona now demanded the reward of his tuition. Like doughty warriors of old he held revenge to be the dearest joy of a warrior, and for his reward he asked the help of the Kurus to be revenged on Drupada, king of the Panchalas, who had insulted him. The demand could not be refused. Drona marched against Drupada, conquered him, and wrested half his kingdom. Drupada swore to be avenged.

Dark clouds now arose on the horizon of Kuruland. The time had come for Dhritarashtra to name a Yuvaraja, i.e., or a prince who would reign during his old age. The claim of Yudhishthira to the throne of his father could not be gainsaid, and he was appointed Yuvaraja. But the proud Duryodhana rebelled against the arrangement, and the old monarch had to yield, and sent the five Pandavas in exile to Varanavita, said to be near modern Allahabad, and then the very frontier of Hindu settlements. The vengeance of Duryodhana pursued them there and the house where the Pandavas lived was burnt to ashes. The Pandavas and their mother escaped by an underground passage, and for a long time roamed about disguised as Brahmins.

Heralds now went from country to country, and proclaimed in all lands that the daughter of Drupada, king of the Panchalas, was to choose for herself a husband among the most skilful warriors of the time. As usual on such occasions of Svayamvara, or choice of a husband by a princess, all the great kings and princes and warriors of the land flocked to the court of Drupada, each hoping to win the lovely bride who had already attained her youth, and was renowned for her beauty. She was to give her hand to the most skilful archer, and the trial ordained was a pretty severe one. A heavy bow of great size was to be wielded, and an arrow was to be shot through a whirling chakra or quoit into the eye of a golden fish, set high on the top of a pole. Not only princes and warriors, but multitudes of spectators flocked from all parts of the country to Kampilya, the capital of the

Panchalas. The princes thronged the seats, and Brahmans filled the place with Vedic hymns. Then appeared Draupadi with the garland in her hand which she was to offer to the victor of the day. By her appeared her brother Dhritrashtra, who proclaimed the feat which was to be performed. Kings rose and tried to wield the bow, one after another, but in vain. The skilful and proud Karna stepped forward to do the feat, but was prevented. A Brahman suddenly rose and drew the bow, and shot the arrow through the whirling chakra into the eye of the golden fish. A shout of acclamation arose. And Draupadi, the Kshatriya princess, threw the garland round the neck of the brave Brahman, who led her away as bride. But murmurs of discontent arose like the sound of troubled waters from the Kshatriya ranks at this victory of a Brahman, and the humiliation of the warriors, and they gathered round the bride's father and threatened violence. The Pandavas now threw off their disguise, and the victor of the day proclaimed himself to be Arjuna, a true-born Kshatriya.

Then follows the strange myth that the Pandavas went back to their mother and said, a great prize had been won. Their mother, not knowing what the prize was, told her sons to share it among them. And as a mother's mandate cannot be disregarded, the five brothers wedded Draupadi as their wife. The Pandavas now formed an alliance with the powerful king of the Panchalas, and forced the blind king Dhritarashtra to divide the Kuru country between his sons and the Pandavas. The division, however, was unequal; the fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna was retained by the sons of Dhritarashtra, while the uncleared jungle in the west was given to the Pandavas. The jungle Khandava Prastha was soon cleared by fire, and a new capital called Indraprastha was built, the supposed ruins of which are shown to every modern visitor to Delhi.<sup>1</sup>

Military expeditions were now undertaken by the Pandavas on all sides, but these need not detain us, especially as the accounts of these distant expeditions are modern interpolations. When we find in the Mahabharata accounts of expeditions to Ceylon, or to Bengal, we may unhesitatingly put them down as later interpolations. And now

---

<sup>1.</sup> Yudhishthira entered Hastināpura when he was 16. He was with Duryodhana for 13 years. He was confined in the lac house for 6 months, spent 6 months at Ekacakra, one year in the Pancala house and 5 years with Duryodhana. There it was that Delhi was built. Yudhishthira lived 108 years (*Mah. I, 134*). If he passed away in the beginning of Kali, he must have been born in 3210 B.C., and *Delhi must have been first built in 3174 B.C.*

Yudhishthira was to celebrate the Rajasuya or coronation ceremony, and all the princes of the land, including his kinsmen of Hastinapura, were invited. The place of honour was given to Krishna, chief of the Yadavas of Gujarat. Sisupala of Chedi violently protested, and Krishna killed him on the spot. Krishna is only a great chief, and not a deity, in the older portions of the Mahabharata, and his story shows the Gujarat was colonised from the banks of the Jumna in the Epic Age. The tumult having subsided, the consecrated water was sprinkled on the newly-created monarch, and Brahmins went away loaded with presents.

But the newly-created king was not long to enjoy his kingdom. With all his righteousness, Yudhishthira had a weakness for gambling like the other chiefs of the time, and the unforgiving and jealous Duryodhana challenged him to a game. Kingdom, wealth, himself and his brothers, and even his wife were staked and lost,—and behold now, the five brothers and Draupadi the slaves of Duryodhana! The proud Draupadi refused to submit to her position, but Duhsasana dragged her to the assembly-room by her hair, and Duryodhana forced her down on his knee in the sight of the stupefied assembly. The blood of the Pandavas was rising, when the old Dhritarashtra was led to the assembly-room and stopped a tumult. It was decided that the Pandavas had lost their kingdom, but should not be slaves. They agreed to go in exile for twelve years, after which they should remain concealed for a year. If the sons of Dhritarashtra failed to discover them during the year, they would get back their kingdom.

Thus the Pandavas again went in exile, and after twelve years of wanderings in various places, disguised themselves in the thirteenth year and took service under the king of Virata. Yudhishthira was to teach the king gambling, Bhima was the head cook, Arjuna was to teach dancing and music to the King's daughter, Nakula and Sahadeva were to be master of horse and master of cattle respectively, and Draupadi was to be the queen's handmaid. A difficulty arose. The queen's brother was enamoured of the new handmaid of superb beauty, and insulted her and was resolved to possess her. Bhima interfered and killed the lover in secret. Cattle-lifting was not uncommon among the princes of those days, and the princes of Hastinapura carried away some cattle from Virata. Arjuna, the dancing master, could stand this no longer, he put on his armour, drove out in chariot and recovered the cattle, but was discovered.

And now the Pandavas sent an envoy to Hastinapura to claim back their kingdom. The claim was refused, and both parties prepared for a war, the like of which had never been seen in India. All the princes of note joined one side or the other, and the battle which was fought in the plains of Kurukshetra, North of Delhi, lasted for eighteen days, and ended in fearful slaughter and carnage.<sup>1</sup>

The long story of the battle with its endless episodes need not detain us. Arjuna killed the ancient Bhishma unfairly after that chief was forced to desist from fighting Drona, with his impenetrable "squares" or phalanxes, killed the old man Drupada, but Drupada's son revenged his father's death and killed Drona unfairly. Bhima met Duhsasana, who had insulted Droupadi in the gambling-room, cut off his head, and in fierce vindictiveness drank his blood. Last, there was the crowning contest between Karna and Arjuna, who had hated each other through life, and Arjuna killed Karna unfairly when his chariot wheels had sunk in the earth, and he could not move or fight. On the last or eighteenth day, Duryodhana fled from Bhima, but was compelled by taunts and rebukes to turn round and fight, and Bhima by a foul blow (because struck below the waist) smashed the knee on which Duryodhana had once dragged Droupadi. And the wounded warrior was left there to die. The bloodshed was not yet over, for Drona's son made a midnight raid into the enemy's camp and killed Droupada's son, and thus an ancient feud was quenched in blood.<sup>2</sup>

The remainder of the story is soon told. The Pandavas went to Hastinapura, and Yudhishtira became king. He is said to have subdued every king in Aryan India, and at last celebrated the Asvamedha ceremony or the great horse-sacrifice. A horse was let loose and wandered at its will for a year, and no king dared to stop it. This was a sign of the submission of all the surrounding kings, and they were then invited to the great horse-sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> The pakṣa in which the war began had only 13 days (*Mah* VI 3, 11-18; *IA*, XVI, 82. The great European war also began in a pakṣa of 13 days. L D Swamikannu would however not attach any evil influence for such a short fort-night.

<sup>2</sup> According to the dates given in the text —

Kṛṣṇa śukla dvādaśi-Revaṭī — (Kṛṣṇa's) message

„ Kṛṣṇa pancami (Puṣyam) — Mobilisation.

„ Amāvāsyā-Jyeṣṭha — Reaching battle-field

Mārgaśīra Śukla ṭrayodaśī (mṛgadīra) — War begins

Kṛṣṇa amāvāsyā — War ends.

Māgha Śukla pāncami — Death of Bhīma.

BABU RAMGOPAL SINGH CHOUDHRY B L wrote in *The Wisdom of the East* thus "The epoch of the Kaliyuga 3102 B C is usually identified with the era of Yudhisthira, and the date of the Mahabharath War Two pitched battles were fought between the said parties, the 1st at Berainagar and the 2nd at Kurukshetra The battle took place just on the completion of the 13 years *Banbas* (exile of the Pandavas into the forests) (*Vide* Berath Parv Adhyaya 30, Slokas 28 and 29 Thereafter Sri Krishna started for Hastinapur on the 1st Kartik, Revathi Nakshatra, Mitra Darvat Mahoort, to negotiate peace, and if possible prevent the impending civil war that caused the ruin of Ancient India (Udyog Parv, Adhvaya 82, Slokas 6 to 13 ) On Duryodhan's refusal to come to terms and declining to give even 5 villages for the maintenance and support of the five Pandavas, Sri Krishna on his way back to Berathnagar asked Karna to commence the war that day week, *viz*, on 15th day (Amavasya) of that month (Udyog Parv, Adhyaya 141, Sloka 18 ) It appears that for some reason or other the war did not commence on that date, for 50 nights after the end of the war Maharaja Yudhisthira paid a second visit to Sri Bhishma who breathed his last on that day (Anusasan Parv, Adhyaya 167, Slokas 5 to 28 )

Now the Mahabharath War lasted for 18 days, so he died (50 and 18) 68 days after the commencement of the war It is well-known that Magh Sudi 8, *i.e.*, the 8th day of the bright side of the moon of the month of Magh is the date on which he went to heaven It is therefore called Bhishma Astami and *tarpas* (oblations of water) is given to him on that day By calculation we find that 68 days backwards from Magh Sudi 8th would fall on Aghan Sudi 1 or 16th Aghan So the battle commenced on the 16th of Aghan and lasted till the 3rd of Pus That this is the date of the commencement of the war will also be borne out by the fact that when after spending 50 nights in the city on the termination of the second war, Maharaja Yudhisthira went to Sri Bhishma for the 2nd time, the latter spoke thus (*vide* Anusason Parv Adhyaya 167—"Well Yudhisthira, to-day is the bright side of the moon,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of this month have already passed and I have already slept on the points of the arrows for 58 nights") So there remains no room for doubt that the day when Yudhisthira went to him, that is to say, the day Bhishma died, fell on the 23rd of Magh (Aghan Sudi 8) He fought for 10 days and passed 58 nights on the bed of arrows so by this calculation also it comes out that the battle began on Aghan, Sudi 1st (16th of Aghan), for counting from that day the 6<sup>th</sup> day would fall on Magh Sudi 8th It seems that although Sri Krishna proposed

to commence the war on the Dipavali day (15th Kartic), the Kuru could not make necessary arrangements in that short time and the war commenced a month and 8 days after, instead of 8 days

Now I give dates of the death of the great warriors who fell in that battle Sri Bhushma fell on Aghan Sudi 8th, i.e., 23rd Aghan, but died on the 3rd of Paus Bhag-Dutt was killed on Aghan Sudi 11 Abhimanya was killed on Aghan Sudi 13 Bhurisrava, Jaidarath and Ghotokuch were killed on Aghan Sudi 14 Dronacharya was killed on Aghan Sudi 15 Duhsasan and Karna were killed on Paus Badī 2 Shalya, Shalloa and Sakuni were killed in the day time on 3rd Paus Badī And on the same date at dusk, Duryodhan's thighs were broken and he fell down Dhristdquman, Shikhandī, and the 5 sons of Droupadi were killed in the night on the same day, viz., 3rd paus Duryodhan breathed his last on the same day after midnight but before sunrise"

#### COMMENTARIES

There are commentaries on the Mahābhārata by Nilakantha,<sup>1</sup> Arjunamīśra<sup>2</sup>, Sarvagna Nārāyāna<sup>3</sup>, Yegnanārāyāpa<sup>4</sup>, Vaiśampāyana<sup>5</sup>, Vādirāja, Śrinandana,<sup>6</sup> and Vimalabodha Aufrecht gives the names of the following commentators —Ānandapūrṇa, Vidyāsāgara, Caturbhuja, Nandikeśvara, Devabodha, Nandanācārya, Paramānanda-bhattācārya, Ratnagarbha, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Lakṣmaṇabhatta, and Śrinivāsācārya Besides two anonymous commentaries, Nigūḍhapada-bodhī and Bhāratatippaṇī, the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras contains Bhāratavyākhya by Kavīndra and Lakṣaslokālankāra of Vādirāja Śridharāchārya has commented on the Chapter Mokṣadharma

Sarvagna Nārāyāpa appears to be the earliest commentator whose work is at least extant in fragments Vādirāja was a Madhva ascetic who lived between 1450 to 1500 and his commentary is an extensive work Kavīndra lived in the Orissa Country about 1600 A D

Arjunamīśra mentions Devabodha, Vimalabodha and Sarvagna Nārāyāpa and Śāṇḍilya Mādhaba and is mentioned by Nilakantha Nilakantha lived at Kürpara in Maharashtra probably in the 16th cen-

1. TC, III 2955-5

2 KC, 106, IOC, VI 1151.

3 BTC, 184.

4 TC, II 2305

5 CC, I 489

6 DC, IV, R No 3801

7 Mitra's Notices, No 3011.

tury<sup>1</sup> Śrinandana was the son of Laksmanacarya of Bhāradvaja Gotra and was known as Mahabharata Bhattāraka

Mahābhārata-tātparyā-nirṇaya is an epitome of the Mahābhārata by Sri Madhvacarya, the great teacher of the Dwaita philosophy who flourished in the 12th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> There are commentaries on it by Jñānānandaḥatta, Varadarāja, Vādiraja, Vittalācārya, and Vyāsatīrtha, and a commentary Sabhyābhinayavatī.<sup>3</sup>

There is a Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya by Varadarāja who lived about 1500 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Bhāratatatva-vācanam is a collection of extracts made by Puranam Hayagriva Sastri which support and illustrate the principles of Advaita philosophy.<sup>5</sup> Bālābhāratam and Mahābhārata-Sangraham are compilations of the main thread of the story.<sup>6</sup> There is an abridgement by C V Vaidya.<sup>7</sup> Anonymous work called Vyāsākūta is remarkable for its double entendre.<sup>8</sup> Bhāratayuddha-vivāda by Nārāyana Jāśa, known as Bhāratācārya, determines the length of time occupied by the Great War. Bhāratasāvitri is a similar work quoted by commentators and is often extracted in the Kumbakonam edition.<sup>9</sup>

Jaimini-Bhāraṭam is an elaborate work dealing with the exploits and character of the Pāndavas in verse. Only one parvan of this work is extant describing the Aśvamedha of Yudhiṣṭhira.<sup>10</sup>

Brihat Pāndava Purāna called also the Mahābhārata is divided into 25 Parvans. It was composed at Śripura in Śākavāta by Śri Śubhacandra and revised and rewritten by his disciple Brahma Śripāla: Śubhacandra was the head of Jaina mūth founded by Paḍmanandī of śrimulasangha. He succeeded Vijayakīrtī. He mentions other works of his, Caṇḍrānāthacarita, Paḍmanābhacanta, Jīvakacarita, Pārśvanātha kāvya, Caṇḍanākathā, Nandīśvari etc. In the first six Parvans some Jain anecdotes are narrated including the life of Śāntinātha and the last four

1. Macdonell, *S.L.* 290-1.

2. Ed. Bombay.

3. *GG*, I 440

4. This is found in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

5. Ed Masulipatam *T.C.*, III, 3242.

6. *T.C.*, III, 2998, 33385, 3849 See also for a similar abridgement, *KC*, 197;

7. Ed. Bombay

8. Mitra's Notices (1872).

9. *KC*, 195, 352.

10. Ed. Bombay (1863), Ed with Hindi gloss, Sree Venkateswar Press, Bombay Cat of Berlin Library, 111-118. See also Wilson's *Mac. Collection*, II, 1, *ZDMG*, II, 278, *Monatsbericht der Berl. Acad.* (1869), 13-15

Parvans describe the advent of Neminātha and the attainment of salvation of the Pāndavas. The date of the composition is given as samvat 1608 or 1552 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Pāndavapurāna in 18 cantos describes the story of the Mahābhārāta as current among the Jainas. The author Vādicandra was the disciple and younger brother of Prabhācandra. The story was first recounted by Varḍhmāna, son of Siddhārtha, to Śrepika, king of Kundina, and from him was traditionally transmitted through Neminātha, Padmanandī etc., to Prabhācandra, who was the author's brother. The work was written at Ghanaugha in the Pushya month of 654 (samvat).<sup>2</sup>

Devaprabhāśūri, the Jain monk, wrote Pāndavacarita.<sup>3</sup>

Hariyamā is a sequel to the Mahābhārāta and is held in high esteem. It is also the work of Vyāsa and describes the life and adventures of Krṣṇa. Introductory to his era, it records particulars of the creation of the world, and of the patriarchal and regal dynasties.<sup>4</sup>

Jaina Hariyamā is a long poem of some historical value in the Puranic form by Jinasena who wrote in Saka 705.<sup>5</sup>

1. TC, III, 3968, PR, IV, 156.

2. TC, II, 1785. The words used are *Veda-bāṇi-Sad-anke (ge) varṣe*. The editor of the catalogue suggests 1654 (?)

3. PR, I, 98, III, 133.

4. Ed. Bombay. Translated by M. Langlois.

5. JA, XV, 141.

On Mahābhārāta generally.—

Ed by P. C. Roy (Calcutta), Ed by Education Committee (Calcutta), Ed by S. L. Bhaduri (Calcutta), Ed S. Vyāsacarya (Kumbakonam). There are other editions in various scripts everywhere.

For contents of the work, see M. Williams' *Indian Epic Poetry* and *Indian Wisdom*.

K. Narayana Iyer, *The Permanent History of Bharata Varsha*, Vol. I, Trivandrum, H. Jacobi, *Index and Concordance*, S. Soerensen, *Index to the names of the Mahabharata and Concordance*, L. Grasberger, *Noctes Indicae, sive quaestiones in Natum Mahabharateum, Story of the Great War* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar), C. V. Krishnamachari, *Mahabharata, analysed* (Lahore), Roussel *Legends of the Mahabharata* (Santiparvan), Paris.

Translated into English prose by P. C. Roy (1894, Calcutta), Translated by R. C. Dutt (Calcutta), by M. N. Dutt (Calcutta). Takur Rajendra Singh, *Great War of Ancient India* (*Ind. Rev.* XVI, 531), J. Dahlman, *Genesis Des Mahabharata* (Berlin) says that the work existed in the present form before the 5th century B.C. Holtzman *Das Mahabharata* (Kiel), Buhler, *Indian Studies* No. II (*Trans. of Imp. Vienna Academy*, 1892), Paper by Wintermitz (*J.R.A.S.*,

### Theories and dates

Much has been said by oriental scholars on the age of the Mahābhārata and the general tendency of such opinions has been only to bring down the date of the composition to a close proximity to the beginning of the Christian era. MAUL MULLER traces the connection between the Mahabharata and the vedic literature and attributes the present form of the poem to the redaction of Brahmanical priesthood.<sup>1</sup> "The war between the Kurus and Pāndavas, which forms the principal object of our Mahābhārata, is unknown in the Veda. The names of the Kurus and Bharatas are common in the Vedic literature, but the names of the Pandavas has never been met with. It has been observed,<sup>2</sup> that even in Panini's grammar the name Pandu or Pandava does not occur, while the Kurus and Bharatas are frequently mentioned,

(1897,) 713, IA, I, xxvi, *Mahabharata condensed into English verse* by R C. Dutt (London), Channing Arnold's *Mahabharata* (Longman's Green & Co.), M Williams, *Story of Nala* Johnson, *Selections from the Mahabharata* (W Heffer & sons Ltd, Cambridge), *Nalopakhyanam* by Jaret, and by Piele (W Heffer & sons Ltd, Cambridge), F Bopp, *Deluvium with three other texts from the Mahabharata*, (Berlin), J Murdoch, *An English abridgment* (Probsthain & co, London), *Vier Philosophische Texte des Mahabharatam*, translated into German by P Deussen, (1906, Berlin), *Traduit complètement pour la le fois en français par H. Fanche*, (10 Vols Paris). As to this *I Str, II 410, Indian Idylls from the Sanskrit of the Mahabharata* by E Arnold, *The Mahabharata (Hindu Epic Poem)* by Goldstucker (Calcutta), *Reconstruction of the Mahabharata* by A Holtzman, *Grammaticches Ausdem Mahabharata* by A Holtzman, *The original shape of the Mahabharata* by T G Kale, *Ind Rev* IX 335], B V Kamesvara Iyer, *On the date of the Bharata War* fixing a date long before 1422 B C (*Ind Rev* X. 673), Vaidya, *Historical Studies in the Gita* (*Ind Rev* XVII 481), R G Bhandarkar on the Mahabharata (IA, I 350). This paper gives all references to Mahabharata from Patanjali onwards. There are early inscriptions mentioning Mahabharata names (JBRAS, XVIII, 1, 4, IX. 315). Pargiter on *The Nations of India at the battle between Pandavas and Kauravas and the controversy thereon* [JRAS, (1908) 602, 309, 831, 837, 1138]. On the Ganesa legend in the Mahabharata [JRAS (1898) 631]

Bhishma, his life and teachings (Datta Boss & co, Calcutta), Manorangan Ghosh, Date of Sri Krishna (*Ind. Rev* XV 39), Buhler and Kurste, Contributions to the history of the Mahabharata (Sita, Wien), On the old linguistic form of the epics by Jacobi, (ZDMG, XLV 407) and by Rapson, [JRAS, (1904) 435] Gaurangamath Banerji, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 225

1 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 44-48.

2 Weber, I Str, 148, Katyayana, however knows not only Pandu, but his descendants Pandavas.

particularly in rules treating of the formation of patronymics and similar words<sup>1</sup> If, then, Asvalayana, the immediate successor of Panini, knows not only Pandu, but also his descendants, the Pandavas, can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor, of Panini, the Bharata which he is speaking of must have been very different from the epic poem which is known to us under the name of the Mahabharata, celebrating the war of the Kurus and Pandavas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The names of the two wives of Pandu, Kunti and Madri, occur in the commentary on Panini (Cf 1 2 49, iv 1 65, iv 1 176 (text) for Kunti, and iv 1 177, (for Madri) But both these names are geographical appellatives, Kunti signifying a woman for the country of the Kuntas, Madri, a Madra-woman. Pritha, another name of Kunti, stands in the Gana sivadi As to the proper names of the Pandava princes, we find Yudhishthira, Pan vi I. 134, vi 3 9, viii 3 95 (text), Arjuna, Pan iii I 119, iv 3 64, v 4 481, vi, 2 131, Bhima, Pan. vi I. 205 , Nakula, Pan vi 3 75 The name of Sahadeva does not occur, but his descendants, the Sahadevas, are mentioned as belonging to the race of Kuru, together with the Nakulas, Pan. iv I 114. In the same way we find the descendants of Yudhishthira and Arjuna mentioned as members of the eastern Bharatas, Pan ii 4 66 Draupadi's name does not occur in Panini, but Subhadra, the sister of Krishna and the wife of Arjuna, is distinctly mentioned, Pan iv 2 56. Another passage in the commentary on Panini (iv 3 87) proves even the existence of a poem in praise of Subhadra, which, if we remember the former mention of a war about Subhadra (iv 2 56), seems most likely to have celebrated this very conquest of Subhadra by Arjuna In the Mahabharata this story forms a separate chapter, the Subhadra-harara-parva (Adiparva, p 288.) which may be the very work which Panini, according to his commentator, is alluding to. That the chapter in the Mahabharata belongs to the oldest parts of the epic, may be seen from its being mentioned in the Anukramani (i 149): "when I heard that Subhadra, of the race of Madhu, had been forcibly seized in the city of Dvaraka, and carried away by Arjuna, and that the two heroes of the race of Vrishni had repaired to Indraprastha, I then, O Sanjaya, had no hope of success." The Mahabhashya, however, does not explain the former Sutra, (iv 2 56,) and for the latter it gives examples for the exceptions only, but not for the rule. The word Grantha, used in the Sutra, (iv 3 87), is also somewhat suspicious. That some of the Sutras which now form part of Panini's grammar, did not proceed from him, is acknowledged by Kaiyyata 'cf. iv 3 131, 132' Krishna Vasudeva, who is considered as peculiarly connected with the tradition of the Pandavas, is quoted as Vasudeva, of the race of Vrishni (Pan iv 1 114), as Vasudeva, together with Siva and Aditya (Pan. v 3 99 text), as Vasudeva together with Arjuna (iv 3 98 text) In the commentary to Pan. iii 3. 156., and ii 3 72, we have proof of Krishna's being worshipped as a god, in i 4 92 he is mentioned as a hero His residence, Dvaraka, however, does not occur in Panini.)

<sup>2</sup> That Panini knew the war of Bharatas, has been rendered highly probable by Prof Lassen (Ind. Alterthumskunde, 1 691, 837) The words which called forth Panini's special rule (iv. 2. 56), can scarcely be imagined to have been

"In the form in which we now possess the Mahabharata it shows clear traces that the poets who collected and finished it, breathed an intellectual and religious atmosphere, very different from that in which the heroes of the poem moved. The epic character of the story has throughout been changed and almost obliterated by the didactic tendencies of the latest editors, who were clearly brahmans, brought up in the strict school of the Laws of Manu. But the original traditions of the Pandavas break through now and then, and we can clearly discern that the races among whom the five principal heroes of the Mahabharata were born and fostered, were by no means completely under the influence of brahminical law. How is it, for instance the Pandava, who if we are to believe the poet, were versed in all the sacred literature, grammar, metre, astronomy, and law of the Brahmans, could afterwards have been married to one wife? This is in plain opposition to the Brahmanic law, where it is said, "they are many wives of one man, not many husbands of one wife." Such a contradiction can only be accounted for by the admission that, in this case, epic tradition in the mouth of the people was too strong to allow this essential and curious feature in the life of its heroes to be changed. However, the Brahmanic editors of the Mahabharata, seeing that they could not alter tradition on this point, have at least endeavoured to excuse and mitigate it.

"Neither does the fact that Pandu is lawfully married to two wives, harmonise with the Brahmanic law. That law does not prohibit polygamy, but it regards no second marriage as legal, and it reserves the privilege of being burnt together with the husband to the eldest and only lawful wife. Such passages in the ancient epics are of the greatest interest. We see in them the tradition of the people too far developed, to allow itself to be remodelled by Brahmanic Diaskenastes. There can be little doubt that polygamy, as we find it among the early races in their transition from the pastoral to the agricultural life, was customary in India. We read in Herodotus (v 5), that amongst the

---

different from those in the Mahabhashya, viz., Bharatah sangramah, Saubhadrah sangramah. It was impossible to teach or to use Panini's Sutras without examples. These necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great commentary was written, and are, therefore, of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed. The coincidences between the examples used in the Pratisakhyas and in Panini show that these examples were by no means selected at random, but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching. See also Pan. vi. 2. 38., where the word Mahabharata occurs, but not as the title of a poem.

Thracians it was usual, after the death of a man, to find out who had been the most beloved of his wives, and to sacrifice her upon his tomb Mela (ii 2) gives the same as the general custom of the Getae Herodotus (iv 71) asserts a similar fact of the Scythians, and Pausanias (v 2) of the Greeks, while our own Teutonic mythology is full of instances of the same feeling. And thus the customs of these cognate nations explain what at first seemed to be anomalous in the epic tradition of the Mahabharata, that at the death of Pandu, it is not Kunti, his lawful wife, but Madri, his most beloved wife, in whose arms the old king dies, and who successfully claims the privilege of being burnt with him and following her husband to another life."

"The marked difference between the vedic and epic poetry of India has been well pointed out by Professor ROTH of Tubingen, who for many years has devoted much time and attention to the study of the Veda. According to him, the Mahabharata, even in its first elements, is later than the time of Buddha.<sup>1</sup> "In the epic poems," he says, "the Veda is but imperfectly known, the ceremonial is no longer developing, it is complete. The vedic legends have been plucked from their native soil, and religion of Agni, Indra, Mitra and Varuna has been replaced by an altogether different worship. The last fact, he says "ought to be the most convincing. There is a contradiction running throughout the religious life of India, from the time of Ramayana to the present day. The outer form of the worship is Vedic, and exclusively so, but the eye of religious adoration is turned upon quite different regions.<sup>2</sup> The secondary formation, the religion of Vishnu and Brahma, began with the epic poetry, and remained afterwards as the only living one, but without having the power to break through the walls of the Vedic ceremonial, and take the place of the old ritual."

M. WINTERNITZ thus sums up his views — "If however the Mahabharata already undoubtedly possessed in the 4th century A D, the later portions, such for example, as the 13th book and 'Harivamsa,' if at that time, the epic had already become a religious and devotional book and if a century later the news of the Mahabharata had already spread up to farther India and was there read in temples, then we can with perfect justification conclude that it must have received the form which

1. Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda. Drei Abhandlungen von R. Roth, Doctor der Philosophie Stuttgart, 1846.)

2. Professor Burnouf has treated the same subject in his Review of Prof Wilson's Translation of the Vishnu-purana, Journal des Savants, 1840, May, p. 296.

it has to-day, at least one or two centuries earlier, that is, in the 2nd or 3rd century A D On the other hand, however, it might have received its earliest shape not only after the rise and spread of Buddhism, because it contained so many allusions to it, but also after Alexander's invasion of India because, the Yavanas, i.e., the Indians or Greeks are often alluded to and there are moreover references to stone buildings, whereas before the time of the Greeks only wooden buildings were known in India The Mahabharata in its present form could not be earlier than the 4th century B C and later than 4th century A D ”<sup>1</sup>

MACDONELL traces the growth of the Mahābhārata “There can be little doubt that the original kernel of the epic has as a historical background an ancient conflict between the neighbouring tribes of the Kurus and Panchalas, who finally coalesced into a single people In the Yajurvedas these two tribes already appear united, and in the *Kathaka* King Dhritarashtra Vaichitravirya, one of the chief figures of the Mahabharata, is mentioned as a well-known person Hence the historical germ of the great epic is to be traced to a very early period which cannot well be later than the tenth century B C Old songs about the ancient feud and heroes who played a part in it, must have been handed down by word of mouth and recited in popular assemblies or at great public sacrifices These disconnected battle-songs were, we must assume, worked up by some poetic genius into a comparatively short epic, describing the tragic fate of the Kura race, who, with justice and virtue on their side, perished through the treachery of the victorious sons of Pandu with Krishna at their head To the period of this original epic doubtless belong the traces the Mahabharata has preserved unchanged of the heroic spirit and the customs of the ancient times, so different from the later state of things which the Mahabharata as a whole reflects To this period also belongs the figure of Brahma as the highest God The evidence of Pali literature shows that Brahma already occupied that position in Buddha's time We may, then, perhaps assume that the original form of our epic came into being about the 5th century B C The oldest evidence we have for the existence of the Mahabharata in some shape or other is to be found in Acvalayana's *Grihya Sutra*, where a Bharata and Mahabharata are mentioned This would also point to about the fifth century B C To the next stage, in which the epic, handed down by rhapsodists, swelled to a length of about 20,000 *dakas*, belongs the representation of the victorious Pandus in a favourable light, and the introduction on

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Indische Literatur*, 395

a level with Brahma of the two other great gods Civa, and especially Vishnu, of whom Krishna appears as an incarnation. We gather from the account of Megashenes that about 300 B C, these two gods were already prominent, and the people were divided into Civaites and Vishnavites. Moreover, the Yavanas or Greeks are mentioned in the Mahabharata as allies of the Kurus, and even the Cakas (Scythians) and Pahlavas (Parthians) are named along with them. Hindu temples are also referred to as well as Buddhist relic mounds. Thus an extension of the original epic must have taken place after 300 B C and by the beginning of our era."<sup>1</sup>

HOPKINS<sup>2</sup> sums up the result of his discussions — "We may tentatively assume as approximate dates of the whole work in its different stages Bharata (Kuru) lays, perhaps combined into one, but with no evidence of an epic before 400 B C. A Mahabharata tale with its perhaps justified claim to be considered a branch of the Bharatas, its own later heroes, its cult of anti-Buddhistic type, with Pandu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Puranic diasskeuasts, Krishna as a demigod (no evidence of didactic form or of Krishna's divine supremacy), 400-200 B C. Remaking of the epic with Krishna as all-god, intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of puranic material old and new, multiplication of exploits, 200 B C to 100-200 A.D. The last books added with the introduction to the first book, the swollen Anucasan separated from Canti and recognised as a separate book, 200 to 400 A.D., and finally 400 A.D. occasional amplifications, the existence of which no one acquainted with Hindu literature would be disposed antecedently to doubt, such as the well-known addition mentioned by Professor Weber, *Lectures on Literature*, p. 205, and perhaps the episode omitted by Csemendra, *Indian Studies*, No. ii, p. 52.

"In the case of these dates there is only reasonable probability. They are and must be provisional till we know more than we know. But certain are these four facts:

1 That the Pandu epic as we have it, or even without the masses of didactic material, was composed or compiled after the Greek invasion, 2 That this epic only secondarily developed its present masses of didactic material, 3 That it did not become a specially religious propaganda of Krishnaism (in the accepted sense of that term).

<sup>1</sup> *Sanskrit Literature*, 284-6

<sup>2</sup> *The Great Epic of India*, 397-400

of Vaisnavas) till the first century B C , 4 That the epic was practically completed by 200 A D , 5, That there is no "date of the epic" which will cover all its parts (though handbook-makers may safely assign it in general to the second century B C )

"The question whether the epic is in any degree historical seems to me answerable though not without doubt, and I cannot refrain from expressing an opinion on the point so important As I have remarked above, there is no reflex of Pandu glory in Brahmanic literature before the third or fourth century. It is, further, impossible to suppose that during the triumph of Buddhism such a poem could have been composed for the general public for which it was intended. The metre of the poem shows that its present form is later than the epic form of Patanjali's epic verses, but this indicates simply recasting ; so that a Pandu Mahabharata may have existed previously, as implied by Panini. But while a Buddhist emperor was alive no such Brahmanic emperor as that of the epic could have existed, no such attacks on Buddhism as are in the epic could have been made, and the epic of to-day could not have existed before the Greeks were personally familiar In other words, granted a history, that history must have been composed at least as late as the history was possible Panini's allusions and those of Buddhistic writers show that the Pandus were known as heroes It is, further, most improbable that the compilers, who made the poem represent Pandu virtues and victories, would have chosen them for this position had they been mythical. In their reassertion of Brahmanism they would have chosen rather the well-known ancient Brahmanic heroes of the older tale, Bharati Katha, yet to appeal to the people something real and near was necessary But while before the second century the conditions were lacking which could have produced the poem, with the second century they become possible, and there was already the Pandu tribe with its perhaps justified claim to be considered a branch of the Bharatas, its own later heroes, its cult of anti-Buddhistic type.

"In so far, then, as we may discern a historical germ in the midst of poetic extravagance, it would seem that the poem represents an actual legend of a real tribe, and in so far as that legend persists in its adherence to polyandry as an essential part of the legend, a tribe which, like so many others in India, had been brahmanized and perhaps become allied by marriage to the old Bharata tribe, whose legends were thus united with its own."

C V VAIDI<sup>1</sup> fixes the date of the extant epic, at 250 B C about the time of Asoka and previous to the time of Patanjali, because Don Chrysostom, the Greek orator, of the 1st century A D refers to the existence of an epic of the present dimensions of the Mahabharata and Dikshīt points out<sup>2</sup> that the cycle of Nakṣatras beginning with Śravana said in the Mahābhāraṭa to have been instituted as a new cycle by Viśvāmitra cannot go beyond 450 B C

According to Kern, the Kavī translation of Ādiparvan dates from the beginning of the eleventh century<sup>3</sup>

Among the extravagant fancies of modern orientalists, which are dignified with the respectable appellation of theories, may be mentioned the opinion of PROF. HOLTZMANN on the nature and origin of the Mahābhāraṭa deserves a short review "The traditional stock of legends were first worked up into a precise shape by some Buddhist poets and this version, showing a decided predilection for the Kaurava party as the representation of Buddhist principles, was afterwards revised in a contrary sense at the time of the Brahminical reaction by the votaries of Vishnu, when the Buddhistic features were generally modified into Saivite tendencies and prominence was given to the divine nature of Krishna as an incarnation It is but right that the Brahminical priests should have deemed it desirable to subject the traditional memorials of Kshatriya chivalry and prestige to their own censorship and adapt them to their own canons of religion and civil law." This theory subverts all truth and tradition. Modifications and innovations especially in the religious character of sectarian works are not easily accomplished. The Buddhistic records offer no support for this theory If such a standard work as the Mahābhāraṭa were included in the catalogue of the Buddhistic literature, Brahminical transformation could never have been possible, so as to entirely erase from the huge mass of the work all traces of the Buddhistic coloring As an exposition of the ethics of the Vedic religion, there is pre-eminently the Mahābhāraṭa.

H H. WILSON thus sums up the opinion of his times "According to Col. Wilford's Computations (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol IX, Chronological table, p 116) the conclusion of the great war took place in B.C. 1370, BUCHANAN conjectures it to have occurred in the 13th century B.C COLEBROKE infers from astronomical data that the arrangement of

1 *Historical Studies in the Bhagvat Gita*, [Ind Rev (1916), 481]

2 *Dikshīt's Mahārati History of Indian Astronomy*, III

3 *Over de Oud Iavansche Vertaling Van't Mahabharata* (Amsterdam)

the Vedas, attributed to Vyasa, took place in the fourteenth century B C., M BENILEY brings the date of Yudhisthira, the chief of the Pandavas to 575 B C , but the weight of authority is in favour of the thirteenth or fourteenth century B C for the war of the Mahabharata and the reputed commencement of the Kali age ”<sup>1</sup>

WEBER says “ Of the Mahabharata in its extant form, only about one-fourth (some 20,000 slokas or so) relates to this conflict and the myths that have been associated with it , and even of this, two-thirds will have to be sifted out as not original, since in the introduction to the work (L. 81) the express intimation is still preserved that it previously consisted of 8,800 slokas only But as to the period when the final redaction of the entire work in its present shape took place, no approach even to direct conjecture is in the meantime possible, but, at any rate, it must have been some centuries after the commencement of our era ”<sup>2</sup>

R C DUTT says “ The annals of different kingdoms in India allude to this ancient war, and some of these annals are not unreliable The founder of Buddhism lived in the sixth century B C and we learn from the annals of Magadha that thirty-five kings reigned between the Kuru-Panchala War and the time of Buddha Allowing twenty years to each reign, this would place the war in the thirteenth century B C Again, we know from coins that Kanishka ruled in Kashmir in the first century A.D and his successor Abhimanyu probably reigned towards the close of that century The historian of Kashmira informs us that fifty-two kings reigned for 1266 years from the time of the Kuru Panchala war to the time of Abhimanyu, and this would place the war in the twelfth century B C ”<sup>3</sup> FERGUSSON places the war in the 13th century B C<sup>4</sup>

R SHAMA SASTRY accepts the date ascribed to Chandragupta and assigns the war to the 13th century and says that “ Bharata the son of Dushyanta, is stated to have performed in the twelfth Atraatra (*Asw. Sr. S X*, 5, 8). This gives  $372 \times 4 = 1488$  Kali Era or 1613 B. C. as the date of Bharata According to the list of kings given in the Vishnu Purana, Yudhisthira, the hero of the Mahabharata and contemporary of Krishna is the 25th descendant from Bharata, and died in 1250 B C.

I *Vishnu Purāṇa*, IV 232 In his Intr to Translation to Rig Veda (I 47) he gave the probable date of the epic poem at the 3rd century B C.

2. *Indian Literature*, 187-88.

3. *Civ. I 10*

4. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 36.

Accordingly the interval between Bharata and Yudhistira is 247 years, which, if the list is correct gives about 10 years on an average to each of the 25 reigns. Parikshit is the grandson of Yudhistira. The interval between him and Nanda is according to the Matsya Purana one thousand years less by one hundred and fifty. Nanda lived in 4th century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Immemorial tradition sanctified by the religious faith of hundreds of generations of people in India assigns the Mahābhārata war to the end of the Dvāpara Yuga, that is, the year 3139 B.C. The Purāṇas and the astronomical Sīdhdhāntas accept the tradition as incontrovertible history and as the starting point of Indian chronology. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa says that "On the same day that Hari departed from the earth the powerful dark-bodied Kali (age) descended"<sup>2</sup>. Hari Kṛṣṇa lived for 123 (105?) years and he was a contemporary of the great war<sup>3</sup> and according to the Mahābhārata the race of Śri Kṛṣṇa was destroyed thirty-six years after the war and the Pandavas departed from their kingdom soon after the beginning of Kaliyuga<sup>4</sup>.

Megasthenes, "who probably quoted from Harivamśa, not as it exists to-day but as it was in his time, viz., a real dynastic list as its name implies, has recorded a statement that between Dionysos and Chandragupta there were 153 Kings and a period of 6042 years and that Heracles was younger than Dionysos by fifteen generations. Although

1. *Gavām Ayana, the Vedic Era*, 155

2. Yasmin Kṛṣṇo ḥivam yāṭas ḫasmīn eva ṭaṭhahani Praṭipannam Kaliyugam V 37

See also *Vāyu*, II 37-422, *Bhāg*, XII ii. 26-32, V 37, *Matsya*, 221, 52. *Mahāprasthānika Parva*, I 2, 7. Also Wilson's *Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV 234.

3. According to these passages Kṛṣṇa was born in the year Śrimukha, Śrāvana Bahula Navami-viśuddha-saptami Viśabha Lagna and lived for 125 years, 7 months and 8 days dying on the first day of Kaliyuga. According to Bhāsaṭumāna, the birth would be in the year Pārthiva and death in Khara.

According to another view Kṛṣṇa lived for 105 years only and was born in 3208 B.C. in the year Vijaya, Śrāvanya Kṛṣṇa Aṣṭami, Mangalavāra, Rohuṇi, Viśabha Lagna.

Kṛṣṇa's horoscope has thus been cast Guru in Mesha, Rāhu in Mīḍhuna, Kuja and Budha in Kataka, Ravi and Sūni in Simham, Sukra in Kanyā, and Keṣi in Dhanus and Lagna Viśhbha.

On the birth and death of Kṛṣṇa, see *Bhāg*, X 3, XI. 6, *Harivamśa*, I 52, IV. 24, V 23

4. *Mah. Mausala Parva*, I 1, 3. See *Bhāg*, X. 3, XI. 6 *Harivamśa*, I. 52, *Viṣṇu*, V 37, 23

it is not easy to identify Dionysos it is indisputable that Heracles was none else than Hari or śri Kṛṣṇa from Megasthenes' record about him 'This Heracles like the Thoeban namesake had married many wives and was worshipped by the Shouraseni people whose chief towns were Mathura and Cheisobora'" If then between Chandragupta and Śri Kṛṣṇa, there were 138 (153-15) generations, taking 20 years for each generation, there is a period of 2760 years intervening between them, which gives us 3072 B C<sup>1</sup>

According to the Sūrya-Siddhanṭa Kaliyuga began on midnight, of Thursday, 17th February, 3102 B C old style<sup>2</sup> Āryabhata took this date as granted<sup>3</sup> and computed by the era of Yudhiṣṭhīra

In the commentary Bhāṭṭadīpikā on this verse it is said Bhāraṭā Yudhiṣṭhirādayah, Rājyam caratām Yudhiṣṭhirādinam, antyo gurudivaso dvāparāvasānagataḥ ityarthah Tasmin dīne Yudhiṣṭhirādayo mahāprasthānam gaṭā iti prasiddhuh<sup>4</sup>

Jyotiṣtrividābharaṇa tell us that six different eras will flourish one after another in the Kaliyuga, and the first of them that is of Yudhiṣṭhīra lasting for 3044 years beginning from the first year of Kaliyuga<sup>5</sup> Śāṅkara knew the tradition that Kṛṣṇa Dvārpāyana flourished between Kali and Dvāpara Yugas<sup>6</sup> It was composed in Vikrama era year 24 expressed to be identical with 3068 the year of Kali

S P L Narasimha Swami says that after the war was over, Dhṛitarāṣṭra continued to rule, with Yudhiṣṭhīra as his regent, for fifteen years and that Yudhiṣṭhīra was crowned king only in the 16th year after the war, and that Yudhiṣṭhīra ruled for 36 years, so that he would place the war 50 years before Kali began, that is, in 3052 B C<sup>7</sup>

Kalhana says that in his days the tradition was strong that the Bhāraṭa war took place at the end of Dvāpara-yuga.<sup>8</sup>

1 See C V Vydyā's *Epic India*, 418

2 Sewell's Indian Calendar, 6.

3, Kāho manavo manuyuga ḫka gaṭaṣṭe ca manuyuga chna ca, Kalpāder-yugapāḍā, Ga ca guradivasat ca bhāraṭāt purvam.—*Gṛīkāpāḍā*, 3

4. See Colebrooke, *Mis Es* II 248, Weber, *IL* 260. See also Lassen, *IAK* II 50, Kern's *Preface*, 6.

5 For a fuller account see Chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA, under Kālidāsa

6 *Brahmasuṭra Bhāṣya*, on Sūtra, III. iii. 32.

7 *IA*, IV 162 *Mah. Asrama Parva*, 2-6, and *Mausala Parva*, 3-13

8. *Raj* I 15. But Kalhana thought he was deceived by the tradition and fixed 653 of Kaliyuga as the date of the war. This view is elaborated and supported in a pamphlet by Kotikalapudi Narasimha Śarma at the instance of the late Maharaja of Bobbili.

But oriental scholars direct their intuitive faculty of original research and theorisation to a refutation of the tradition, to them tradi-

The following verses from the Rājataranginī, Book I are important —

48-49 The kings Gonanda the First and his successors ruled Kashmūr during twenty-two hundred and sixty-years in the Kaliyuga. This calculation of the duration of these kings' reigns has been thought wrong by some authors who were misled by the statement that the Bharata war took place at the end of the Dvapara Yuga.

50 If the years of those kings, the duration of whose reigns is known, are added up, leaving aside the above 2268 years of Gonanda I and his successors, no rest remains from the passed period of the Kaliyuga, as will be seen from the following

51. When six hundred and fifty-three years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, the Kurus and Pandavas lived on the earth

52 At present, in the twenty-fourth year of the Laukika era, one thousand and seventy years of the Saka era have passed.

53 On the whole, at this time two thousand three hundred and thirty years have passed since the accession of Gonanda the Third

54. Twelve hundred and sixty-six years are believed to be comprised in the sum of the reigns of those fifty-two lost kings

55 On this point a decision is furnished by the words of the author of the Bṛhat Samhitā who with reference to the fact that the Great Bear moves from one Nakṣatra to the other in a hundred years, has thus indicated its course

56 "Whether King Yudhishthira ruled the earth, the Munis (the Great Bear) stood in the Nakṣatra Maghah. The date of his reign was 2526 years before the Saka era."

Verse 50, says Stein, "gives Kalhaṇa's reason for accepting the calculation of 2258 years for the reigns contained in Taranga I. Dr Hultzsch, (*IA* xvii, 99) has shown that if we add up the figures given by K in Tarangas ii-viii for the reigns from the dethronement of Yudhishthira I. to his own time, we get a rough total of 1328 years (the odd months and days in the totals of the reigns of the ii and iii Tarangas being disregarded). If to this total are added the 2268 years for the i Taranga, and the result deducted from the 4249 years which had elapsed of the Kali era at the time of K's composition (see verse 52 below), there remain 653 years. This is exactly the number of years which had elapsed according to the statement accepted by K (i 51) between the commencement of the Kaliyuga and the date of the Bharata war, i e Gonanda I. Thus the whole period of the Kali era up to the author's time is accounted for and 'no rest remains'. The equation of K, as indicated in this verse, is therefore

A

Years of the Kaliyuga elapsed

in 1070 Saka 1070

& 3179

4249

Reigns of kings from Gonanda I

to Yudhishthira I (i 48) 2268

Reigns of kings mentioned in

Tarangas ii-viii, up to Saka 1070

1328

Kali years passed up Gonanda I 653

4249

B

tion is superstition and cannot be history. In spite of their capacity for discovering new pieces of evidence and novel paths of reasoning, the traditional literature has been too strong in its assertion that the Mahābhārata war synchronised with the end of Dvāparayuga. They therefore resorted to the only other alternative, that is, to postdating the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and thus to postdate this synchronism.

The first step in this attempt was to damn the date 3102 B C acknowledged to be the beginning of Kaliyuga, as an astronomer's hypothetical point of calculation<sup>1</sup> first fancied by Āryabhata in 499 A D.<sup>2</sup> This is easily said, for a bold assertion is better than logical reasoning. One cannot perceive why this astronomer thought of fancying the date and how it happened that ancient writings like the Purāṇas thought of taking this hypothetical date in computing their theological history. The next step therefore has often been taken that these passages in the Purāṇas are later interpolations, nay, the Purāṇas themselves are fabrications of a late age. One is tempted to remind the reader of the adage 'lies follow lies'.

We shall now follow the reasoning adopted for fixing the commencement of the Kaliyuga.

In his Bṛhat-Samhitā, Varāhamihira quotes a verse from Vṛddha Garga

आसन् मखासु पुनयः  
शासति पृथ्वीं गुच्छिरे नृपतौ ।  
षट्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुत  
शककालस्तस्य राज्ञव (राज्यस्व) ॥

"Our observations as to the theoretical basis of Kalhana's early chronology may thus be briefly summed up. We have seen that the starting-point of his and his predecessors' calculations was the supposed date of Gonanda I, obtained by connecting a semi-mythical king of Purana tradition with a purely legendary event of the great Indian epic and its imaginary chronology. We are next asked, without indication of an authority, to accept the figure of 2269 years for the aggregate length of rule of a single dynasty, of which, however fifty-two kings had already become 'lost' to the tradition of the earlier Chronicles. Lastly, Kalhana presents us, again without naming his authority, with the figure of 2330 years as the result of an avowedly 'rough' calculation of the aggregate duration of reigns from Gonanda III, to his own date"—Stein. For a criticism of Kalhana's view, See Hultzsch, IA, xviii. 99 *et seq.* and Pandit Ananda Kouli, JASB, vi 195-219 (N.S.)

1. See Bentley, *Historical View of Hindu Astronomy*, 85.

2. See V S Gopala Iyer, *Chronology of the Siddhantas*, 92.

"When king Yudhishṭira ruled the earth, the (seven) seers (Ursa Major) were in Makha, the Saka era (is) 2526 (years after the commencement of his reign)"<sup>1</sup>

This verse has been relied on by Kalhana as showing that the traditional date was an error and that the date of the Mahābhārata war must be moved forwards to the year 651 Kali or 2448 B C. It must be noted that Kalhana postulated that Kaliyuga began in 3102 B C but premises that the synchronism of the tradition between the war and the Kaliyuga was erroneous. But orientalists would not brook this too. For, why should the war and the necessary civilisation of India be put back to an ancient age as 25 centuries? So the attack was planned from the rear. The verse gives the name '*Saka kūla*'. Then began the speculation on what was the *sakakūla* meant here.

According to GOPALA IYER, it was the era of Buddha Nirvāna, for "Garga lived in the 1st century B C and by that time, the Saka era of 78 A D could not have been known." The reading *saka-kūla* is a mistake for *Sakya kala* and the phrase '*Sad-dvika-pancadvī*' means not 2526 but '26 times 25' or 650, the correct interpretation is that 650 years had elapsed from the time of Yudhishṭira to the beginning of Sakyakala or the era of Gautama's Nirvana. Gautama Buddha died in 543 B C and the addition of 543 and 650 gives the date of the Mahābhārata War as 1194-3 B C<sup>2</sup>. Apart from the meaning given to

<sup>1</sup> As translated by Hultzsch (*IA*, XVIII 99). For other similar translations, see Troyer, I 338, II 7 and Wilson's Essays, 97. Regarding the theory that the Saptaṛṣis (Great Bear or Ursa Major) move within each lunar mansion for one century, see *Brhat Samhitā*, XIII 4, Alberuni's *India*, I 391, Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, II, T. S. Narayana Sastra's *Age of Sankara*, App II.

<sup>2</sup> V S Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India*, 68-77. At 48 he admits that his interpretation is new and original. See also, Rajatarangini (Telugu Translation by K R. V. Krishna Rao (Cocanada 1903)). According to Gopala Iyer, Kaliyuga originally comprised only 1000 years or at the most only 1200 years, it commenced at the winter solstice occurring in the latter part of the year 1177 B C. "As Megasthenes gives 6451 years for the period between Ikshwaku and Alexander the Great and as 5,600 years were supposed to have expired at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, 6,451-5,600, or a deviation of 85 years must have been the period represented to Megasthenes as having expired since the commencement of the new era. Since Alexander left India in 325 B C the Kaliyuga must have commenced, according to the informants of Megasthenes in the year 851+325 or 1176 B C" (at page 45). See for a full discussion of this T S Narayana Sastra's *Age of Sankara*, 15 note. Tilak (*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 422) approves of Gopala Iyer's views on Kaliyuga.

the phrase *Saṭ-dvika-panca-dvi*, which offends against the fundamental principles of Sanskrit notation and apart from the uncertainty of the date of the death of Buddha, on which opinion is as varied as on any other question of chronology, there is the detection of the error in the reading of *sūka* into *sūkya*, for if the word *sūkya* is substituted for the word *śala*, the line goes wrong in prosody<sup>1</sup>

G THIBAUT,<sup>2</sup> and SUDHAKARA DVIVEDI assume the 'śakakāla' here mentioned to be the same as the Śālivahana śaka which commenced in 78 A D.

SRISA CHANDRA VIDYARNAVA later on reviewed his position and fixed the 1922 B C. as the year of the Great war<sup>3</sup> DHIRENDRANATH PAL gives the date of the War as 15th or 16th century B C and says the story was immediately written<sup>4</sup>

Other scholars took "the anchor of Indian Chronology; that is the year 315 B C as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession, as the starting point for computation and by taking the interval of time between the Mahābhārata war and the accession of Chandragupta as variously stated,<sup>5</sup> to be 1604 to 1115 years, place the date of the Mahābhārata war, (and the beginning of the Kaliyuga) between the year 1919 B C and 1430 B.C. and the year 1415 B.C (which is somehow arrived at by adding 1015 to 315 B C), for the vernal equinox would be in the Kṛttikas about that date<sup>6</sup>

PARGITER who originally put the commencement of the Kaliyuga at about 1733 B C<sup>7</sup> later on arrived at the year 1810 B C as the date of the Great War This is the reasoning From Somādhi to Ripunjaya there were 22 kings in the Bāhradratha dynasty who reigned for 920 years The Pradyoṭas after Ripunjaya were 5 kings who reigned for

1. For a refutation of this theory, see T S Narayana Sastrī's *Age of Sankara*, p 22 note, App II

2. Int to *Panca Siddhāntika*, lxx.

3. Int. to Edn. of *Matsya Purāṇa*, (Sacred Books of the Hindus Series) App II xxiv

4. Int to *Sri Krishna, his life and teachings*

5. As to these variations, see T. S. Narayana Sastrī's *Kings of Magadha* (Madras, 1918), 147 pp

6. As to a complete discussion of the vernal equinox, see V. S. Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India*, Vaidya's *Mahābhārata*, and T S. Narayana Sastrī's *Age of Sankara*, App II

7. See JRAS, (1910)

138 years. The Śaiśunagas were 10 kings and reigned for 330 years. Adding up the above three figures  $920 + 138 + 330$ , we get 1388 years, which is the interval between the installation of Mahānanda and the birth of Parīkṣit or the Great War. Adding 422 B C the year of the installation of Mahāpadma Nanda (whose date fixed at 100 years before Chandragupta) who is postulated to have ascended the throne in 322 B C we get the year 1810 B C as the date of the Great War.<sup>1</sup>

Arguments on astronomical calculations have been based on (1) the reference to the Saptaṛsi cycle and (2) the vernal equinox and the seasons and these are explained by each theorist as supporting his own date.<sup>2</sup>

These astronomical arguments are based on the Parāśara Siddhānta, Garga Siddhānta, Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa. And the period of the war has been closely connected with the real determination of the date of the commencement of the Uttarā�ana in Māgha Śukla Saptaṛṣi or the then Rathasaptaṛṣi and the death of Bhīṣma in the same month.<sup>3</sup>

परिवृत्तो हि भगवान् सहस्रशुर्दिवाकरः ।

• • •

माघोऽयम् समनुप्राप्तो मासस्तौम्ये युधिष्ठिर  
त्रिभागेष (मात्रः) पक्षोऽयम् शुक्लोभवितुर्मर्हति ॥<sup>4</sup>

But the advocates of the orthodox tradition are themselves not wanting in their capacity to interpret these astronomical date as supporting the origin of the Kali Yuga in 3102 B C<sup>5</sup> and the latest reasoning of T S Narayana Sastrī will be of interest ,

"Yudhishthira observes the change in the course of the sun, collects all the necessary materials for the cremation of Bhishma, and goes to

1 See *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

2 For a detailed discussion of these, see V. S Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India* and T S Narayana Sastrī's *Age of Sankara*, App II.

3 See *Mah. XIII.* 273, 27-28

4 *Mah. Ans.* 167, 20-27

On this, see Tilak's *Orion*, 36-7 Lale, Modak, Kelkar and other have tried to determine the date of the war from such references and they hold that the vernal equinox was then in the Kṛttikas. See also Maxmuller, *Pref to Rg Veda*, IV xxxi.

5 See also, Sree Kalyanananda Bharati Swamy's *Introduction to the Chronology of Sanskrit Literature* (Bezwada, 1920).

him with all his relations on the morning of Magha Sukla Ashtami, and Bhishma breathes his last just at noon at about 15 Ghatikas after the sunrise on the same day in the constellation of Rohini. It is stated by the dying Bhishma himself that three-fourths of the month still remained unexpired. It follows from this that at the time of Bhishma's death which took place immediately thereafter  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Tithis out of the total number of thirty had already passed away. In other words Bhishma died just in the middle of Ashtami. Now it is also stated that at the time of the death of Bhishma, the moon was in the constellation of Rohini, and according to the calculations of Brahmasri Varahur Sundaresvara Srauti, the Rohini on that day should have ended at about 32 Ghatikas after sunrise. A perusal of the exact moment when the constellation of Jyestha commences on Kartika Amavasya of the coming year Kalayukt and of the precise moment when the constellation of Rohini ends on Magha Sukla Ashtami of the same year, which we have chosen as a typical year for purposes of comparison, will show at a rough glance that the constellation of Rohini could not have lasted for more than 32 Ghatikas on that particular Magha Sukla Ashtami, when the great Bhishma, of the Mahabharata cast off his body. By the time of the passing away of Bhishma, who died just at mid-day, as 15 Ghatikas had expired, the Rohini Nakshatra lasted only for 17 Ghatikas more after mid-day. Soon the moon was, more definitely speaking, in the 3rd quarter of Rohini at the time when Bhishma actually passed away to Heaven, and even in this 3rd quarter which consists of 15 Ghatikas on the whole, 13 Ghatikas had already passed away, so that there remained only 2 Ghatikas in the 3rd quarter of Rohini when Bhishma actually breathed his last. The third quarter of Rohini commences at  $46^{\circ}40'$  of the Ecliptic, and ends with  $50^{\circ}$ . So, at the exact moment of Bhishma's death, the moon must have been at  $46^{\circ}40' \text{ plus } 13/15 (3^{\circ}20')$  or  $46^{\circ}40' \text{ plus } 2^{\circ}53'20''$  equal to  $49^{\circ}33'20''$ .

"As the distance between the Sun and that Moon at the moment was separated by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Tithis or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  times  $12^{\circ}$  or  $90^{\circ}$  the sun must have been at the moment of Bhishma's death at  $49^{\circ}33'20'' \text{ minus } 90^{\circ}$  or  $31^{\circ}33'20''$  or in other words in the 4th quarter Satabhishti. As the winter solstice or Uttarayana had already commenced with *Ratha-Saptami*, which must have ended at about the mid-night on the previous day, there will be a difference of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  degrees between the actual commencement of the Uttarayana and the actual moment of Bhishma's death, with the result that the Uttarayana in Bhishma's time or soon after the close of the Mahabharata War, must have commenced when

the sun was in  $319^{\circ}33'20''$  minus  $1^{\circ}30'0''$  or in  $318^{\circ}3'20''$  or in other words at about the middle of the fourth *Pada* of *Satabhisha*. Now the Uttarayana commenced in 1917 (as already shown) in the first part of the 3rd *Pada* of *Mula* in  $247^{\circ}28'$ . There is a difference of  $318^{\circ}3'20''$  minus  $247^{\circ}28'0''$  or  $75^{\circ}35'20''$  or  $254120''$ . We thus find that since the time of Bhishma's death, the date of the Winter Solstice or Uttarayana has been thrown back by  $70^{\circ}35'20''$  or  $254120''$ , on account of the precession of the equinoxes.

"What then is the period of time within which so much change in the date of the Winter solstice may take place? If we take the rate of precession at  $50^{\circ}26''$  of angle in a year,  $254120''$  will take a period of  $254120 \times \frac{100}{5026}$  or  $5056 \frac{544}{5026}$  years, or in round figures 5056 years, as the measure of time needed for the change. In other words, Bhishma must have died in the year 5056-1917 A.D., or in the year 3139 B.C., just 37 years before the commencement of the Kali Yuga and the Mahabharata War must have commenced on Tuesday corresponding to the last day of the month of Kattika on Amavasya in the constellation of Jyeshtha of the year corresponding to 3140 B.C."<sup>1</sup>

Mahabharata War is mentioned in grants dated in the Gupta Samvat era.<sup>2</sup> Buchanan mentions an inscription in the temple of Madhukesvara at Banavasi in North Canara dated in 168th year of Yudhishthira era and two inscriptions at Belgaum in Mysore dated in the reign of Yudhishthira himself.<sup>3</sup> The Tirthahalli plates of Mysore State record that King Janamejaya granted to the ascetics of the locality for worship of the God Sitarama some land constituting a property name Munivṛndakṣetra in the place called Vrkodara on the west of the Tungabhadra in the Piavanga year corresponding to year 89 of Yudhishthira Śaka (3014 B.C.). In a Siva's temple at Iballi in Dharwar, an inscription is dated 3730 years after the great war and in Śaka 506.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Age of Sankara.*

2. Fleet, *GII*, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139.

3. *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, III 231, 411.

4. *IA*, XXX 219-20. In *Asiatic Researches* (Vo IX) Ellis notices a copper plate grant of Janamejaya. Gibbons and Airy calculate the date as 7th April 1521 A.D. and Ellis wishes to say that the Mahabharata was composed after this date II (*JRAS*, X. 81).

In the inscriptions in Cambodia we have "the fragment of an inscription of the beginning of the 7th century which informs us that, as early as that time, both the epics were considered sacred on the border of distant Laos, and that records that king Somasarma presented a temple with copies of the Ramayana, the Puranas and the Bharata complete and had them recited every day."<sup>2</sup>

Latest about the beginning of the Christian era, Perundevanar known as Bharata Padiar, wrote his classical work, the Tamil Mahābhārata<sup>3</sup>

The AIHOLF INSCRIPTION of Pulakesin II,<sup>4</sup> has not yet been correctly read

In the *Indian Antiquary* (V 67-71), it was originally published thus —

विश्वसु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतात् आह्वान् इत  
सहाद्यशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चम् ।  
पञ्चाशतसु कलै कलै षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च ।  
समाप्तु समरीतासु शकानामपि भूमुजाम् ॥

*Prūcīnalekhamūlā* (I 68-72) reads the second line

सहाद्यशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चम् ।

Granting that the Śakabhūpaṭikāla here mentioned is the Śaka era commencing in 78 A.D., and not any other Śaka era of 550 B.C., as propounded by T S Narayanasastri,<sup>5</sup> the inscription does not

Ellis relies for this conclusion on the Gawja agraharam grant, translated by Colebrooke in 1806 (see *IA*, I 377) and pronounced by him to be spurious. On Ellis' correspondence, see Bhandarkar, *JBRAS*, X. 89. For the Iballi inscription, see *JASB*, IV 376, V 725, VI. 88, *JRAS*, (NS), I 273, *JBRAS*, IX. 315.

I *IA*, XVII 31 M A Barth's review of *Inscriptions Sanskrutes Der Cambodge*, (Paris, 1885)

2 A Sangam work on Mahābhārata was undertaken in the 8th century under the patronage of the Pallava king and a third work was written in the 13th century in the reign of Kulottunga III. See M Raghava Iyengar's *Lectures in the Madras University, 1929*, on Epigraphy and the South Indian Literature.

3 *IA*, VIII 237

4 For a discussion, see T S Narayanasastri's *Age of Sanskrit*, Part I-D, pages 224-8. Macdonell (SL 318) dates this inscription in 634 A.D and R.C Dutt (*Civ* III 219) in 637 A.D. For Śaka 556 (=634-5 A.D.), see *IA*, VIII 237, For Śaka 507 (=585-6 A.D.) see *IA*, V 67 and Weber's *IL*, 196. For Huen Tsang's account of Pulakesin II, see *IA*, VII 290. See also Hemchandra Roy Choudhry's *Political History of India from Parikshita*, Journal of the Dept of Letters Calcutta University, Vol IX 1926. For a review of Weber's paper on the influence of the Greeks and Homeric poems on the Mahābhārata see *IA*, XVIII, 302. On the era of Yudhisthira, see Bhagvat, *JBRAS*, XX. 150.

militate against the view that the Mahābhārata war occurred somewhere before the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3102 B C

In his commentary on the Br̥hajjātaka (VII 9), composed in Śaka 888 (==966 A D) Bhātottpala writes thus

गतेन साध्यर्थं गतेन युक्ताप्यक्षेन (योकेन) केषा न गताऽऽदसम्भ्या ।  
काल जकाना स किंच्चिद् तस्मादतीतवर्षाद्युगवर्षजातम् ॥

एव स्पुजिष्वजकृत शुक्रकालादर्वाक्र (10+4) ज्ञायते ॥

This verse may help to fix the date of Śakakāla and of the astronomer Sphujidhvaja as posterior to it, but its meaning, particularly how the number is arrived at, is not ascertainable

---

## SECTION IV

### The Epics Compared

“While the Ramayana generally represents one-sided and exclusive Brahmanism,” says M Wilhams, “the Mahabharata reflects the multi-lateral character of Hinduism, its monotheism and polytheism, its spirituality and materialism, its strictness and laxity, its priesthood and anti-priestcraft, its hierarchical intolerance and rationalistic philosophy, combined. Not that there was any intentional variety in the original design of the work but that almost every shade of opinion found expression in a compilation formed by a gradual accretion through a long period. In unison with its more secular, popular, and human character, the Mahabharata has, as a rule, less of mere mythical allegory, and more of historical probability in its narratives than the Ramayana. The reverse, however, sometimes holds good. For example, in Ramayana IV, xi, we have a simple division of the world into four quarters or regions, whereas in Mahabharata VI 236, &c., we have the fanciful division (afterwards adopted by the Puranas) into seven circular Dvīpas or continents, viz., 1 Jambu-dvīpa, or the Earth, 2 Plaksha-dvīpa, 3 Salmali-dvīpa, 4 Kusa-dvīpa, 5 Kraunca-dvīpa, 6 Saka-dvīpa, 7 Pushkara-dvīpa, surrounded respectively by seven oceans in concentric belts, viz., 1 the sea of salt water (LAVANA), 2 of sugar-cane juice (IKSHU), 3 of wine (SURA), 4 of clarified butter (SARPIS), 5 of curdled milk (DADHI), 6 of milk (DUGDHA), 7 of fresh water (JALA), the mountain Meru or abode of the gods, being in the

centre of JAMBL Dvipa, which again is divided into nine Varshas or countries separated by eight ranges of mountains, the Varsha called BHARATA (India) lying south of the Himavat range

"Notwithstanding these wild ideas and absurd figments, the Mahabharata contains many more illustrations of real life and of domestic and social habits and manners than the sister Epic. Its diction, again, is more varied than that of the Ramayana. The bulk of the latter poem (notwithstanding interpolations and additions) being by one author, is written with uniform simplicity of style and metre (See p 335, note 2), and the antiquity of the greater part is proved by the absence of any studied elaboration of diction. The Mahabharata, on the other hand, though generally simple and natural in its language, and free from the conceits and artificial constructions of later writers, comprehends a great diversity of composition, rising sometimes (especially when the Indra-vajra metre is employed) to the higher style and using complex grammatical forms and from the mixture of ancient legends, occasional archaisms and Vedic formations."<sup>1</sup>

"In the Mahabharata (Vana-parvan 15872-16601) the Ramopakhyan is told very nearly as in the Ramayana, but there is no mention of Vaimiki as its author, and no allusion to the existence of the great sister Epic. Markandeya is made to recount the narrative to Yudhishthira, after the recovery of Draupadi (who had been carried off by Jayadratha, as Sita was by Ravana), in order to show that there were other examples in ancient times of virtuous people suffering violence at the hand of wicked men. It is probable (and even Professor Weber admits it to be possible) that the Mahabharata episode was epitomized from the Ramayana, and altered here and there to give it an appearance of originality. There are, however, remarkable differences. The story in the Mahabharata, although generally treating Rama as a great human hero only, begins with the circumstances which led to the incarnation of Vishnu, and gives a detailed account of what is first mentioned in the Uttarakanda of the Ramayana the early history of Ravana and his brother. The birth of Rama, his youth, and his father's wish to inaugurate him as heir-apparent are then briefly recounted. Dasaratha's sacrifice, Rama's education, his winning of Sita and other contents of the Bala-kanda are omitted. The events of the Ayodhya-kanda and much of the Aranya Kanda are narrated in about forty verses. A more detailed narrative begins with the appearance before Ravana of the

mutilated Surpāṇḍhī, but many variations occur; for instance, Kabandha is killed, but not restored to life, the story of Savari is omitted and there is no mention of the dream sent by Brahma to comfort Sita.

"There are other references to, and brief epitomes of parts of the story of the Ramayana in the Mahabharata, e.g., in Vanaparvan 11177-11219, in Drona parvan 2224-2246, in Santi parvan 944-955, in Hari-vamśa 2324-2359, 8672-8674, 16232. These and other differences have led Professor Weber to suggest the inquiry whether the Mahabharata version may not be more primitive than that of the Ramayana, and possibly even the original version, out of which the other was developed. 'Or ought we,' he asks, 'to assume only that the Mahabharata contains the epitome of an earlier recension of our text of the Ramayana, or should both texts, the Rāmopākhyāna and the Ramayana, be regarded as resting alike upon a common groundwork, but each occupying an independent standpoint?'"<sup>1</sup>

WEBER has thus advanced the theory that the composition of the *Mahābhārata* must have preceded that of the *Rāmāyana*. So also R.C. Dutt. "We must premise even as a picture of life the Ramayana is long posterior to the Mahabharata. We miss in the *Rāmāyana* the fiery valour and the proud self-assertion of the Kshatriyas of the Mahabharata and the subordination of the people to the priestly caste is more complete."

The traditional belief of the orthodox Hindus in the priority of the *Rāmāyana* is apparently shaken by the acceptance of these theories. But there is ample external and internal evidence to falsify the modern theory and corroborate Indian tradition.

There are clear references to the story of the Ramayana in the *Mahābhārata*. Srngiberapura is considered a place of sanctity and pilgrimage because of Rāma's visit to it. Not one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* is named in the *Rāmāyana* whereas the story of Rāma is very frequently referred to in the other. In the Vanaparvan where *Rāmopākhyāna* is related, some of the verses closely resemble the original, and Vyāsa postulates that the story of Rāma was too popular to need any detail.<sup>2</sup>

1. M. WILLIAMS' *Indian Wisdom*, 366-7

2. Vanaparvan, 275-292, 149-75. The Purāpas contain numerous allusions to the *Rāmāyana*. The Agni Purāpa has an epitome of the seven Books in seven Chapters. The Pāṇḍava and Skandha also devote several chapters to the same.

Such direct references<sup>1</sup> must amply prove the priority of the Rāmāyana. But the negativists try to explain it away by the plea that *these are later interpolations*. What do the orthodox Hindus gain by purposely interpolating unimportant references and arguing the feigned priority of the one epic to the other? If the original of the Mahābhārata did not contain any references to the Rāmāyana, they had no business in such interpolation. The Mahābhārata loses not, nor does the Rāmāyana gain, a particle of belief or regard by a consideration of chronological priority or posteriority, for it is in the inherent nature of the Hindu mind to disregard all questions of history. If the Rāmāyana had really been composed later, how is this fact accounted for—that the Mahābhārata war, the most important incident as it is in the world's history, fails to have the least reference to it in Vālmiki's work? Vālmiki's ignorance of the Great War cannot be the answer. Nor can the sanctity of Kurukṣetra be less conspicuous than that of Śringibera-pura, so as to lose mention of it in a religious work as the Rāmāyana. The argument of interpolation has neither purpose nor probability.

subject. The Viṣṇupurāṇa has also a section [IV a] about Rama and in III. 3 describes Vālmiki as the Vyāsa of the 24th Dvāpara. The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa has a Rāmāyana Māhātmya and embodies the Adhyātma Rāmāyana. For full account of these references and later Jain and Buddhist modifications, see Int to Uttarārāmacarita by S K Belvalkar, *HOS*, No. 4.

<sup>1</sup> HOPKINS (*The Great Epic of India* 62) says "The individual allusions prove, therefore, nothing in regard to the general priority of Vālmiki as the first epic poet. They prove that the Mahabharata was only not completed before Vālmiki wrote, just as the mention of the Vayu Purana in the Mahabharata shows only that there was a Purana of that name not before the Bharata beginning but before its end. They show also no antipathy or wish to suppress Vālmiki's name influenced the Bharata poets, who therefore, had they simply retold or epitomised a poem recognised as Vālmiki's would probably have mentioned his name in connection with the Rama Upakhyana." Apart from VII 143 67, the Mahabharata knows the poet Vālmiki only in the 12th and 13th books; whereas it knows everywhere the Rama tale, a poem called the Ramayana, and a saint known not as a poet but as an ascetic called Vālmiki. It gives the Rama episode as it gives other ancient tales handed down from Antiquity without having been assigned to a specific author. The Rama Upakhyana stands to the Ramayana, somewhat as the Nala Upakhyana stands to the Naishatha, in that it is an early tale of unknown authorship which a poet made his own. Long before there is any allusion to Vālmiki's Ramayana, the base of the great epic, the substance of the Bharata Katha is recognised in Hindu Literature, while the latest additions to the great epic refers to Vālmiki himself as a man who is to be that is, who is already, famous, वाल्मीकिर्भविष्यति (VIII, 18 49, S Ind Edn). Between these extremes lies the Ramayana." For a list of parallel passages in the Epics, see App. A to the book.

The Rāmāyaṇa represents its actors as often moving beyond earthly sphere. The Mahābhāraṭa deals with men and not bears or monkeys. "In the latter" says Weber himself, "human interest everywhere predominates and a number of well-defined personages are introduced, to whom the possibility of historical existence cannot be denied." No scholar can discern any improbability in gambling, loss of kingdom, exile and war. An advanced race of men can place no confidence in the story of a ten-headed monster. Rāyaśūṅga is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as a sage ever in solitude and unseen by men or women. He was born of a hind and had a horn on his head. The earlier we peep into the world's history, the world is more simple and credulous. The Rāmāyaṇa must have been composed when India was yet in very early stages of theological evolution.

In the Mahābhārata Ādi-parva a house of combustibles is erected by a Mlecha called Purocana at the bidding of Duryodhana. Again Viṣṇu, trying to reveal the conspiracy of the lac house to his friends the Pāndavas, talks to them in a Mlecha tongue understood by the accompanying populus. The war-portion of the same epic names not less than half a dozen Mlecha Kings taking part in the war itself (Drona Parva, 26, 93, 119, 122). On the contrary the Rāmāyaṇa makes no such references at all and the only few allusions to the *Kāvayanas* do not prove alien interference in politics. The signification of 'Kāvana' is not the same as that of 'Mlecha'. It is therefore safe to deduce that at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa foreign influence was not felt, at any rate not enough to give the foreigners a territorial dominion in the international policy of Indian States.

The geographical account of Vālmīki regarding Southern India denies the existence of any civilized kingdoms there. On the other hand the country south of the Vindhya range is the haunt of savage demons like Virāḍha and Kabandha. In the royal invitations at Daśaratha's Court no one King of Southern India has a summons, nor does Rāma in his journey southwards make alliance with a civilized prince. On the other hand the Kings of Southern India have a prominent reception at the Rāyaśūnya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. The geographical sketch of Bhāraṭa-varṣa as given in the Bhiṣma-parva shows a very intimate acquaintance with the advanced states of the Dekhan. Hence since the days of the Rāmāyaṇa the country appears from a political point of view to have made a decided advance.

The test of archery at the marriage of Sītā had better be compared with that at Draupadi-Swayamvara. The latter indicates an obvious

advance in the dexterity of the test. Likewise is the improvement in the art of war. Rāma's army knows not of varied dispositions, whereas in the Bhārata war the plan of *Vyūhas* or arrays has already been devised, by means of which a small force can withstand a powerful one. The ordered supervision of the commandants, the regular signals of colored standards, the applausive roars of victorious combatants—all these never miss a detailed delineation in the battles of the Great War. The complexity in the development of martial tactics shows a sign of a later age.

The encyclopædias variety of the contents of the Mahābhārata together with its vastness of knowledge in every line of science or art shows a rapid progress from the age of Vālmīki. Vyāsa notes law and science reduced to a system, whereas no idea of codification is discernible in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The character of Sītā is advantageously compared with that of Draupadī. Sītā is simpler and more cowardly. She exhorts the reluctant Rāma to permit her company to the woods. Draupadī musters her strength to argue the justice of Yudhishthira's authority to pawn his wife when once he has enslaved himself. Sītā belongs to an age of ignorance and timidity; Draupadi of wisdom and courage. Draupadi's religious convictions are looser than the god-fearing instincts of the daughter of Janaka.

The rigour of patriarchal ties and institutions is palpably visible in the history of Rāma. The disintegration of the presbyterian respect enjoined by Hindu canons of conduct has set in by the time of the Mahābhārata. Rāma is a model son, innocently submissive to paternal mandate, Bharata, the paragon of a brother, Sugrīva, the standard of a friend. A sense of sincere duty animates Vālmīki's characters and the pivot of Rāma's victory is the truthfulness of his adherents. The reverse is the age of the Mahābhārata. Bhīma is ready to revolt against Yudhishthira, if only he should consent to a conciliation. He is impatient to throw off the Kaurava princes, despite their promise of self-slavery on a failure at dice. Salya readily takes the side of the Kurus. Business and self-seeking overrides the feeling of truthful responsibility. For victory's sake every crime is readily committed—from false evidence and forgery to robbery and murder. Duryodhana's attempt to poison his own kinsmen or Yudhishthira's abetment at Drona's murder are sufficient instances. This state of corruption and degeneracy clearly points to a later sceptic state of society.

Rāvana carries off Sītā by force and she would not allow her to be touched by Hanūman, when he proposes to take her on his back to Rāma's abode. Even after victory she has to pass through an ordeal of fire for admission to the queenship. Similarly in the Kāmyaka forest Javadratha abducts Draupadī by force and is easily received again without any test of good conduct by her husbands. Apparently Rāma's contemporaries had a stricter notion of morality and wifely duty and stronger was the faith in the interposition of Providence. The relaxation in such religious and ethical beliefs proves an advance in the age of the Mahābhārata.

It has been said, "The heroes of the Ramayana are somewhat tame and common place personages, very respectful to priests, very anxious to conform to the rules of decorum and etiquette . . ." This is a negativist's argument. But that very tameness of heroes and priestly domination is a sign of antiquity, for when people learn to reason and argue, priests can no longer claim predominance.

Regarding the comparative merits of the two great epics, says AUROBINDO GHOSHE,<sup>1</sup> "Valmiki's mind seems nowhere to be familiarised with the stern intellectual gospel of Niskāma Dharma, that morality of disinterested passionless activity, promulgated by Krishna of Dwāraka and formulated by the Krishna of the Island, which is one great keynote of the Mahābhārata. Had he known it, I doubt whether the strong leaven of sentimentalism and femininity in his nature would not have rejected it, such temperaments, when they admire strength, admire it manifested and forceful rather than self-contained. Vālmiki's characters act from emotional or imaginative enthusiasm, not from intellectual conviction, an enthusiasm of immorality tyrannises over Rāvana. Like all manly moral temperaments, he instinctively insisted on an old established code of morals being universally observed as the only basis of ethical stability, avoided casuistic developments and distasted innovators in metaphysical thought as by their persistent and searching questions dangerous to the established bases of morality, especially to its wholesome ordinariness and everydayness. Vālmiki, therefore, the father of our secular poetry, stands for that early and finely moral civilisation which was the true heroic age of the Hindu spirit. Vyāsa, following Vālmiki, stood still farther on into the era of aristocratic turbulence and disorder. If there is any kernel of truth in the legends about him, he must have contributed powerfully to the

establishment of those imperial forms of government and society which Valmiki had idealised It is that he celebrated and approved the policy of a great aristocratic statesman who aimed at the subjection of his order to the rule of a central imperial power which should typify its best tendencies and control or expel its worst But while Vālmiki was a soul out of harmony with its surroundings and looking back to an ideal past, Vyāsa was a man of his time profoundly in sympathy with it, full of its tendencies, hopeful of its results and looking forward to an ideal future The one was a conservative imperialist advocating return to a better but dead model, the other a liberal imperialist looking forward to a better but unborn model Vyāsa accordingly does not revolt from the aristocratic code of morality , it harmonises with his own proud and strong spirit, he accepts it as a basis for conduct, but purified and transfigured by the illuminating idea of the Niṣkāma Dharma But above all intellectuality is his grand note, he is profoundly interested in ideas, in metaphysics in ethical problems , he subjects morality to casuistic tests from which the more delicate moral tone of Vālmiki's spirit shrank , he boldly erects above ordinary ethics a higher principle of conduct having its springs in intellect and strong character , he treats government and society from the standpoint of a practical and discerning statesmanlike mind, idealising solely for the sake of standard He touches in fact all subjects, and whatever he touches, he makes fruitful and interesting by originality, penetration and a sane and bold vision In all this he is the son of the civilisation he has mirrored to us, a civilisation in which both morality and material developments are powerfully intellectualised Nothing is more remarkable in all the characters of the Mahābhārata than this puissant intellectualism, every action of them seems to be impelled by an immense driving force of mind solidifying in character and therefore conceived and outlined as in stone This orgiastic force of the intellect is at least as noticeable as the impulse of moral or immoral enthusiasm behind each great action of the Rāmā�ana Throughout the poem the victorious and manifold mental activity of the age is prominent and gives its character to its civilisation There is far more of thought in action than in the Rāmā�ana, far less of thought in repose , the one pictures a time of gigantic ferment and disturbance, the other, as far as humanity is concerned, an age of equipoise, order and tranquillity ”

---

## SECTION V

Purānas

"The Puranas constitute an important department of Sanskrit literature in their connection with the later phases of Brahmanism, as exhibited in the doctrines of emanation, incarnation, and triple manifestation (TRIMŪRTI) and are, in real fact, the proper Veda of popular Hinduism, having been designed to convey the esoteric doctrines of the Veda to the lower castes and to women. On this account, indeed, they are sometimes called a fifth Veda. Their name PURANA signifies 'old traditional story,' and the eighteen ancient narratives to which the name is applied are said to have been compiled by the ancient sage Vyasa (*also called Krishna-dvāpāyana and Būda-dyāna*), the arranger of the Vedas and Mahabharata and the supposed founder of the Vedanta philosophy. They are composed chiefly in the simple Sīkha metre (with occasional passages in prose), and are, like the Mahabharata, very encyclopaedical in their range of subjects. They must not, however, be confounded with the Itihasas, which are properly the histories of heroic men, not Gods, though these men were afterwards deified. The Puranas are properly the history of the gods themselves, interwoven with every variety of legendary tradition on other subjects. Viewing them as a whole, the theology they teach is anything but simple, consistent, or uniform. While nominally tritheistic—to suit the three developments of Hinduism, the religion of the Puranas is practically polytheistic and yet essentially pantheistic. Underlying their whole teaching may be discerned the one grand doctrine which is generally found at the root of Hindu Theology, whether Vedic or Puranic—pure uncompromising pantheism. But interwoven with the radically pantheistic and Vedantic texture of these compositions, tinged as it is with other philosophical ideas (especially the Sankhyan doctrine of Prakṛiti), and diversified as it is with endless fanciful mythologies, theogonies, cosmogonies, and mythical genealogies we have a whole body of teaching on nearly every subject of knowledge. The Puranas pretend to give the history of the whole universe from the most remote ages, and claim to be the inspired revealers of scientific as well as theological truth. They dogmatize on physical science, geography, the form of the earth, astronomy, chronology, and even in the case of one or two Puranas, anatomy, medicine, grammar, and the use of military weapons. All this cycle of very questionable omniscience is conveyed in the form

of leading dialogues (connecting numerous subordinate dialogues), in some of which a well-known and supposed divinely inspired sage, like Parâsara, is the principle speaker, and answers the inquiries put to him by his disciples, while in others, Loma-harshâpa (or Roma-harshana), the pupil of Vyâsa, is the narrator being called Sûta, that is, 'Bard' or 'Encomiast,' as one of an order of men to whom the reciting of the Itîhasas and Purânas were especially interested." This passage taken from the *Indian Wisdom* of M. WILLIAMS may be taken to be a fair description of the Purânas.

The origin of the eighteen Purânas is thus stated in the Viñu Purâpa<sup>1</sup>. Accomplished in the purport of the Purânas, Viñâsa compiled a Puranik Samhitâ, consisting of historical and legendary traditions, prayers and hymns and sacred chronology. He had a distinguished disciple Sûta, also termed Romaharshana, to him the great Muni communicated the Purânas. Sûta had six scholars, Sumati, Agnivarcas, Mañtreva Samsapâyana, Akriyavratâ and Sâvarni. The three last composed three fundamental Samhitâs and Romaharshana himself

i. Viñu Purâpa, III vi and Wilson's Translation, III 63-66. See JASB, I. 84, and Burnouf's Bhagavata purana, preface. For similar accounts:

- i. The Atharva Veda (15-16) says, "Itihâsa, Purâpa, Gâtha, and others &c."
- ii. Satapatha Brâhmaṇa (XIV vi-10-6) says: "The Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sâma-Veda, Atharva-Veda, Itihâsa, Purâpa, Upanishads, Sutras, slokas, their explanations &c"
- iii. Taittiriya Aranyaka (ii-9) says, "The Veda, Itihâsa, Purana, Gatha &c"
- iv. Chandogya Upanishad (Vii) says "He said, 'O Exalted one, I am acquainted with the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sâma-Veda, and the fourth, Atharva-Veda, and the fifth, Itihâsa (history) and purâna'
- v. Manu Samhitâ (III 232) says, "In Sradh ceremonies, the Sastras called the Vedas, the Samhitâs, the stories, the histories, the purânas and the Khulas should be recited to others"

The Bhâgavaṭa (X iii, 496) says, Aruṇi, Kâśyapa, Sâvarni, Akriyavratâ, Samsapâyana, and Hârîta are the six Paurânikas (learned in the purânas). They learnt the purâna from my father who was the pupil of Vyâsa. After studying the original (Purâpa) Samhitâ, they each wrote a separate (Purâna) Samhitâ etc.

Sridharaswâmin (in commenting on sloka XII-vii, 6) says, "At first Vyâsa wrote six Samhitâs and taught them to my father, Romaharshana. From him Aruṇi and others learnt each one Samhitâ. I am their pupil, from me Rûra has learnt them."

Agnipurâpa says, "The Sûta Lomaharshana received the purâna from Vyâsa. Sumati, Agnivarcas, Mañtreya, Samsapâyana, Kriyavratâ, and Sâvarni became his pupils. Samsapâyana and others wrote the purâpa samhitâs.

compiled a fourth, called Romaharsanika, the substance of which four Samhitās is collected into this (Viṣṇu Purāṇa). The first of all the Purāṇas is entitled the Brahma. Those who are acquainted with the Purāṇas enumerate eighteen. It will thus appear that an original Samhita of Vyāsa was expanded by his disciples into eighteen separate works at his direction. In Viṣṇu Purāṇa, (VI, iii, 16) it is said Vyāsa, learned in the Vedas, wrote a purāṇa samhitā with Ākhyāna, Upākh-yāna, Gāthā, and Kalpaśuddhi. The commentator explains these four subjects — “What is seen with one’s own eyes is called Ākhyāna by the learned men, what is heard from different persons is called Upākh-yāna, songs about the ancestors are called Gāthā, and the treatment of the śrāddha ceremony is called Kalpaśuddhi.” Amarasiṃha gives the word Pancalakṣaṇa, characterized by five topics, as a synonym of Purāṇa. These topics are (i) the creation of universe (Sarga), (ii) Its destruction and recreation (Praṭi-Sarga), (iii) the genealogy of gods and patriarchs (Vamśa), (iv) the reigns and periods of the Manus (Manvantara) and (v) the history of the solar and lunar race of kings (Vamśānucarīta).

The fact that very few Purāṇas now extant answer to the title Pancalakṣaṇa, says M. Williams, “and that abstract given in the Maṭsyapurana of the contents of all the others does not always agree with the extant works, either in the subjects described or number of verses enumerated, proves that like the Ramayana and Mahabharata, they were preceded by more ancient works<sup>1</sup>. In all probability there were Mula Ramayana and Mula Mahabharata.”<sup>2</sup>

The Purāṇas aim at exalting one of the three members of the ‘Tri-mūrti’, Brahma; Viṣṇu, or Śiva, those which relate to Brahma being sometimes called Rājasa Purāṇas (from his own peculiar Guna Rājas), those which exalt Viṣṇu being designated Sāttvik (from his Guna Saṭṭva); and those which prefer Śiva being styled Tāmasa (from his Guna Tamas).

<sup>1</sup> For instance, Maṭsyā purana gives the following description of Brahma Vaivarṭa Purāṇa —The Purāṇa, which is recited before Nārada by Sāvarṇi, and which contains the glory of Kṛṣṇa, the accounts of Rādhāntara Kalpa, and the story of Brahma in eighteen thousand slokas is called Brahma Vaivarṭa. But the present Brahma-Vaivarṭa Purāṇa does not mention its recitation by Sāvarṇi before Nārada and does not contain the stories of Brahma Varāha and Rādhāntara Kalpa.

<sup>2</sup> Indian Wisdom, 492-3.

The Purāṇas have been thus classified —

A *Rūjasa*, or those which relate to Brahma, are

- 1 Brahma, 2 Brahmānda, 3 Brahma-Vaivarṭa + Mārkandeva,
- 5 Bhavīṣya, 6. Vāmana

B *Sūttvaka*, or those which exalt Viṣṇu, are

- 1 Viṣṇu, 2. Bhāgavata, 3 Nāradīya, 4 Garuda, 5 Padma,
- 6 Varāha These six are usually called Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas

C *Tūmasa*, or those which glorify Śiva, are

- 1 Śiva, 2 Liṅga, 3 Skandā, 4 Agni, 5 Maṭsyā, 6 Kūrma
- These six are usually styled Śaiva Purāṇas

There are eighteen UPA-PURANAS or 'secondary Purāṇas,' subordinate to the eighteen MAHA or principal Purāṇas — 1 Sanaṭkumāra, 2 Narasiṁha or Nṛsiṁha, 3 Nāradīya or Bṛhan-nāradīya, 4 Śiva, 5 Dūrvāsasa 6 Kapila, 7 Mānava, 8 Auśanasa, 9 Varuna, 10 Kālika, 11 Sāmba, 12 Nandī, 13 Saura, 14, Parāśara, 15 Ādiṭya 16 Maheśvara, 17 Bhāgavata (thought to be a misreading for Bhārgava), 18 Vāsiṣṭha Another list given by Professor H H Wilson varies a little thus — 1 Sanaṭkumara, 2 Narasiṁha, 3. Nāraḍa, 4 Śiva-Dharma, 5 Dūrvāsasa, 6 Bhavīṣya, 7 Kapila, 8 Mānava, 9, Auśanasa, 10 Brahmānda, 11 Varuna, 12 Kālika 13 Maheśvara, 14 Sāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśara, 17 Bhāgavata, 18 Kūrma

It is a matter of controversy whether by Bhāgavata Purāṇa is meant the Sri Bhāgavata or the Devī Bhāgavata, that is, a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva composition. By the advocates of Devī Bhāgavata, it is said that Sri Bhāgavata was composed by Bopadeva, son of Keśava poet of the Court of Hemādri, Raja of Devagiri (1260-71 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> On the names of the eighteen Purāṇas there are a few variations Kūrma omits the Agni and substitutes Vāyu, Agni omits Śiva and inserts Vāyu, Varāha omits Garuda and Brahmānda and has Vāyu and Narasiṁha instead Mārkandeya, Viṣṇu and Bhagavata omit Vāyu Maṭreya like Agni gives up Śiva Mūlaṭambha Purāṇa gives an account of

I For this discussion, see Wilson Preface to Vishnu Purana, xxxix and Burnouf's Int to Bhagavata Purana I see xii, xvii and Int to the Telugu Edition (Madras) see Lyall, *As Res VIII* 967, Lassen, *Ind Ant* IV 599, Belwalkar, *System of Sams. Grammar*, 104, Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 89 There is a Jaiminiya Bhagavata (*OML*, R No. 317).

Vishvakarma, the divine architect, his human descendants the artisan class and of their customs, rites and ceremonies in 23 Adhyayas<sup>1</sup>

Prof Wilson assigns the composition of these works to a period later than the 6th century A D "They offer" he says "characteristic peculiarities of a more modern description, in the paramount importance which they assign to individual divinities, in the variety and purport of the rites addressed to them and in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of those divinities and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them" The Professor further discovers allusions to circumstances, which make the assignment of a comparatively recent date indisputable As a culminating remark, he adds "they were pious frauds for temporary purposes"<sup>2</sup>

The deductions which occasioned the learned scholar's remarks are based on internal evidence, the authority of which modern research questions on all sides Sectarianism consists in the exclusive and not merely preferential worship of any divinity The Purānas as a whole do not prohibit the worship of any god, but the sectarianism goes to the extent of recommending a particular deity in preference to all others Passages are not rare in the Purānas, where all the deities are described as occupying an equal scale in the Hindu pantheon Again the Professor seems to have given greater weight to the internal testimony from those passages, which he thinks have a modern appearance, than to that which results from those parts which the Puranas must have contained from their first composition, in order to entitle them to a sacred character and to that reverence with which these works have been regarded by the Hindus But the fixing of a possible date when the Purānas received their present form is a question of

<sup>1</sup> TC, III 4002

On the merit of the Chronology of the Purānas, see introduction

On the Purānas, generally, see Introduction to Wilson's Translation of Viṣṇu Purāna Bose, Sri Krishna, his life and teachings, R C Dutt, Crv II v Holtzman, Das Mahābhārata, IV 29-58 Pargiter, The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age, T. S Narayana Sastrī, the Age of Sankara (Ind Rev. X 585) Macdonel, SL., K. C Kanglal, Philosophy of the Puranas, K Narayana Swami Iyer, The Puranas in the light of modern science, (Adyar, Madras) (This is a remarkable work in which much of the mythology of the Purānas is rationally and scientifically interpreted) Paraman and Bharati's Sri Krishna the Lord of Love (see Ind Rev IX 933), Ch Gopinātham's, Sri Krishna Para brahma Vicharana, (Ellore)

<sup>2</sup> Preface to Translation of Viṣṇu Purāna.

little or no consequence, when it is admitted that there is abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era. They cannot, therefore, be pious frauds in subservience to sectarian imposture. What more conclusive evidence of their antiquity can be required than their containing a correct description of the doctrines and institutions of the Hindu religion, which were prevalent in India centuries before the Christian era? For it is more probable that the present Puranas are the same works as were then extant, than that eighteen persons should have each conceived 1300 years afterwards the design of writing a Purāna and should have been able to compile or compose so accurately 18 different works which correspond so exactly in most of their minute particulars. Within the short compass of this work, it is not possible to discuss the Professor's views in greater detail. Suffice it to say, that Vans Kennedy has, in his letters, which are printed as appendix to the Vth volume of Wilson's Translation of the Vishnu Purana, demonstrated that Wilson's remarks are completely erroneous and 'his reasoning is altogether ineffectual to prove that the Puranas are modern compilations. The reader, if he has any real interest in ancient Indian Literature, is referred to the masterly criticism of Vans Kennedy and he will immensely benefit by its study.'

There is a PURANA SARVĀSVA, anonymous, giving a brief sketch of all the Puranas in the library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.<sup>3</sup> The same library also contains a Purana Sūchi being a list of the contents of all Upapuranas and the Mahabharata.<sup>4</sup> Bhuvana Kosa is a collection of passages from the Puranas bearing on the geography of the world.<sup>5</sup> So is Bhūgolanimaya by Ramakrishna Yajvani.<sup>6</sup>

1. Cal No 51

2. *Ibid* No 52

3. *Ibid* No 106

4. *Ibid* No. 108<sup>c</sup>

## SECTION VI

Tantras<sup>1</sup>

Tantras represent a later phase of the Purānic religion. Tāntrika doctrines are inculcated in the Purāṇas. As distinct books they are of later age but never of an age later than the Christian era. Śakti is the active energising will of a god, personified as his wife. The tantras are numerous and to Śaktas, or worshippers of Śakti they take the place of the Purāṇas. They embrace much that is said in the Purāṇas and contain formulas of magic and witchcraft and charms for averting and producing evils. Among Tantras, are Rudra Yāmala Kālikā, Mahānirvāṇa, Kularṇava etc.

Tāntric literature is usually designated as Vaidika and non-vaidika indicating whether they recognise the supreme authority of the Vedas or not. In the latter class all the Buddhist and Jain tantras are included while the Vaidika tantras are again Śaiva, Śākṭeya, Yāmala, etc. The last of this class are practically encyclopædias of knowledge in all branches of human exertion as developed till the time of their composition. These wonderful and interesting works once existed in the library of Kavīndrācharya Sarasvatī of Benares<sup>2</sup>. A few of his manuscripts are found scattered all over India and Yāmalāśhtaka, the 31st of the Yāmala Tantras which are altogether 32, found in the Tanjore Palace Library, professes to give the name of the authors, extent and contents of all works before the seventh or eighth century. The vedic rites are analysed and classified according to the subject or the governing deity. Details of the four Upa-vedas and of 32 Yāmala Tantras throw an astonishing light on the extent of perished literature proclaiming man's utter incapacity against the cruel hand of Time. Arthaveda for an example extends over 30000 slokas and treats of all branches of state politics, industrial development and mineralogy, that is, everything of *artha*.

<sup>1</sup> On Tantras, see M. WILLIAMS, *Indian Wisdom*, 501-5 and Works of WOODROFFE, R. C. DUTT, *Crit., II* 212

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the Kavīndracharya's list published in Gaekwad Sanskrit series.





## CHAPTER II

**Kāvya**

**1** The term Kāvya literally and in its widest sense connotes all that is *the work of a poet*. In that sense Kāvya is the subject of Classical Sanskrit Literature. The science of poetics, embracing in it dramaturgy, music and dancing, is a concomitant of Kāvya or Poetry. In the words of Mammata, Kāvya is thus described

सकलप्रयोजनमौलिभूत समन्वयमेव रसासादनसमुद्रूतं विगलितवेधान्तरमानन्दं  
प्रभुसमितशब्दप्रधानवेदादिशास्त्रेभ्यं सुहस्तमितार्थतात्पर्यक्तपुराणादीतीहासेभ्यश्च शब्दोर्थयोर्गुणं-  
मावेन रसाङ्गभृतव्यापारप्रवणतया विलक्षणं यन् काव्यं लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकमँ।

"Kāvya is that which touches the inmost cords of the human mind and diffuses itself into the crevices of the heart, working up a lasting sense of delight. It is an expression in the beautiful form and melodious language of the best thoughts and noblest emotions, which is the spectacle of life, awaking the finest souls."

Kāvya is śravya or dṛśya, literally audible or visible, these are respectively Poems or Plays. In its narrower sense the term Kāvya is used as an equivalent to poem (prose or verse) and the term Rūpaka denotes a play. The different kinds of Rūpakas and their characteristics will be described in a later chapter.

Śravya Kāvya is of two kinds, verse or prose. Thus says Viśvanātha श्रन्यं श्रोतव्यमात्रं तत्पदगद्यमयं द्विधा।

Rhetoricians distinguish between the body and embellishments of poetry. The theories of poetical embellishment will be noticed in the Chapter on Poetics. Dandin in his Kavyādarśa says, "The 'body' consists of a series of words calculated to aptly convey a desired meaning. This (body) is adequately divided into just three sorts metrical, prose, and mixed. The metrical consists of four feet, and this again falls into two classes Vṛtta and Jāti." These are described in the Chapter on Metrics. Gadya or prose romance is treated in a later chapter.

**2** Poetry in verse follows generally the manner of Rāmāvāna. Some call Kāvyas, artificial epics. They are either long or short, called respectively Mahākāvyas and Laghukāvyas or Khanda Kāvyas. Raghuvaṁśa and Naiṣadha are instances of the former and Meghadūṭa and

Bikātana of the latter Visvanātha in his Sāhiṭadarpana (VI 315-325) describes the characteristics of a Mahakāvya thus —

मर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यं तत्रको नायक सुर ।  
 मद्भूषा क्षत्रियो वापि धीरोदात्तगुणान्वित ॥  
 एकवशमवा भूपा कुलजा बहवोऽपि वा ।  
 शृङ्खारवीरशान्तानामेकोऽङ्गी रथं इप्यते ॥  
 अङ्गानि सर्वेऽपि रसा सर्वे नाटकसधय ।  
 इतिहासोऽह्व वृत्तमन्यद्वा सञ्चानाश्रयम् ॥  
 चत्वारस्तस्य वर्गी स्युस्तेष्वेक च फल भवेत् ।  
 आदौ नमस्तिक्याशीर्वा वस्तुनिर्देश एव वा ॥  
 क्षचित्प्रिन्दा घ्वलादीना सर्तां च गुणकीर्तनम् ।  
 एकवृत्तमयै पैदैरवसानेऽन्यवृत्तकै ॥  
 नानिस्वल्प्या नातिरीर्धीं सर्गी अष्टाधिका इह ।  
 नानावृत्तमय क्रापि सर्गं कथन इश्यते ॥  
 शर्णन्ते भाविसर्गस्य कथाया सूचन सवेत् ।  
 भृश्यामूर्येन्दुरजनीप्रदोषध्वान्तवासरा ॥  
 प्रातर्मध्याह्नमृगयाशैलर्तुवनसागरा ।  
 समोगविप्रलभ्मौ च मुनिस्वर्गपुराध्वरा ॥  
 रणप्रयाणोपयमन्त्रपुत्रोदयादय ।  
 वर्गनीया यथायोग साङ्गोपाङ्गा अमी इह ॥  
 कवृत्तस्य वा नामा नायकस्येतरस्य वा ।  
 नामास्य सर्गोपादेयकथया सर्गनाम तु ॥

Dandin in his Kavyādarśa (I 14-19) says ·

सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यमुच्यते तस्य लक्षणम् ।  
 आशीर्नमस्तिक्यावस्तुनिर्देशो वापि तन्मुखम् ॥  
 इतिहासकथोऽद्भूतमितरद्वा सदाश्रयम् ।  
 चतुर्वर्गफलोपेत चतुरोदाचनायकम् ॥  
 नगरार्णवशैलर्तुचन्द्राकोदयवर्णनै ।  
 उद्धानसलिलकीडामधुपानरतोत्सवै ॥  
 विशलम्भैर्विवाहैश्च कुमारोदयवर्णनै ।  
 सन्त्रदूतप्रशाणाजिनायकान्युदयैरपि ॥

अलकृतमसाक्षिप्त रसभावनिरन्तरम् ।  
 सगैरनतिविस्तीर्णे श्रव्यवृत्तै सुसन्धिभि ॥  
 सर्वत्रभिन्नवृत्तान्तैरपेत लोकरञ्जकम् ।  
 काव्य कल्पान्तरस्यायि जायेत सदलक्ष्मि ॥

[काव्या—१ १४ १९.]

"Composition-in-Cantos is a long poem (*Mahākāvya*) and its definition is being given [now]. Its opening is a benediction, a situation, or a naming of the principal theme, it springs from a historical incident or is otherwise based upon some fact, it turns upon the fruition of the fourfold ends and its hero is clever and noble, by description of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons, and rising of the moon or the sun through sportings in garden or water, and festivities of drinking and love, through sentiments of love in separation and through marriages, by description of the birth and rise of princes, and likewise through state-counsel, embassy, advance, battle, and the hero's triumph, embellished, not too condensed, and pervaded all through with poetic sentiments and emotions with cantos none too lengthy and having agreeable metres and well-formed joints, and in each case with an ending in a different metre, furnished, such a poem possessing good figures-of-speech wins the people's heart and endures longer than (even) a *Kalpa*."<sup>1</sup>

Shortly stated, a *Mahā-Kāvya* is a writing of considerable length, varying description and elaborate construction, embracing a narrative, theological or historical and is divided into Sargas or Cantos for convenience of narration. A poem that falls short of the several particulars that are required to make up a *Mahā-Kāvya* is called a *Laghu-Kāvya* or a Minor Poem. Among these Minor Poems many are lyrical or didactic and these are treated in a later chapter. In the following chapters the history of poetry is traced by a chronological mention of writers of *Kāvya* and *Rūpaka*. Poems by women, biographical poems and anthologies have been treated in separate chapters.

<sup>1</sup> As translated by S. K. Belwalkar.

## CHAPTER III

## Maha-Kāvya

**3** Rāmāyana, the Āḍi-kāvya, is the first poem. It is a Mahākāvya answering in every detail to the description given by rhetoricians. The Mahākāvyas are modelled upon Rāmāyana, but the interval between the composition of Rāmāyana and the earliest available poem is so great that it is not possible to explain the void or paucity of such works for long centuries even by imagination. When we find that poetry was practised and appreciated in all ages in India as an art, the loss of those works which must have been many is indeed deplorable. In his Kāvyaśāmīmāṃsā Rājasekhara mentions ancient sages who have written works on poetry and poetics, but beyond the mention of names and stray quotations these works are not now available.

अथात् काव्यं भीमासिप्यामहे यथोपदिदेशं श्रीकण्ठं परमेष्टिवैकुण्ठादिभ्यश्चतुष्टये शिष्येभ्यः । सोऽपि भगवान् स्वयम्भूतिरच्छाजन्मभ्यं स्वान्तेवासिभ्यः । तेषु सारस्वतेयो वृन्दायी-सामाप्ति वन्धं काव्यपुरुषं आसीत् । तत्र सर्वसमयविद् दिव्येन चक्षुषा भविष्यदर्थदर्शैः भूम्भव-स्वच्छितयर्वतीनिपुं प्रजासु हितकाम्यया प्रजापाति । काव्यविद्याप्रवर्तनायै प्रायुद्गतः । सोऽप्नादशाधिकरणाणां दिव्येभ्यः काव्यविद्यात्मातकेभ्यः सप्रपञ्चां प्रोवाच । तत्र कविरहस्यं सहस्राः समाम्नासीन्, औतिकम्पुतिगर्भं, रीतिनिर्णयं सुवर्णनाम्भं, आनुप्रासिकं प्रवेतायनं, यमकानि चित्रं चित्राङ्गदं, चक्रद्वेष्यं शेषं, वास्तवं पुलस्त्वं, औपम्यमौपकायनं, अतिशयं पाराशरं, अर्थशेषप्रयुतं इत्युपराकारिकं कुबेरं, वैनोदिकं कामदेवं, रूपकनिरूपणीयं मरतं, रसाधिकारिकं ननिकेश्वरं, दोषाधिकरणं धिषणं, गुणौपादानिकमुपमन्युं, औपनिषदिकं कृष्णिमारं इति । (Kāvyaśāmīmāṃsā, I 1)

Yāska speaks of Upamā or Simile and its varieties and he quotes (III 13) Gārgya's definition of Upamā. Pāṇini came after Yāska and he wrote his aphorisms which are the grammar of Classical Sanskrit. Pāṇini, as we shall see, was himself a great poet and many of his verses, probably from his poem Jāmbavaṭī-haṭāṇam,<sup>1</sup> delight us by their merit. Vararuci or Kāṭṭayana came after him and is said to have written a poem Kaṇṭhabhāraṇam. Paṭanjali is more profuse in his references to plays, romances and poems. These grammarians who had before them a current literature of Sanskrit poetry long preceded the Christian era. In the chapter on Rūpaka or drama, we shall see

I. Kṛṣṇa-Lilāśuka in his commentary on Bhoja's Aṣṭādhyāyi called Kṛṣṇalilāvinoda, quotes from Pāṇini's Jāmbavaṭīharana and in his Puruṣakāra the first verses of the 2nd, 17 & 18th Sargas of the same work.

that far earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, Sanskrit Literature on drama and poems was perfect and abundant.

**4** Panini was the son of Dāksī,<sup>1</sup> and lived at Śalātura.<sup>2</sup> According to Kaṭhāsaritsāgara,<sup>3</sup> Pāṇini, Vyādi, Kātyāyana and Indraḍaṭṭa studied together under Upadhyāya Upavarsa and being dull, he practised penance and received from God Siva the *pratyūhāra sūtras*. According to Pancatantra, he was killed by a lion.<sup>4</sup> Pāṇini's age is very uncertain and scholars have varied from thousands of years before the Christian era to 350 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

"Quite on a line with the statement about the 400 years is another traditional statement, reported by Hiuen Tsang in his story about Pāṇini under his account of Śalātura<sup>6</sup> which has been held<sup>7</sup> to place 500 years after the death of Buddha, not simply an alleged contemporary of Kanishka himself. We are told that, 500 years after the death of Buddha, a great Arhat from Kashmir arrived at Śalātura, and saw a Brahman teacher chastising a young pupil. He explained to the teacher that the boy was Pāṇini, reborn. And he told to the

1 Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, I 75, calls him Dāksipuṭra, and so too a verse in praise of Bhavabhūti in Saduktikarnamṛta quoted *infra*.

2 He is called Śalāturiya, (see Ganarāṭnamahodadhi, 81-2 and Bhāmaḥā-Lukāra, Ch VI) Śalātura is identified by Cunningham with the present Lahaur in the Yusufzai Valley near Attock in N.W.F.P. Province.

3 Taranga IV

4 सिंहो व्याकरणस्य कर्तुरहरत्प्राणान् प्रियान् पाणिने — Tantra, II. 81-33

5 Satyavratā Sāmārami in his introduction to Yāskā's Nirukta says that Pāṇini lived in 2400 B.C. Goldstucker (*Pāṇini, his place in Sanskrit Literature* f. 243) and Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit grammar*), give 700 B.C. Bhandarkar and Pischel (*ZDMG*, XXXIX 95) place him earlier than 500 B.C. Max Müller (*ASL*) makes Pāṇini, contemporary of Kātyāyana and gives the date 350 B.C. Macdonell (*SL* 431) gives 350 B.C. Dahlman gives 3rd century B.C. Peterson [*Rep.* (1882-3), 39] fixed the beginning of the Christian era. B Liebich, (*Pāṇini*, Leipzig, 1891) says in all probability he came after Buddha and before the Christian era and that he was nearer the earlier than the later limit (see *Review by Grierson*, IA, XXII, 222) Jayaswal [*Dates of Panini and Katyayana*, IA, XLVII 112, 138.] says Pāṇini lived before Chandragupta and places him 75 B.C. and Kātyāyana below 248 to 200 B.C. For his references to Afghan geography, see IA, I 21, for his technical terms, IA, VI 107, and for his reference to Buddhist Śramanas, IA, L 82. For a long account of Pāṇini's school see Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 12ff.

6 Julien, *Mémoires*, I 127ff, Beal, *Records*, I, 115f, Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I 222

7 e.g., to quote what is probably the latest instance, by Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I. 222.

teacher the story of 500 bats, which, in a subsequent birth had as the result of their merit become the 500 wise men whom "in these latter times" (Julien), "lately" (Beal), "in recent times" (Watters), king Kanishka and the reverend Pārśva had convoked in the "Council," held in Kashmir, at which there was drawn up the Vibhāshā-Sāstra. The great Arhat asserted that he himself had been one of the 500 bats. And, having narrated all this, he proved his divine power by instantly disappearing. Having been one of the 500 bats, this great Arhat was necessarily also one of the 500 members of the "Council" of Kanishka. And the story certainly places the great Arhat, at the time when he was telling it, in the 500th year after the death of Buddha. But the plain indication that he was a somewhat miraculous being entitles us to at any rate credit him with a certain amount of longevity, even to the occasional Buddhist extent of 120 years".<sup>1</sup>

5 Tradition identifies Pāṇini, the grammarian, with Pāṇini, the poet and author of the poem Jāmbavatījayaṁ. In the Sadukṭi-Karnāmṛta Śridharadāsa refers to the poet as Dākīpuṭra,<sup>2</sup> and Rājasekhara is more explicit.<sup>3</sup> Aufrecht refers to this verse and says "we may listen to what the sage, bent double over grammar and who had foreshown all worldly joys has to say and sing".<sup>4</sup> Kṣemendra in his Suvṛṭṭatilak says that Pāṇini excelled in Upajāṭī metre. Namisādhu in his commentary on Rudrata's Kāvya-lankāra (II. 8) quotes a line from "Pāṇini's Mahākāvya Pāṭālavijaya." This poem Jāmbavaṭījayaṁ or Pāṭālavijayaṁ is said to be still extant in a corner of Malabar and my inquiries show that the manuscript may soon be recovered. Jāmbavaṭī was the daughter of Jāmbavan, Rājarāja of Pāṭāla. Kṛṣṇa conquered him, got the Śyāmanṭakamani and won the hand of Jāmbavaṭī. The story of Jāmbavaṭī's marriage with Kṛṣṇa is described in the Mahā-

1. Fleet's *Traditional date of Kanishka*, [JRAS (1906), 979ff].

2. सुबन्धौ भक्तिर्न क हृषुकरे न रमते

धृतिर्दीक्षिपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि हदयम् ।

विशुद्धोऽपि सुर प्रकृतिभयुरा भारविगिर

तथाप्यन्तर्मोदं कमयि भवभूतिवित्तुते ॥

3. सहस्र पाणिनये तस्मै येन रुद्रप्रसादतः ।

आदी व्याकरण प्रोक्त ततो जाम्बवतीजयम् ॥

4. PR, I. 5

bhārata, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāna.<sup>1</sup> The same story is described in a poem called Jāmbavaṭī-Parīqayam by Ekāmrāṇṭha,<sup>2</sup> and in a drama (Jāmbavaṭīkalvāna) by Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar.<sup>3</sup>

Of the verses quoted in the anthologies as Pāṇini's, there are many and they are of exquisite beauty.<sup>4</sup> In Kṛṇallāsuka's commentary on Bhoja's grammatical treatise, Sarasvatī-Kanthāḥhārapa, Pāṇini's verses are quoted freely as illustrations.<sup>5</sup> It looks therefore as if Pāṇini, who composed his aphorisms for classical Sanskrit, illustrated his aphorisms by a poem of his own composition Rāvamukuta in his commentary on Amarakoṣa quotes fragments from Pāṇini's poems.

1 Mah Sabha, 57, Bhag X 56, Vip. I, IV 13 For Jāmbavaṭī's agnivrāvēśa, see Mah Mausala, VII 74,

2 He composed his poem at the instance of King Ankusa of Rāna family. The poem in manuscript is available (DC, XX 7732) where extracts are given, and breaks off in the 5th canto.

3 See Chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA *post*

4 For verses of Pāṇini, see Aufrecht, ZDMG, XIV 581, XXVII, 46 XXXVI 365, (where verses are translated into English), Pischell, ZDMG, XXXIX 95, Peterson, JRAS (1891), 3, Rep. IV lxxvi, Int to Subh 54, Bhandarkar, Rep. (1883-4), xvii, xxxii, 62 479, Thomas (Int to Kav 51) gives a complete list of the verses in the anthologies Bhandarkar (JBRAS, XVI, 344) does not accept the identity

5 As instances of Pāṇini's imagery and expression we have,—

गतेर्थरात्रे परिमन्दभन्द  
गर्जन्ति यत्प्रावृष्टि कालमेघा ।  
अपश्यती क्षतमिवेन्दुविम्ब  
तच्छर्वरी गौरिव हुकरोति ॥  
उपेढ्ठरागेण विलोलतारक  
तथा गृहीत शशिना निशासुखम् ।  
यथा समस्त तिभिराशुक तया  
पुरोऽपि रागद्रूलित न लक्षितम् ॥  
विलोक्ष सगमे राग पश्चिमाया विक्षत ।  
कृत कृष्णमुग्व प्राप्या न हि नार्यो विनेव्यं ॥  
अथासादास्तमनिन्द्यतेजा  
जनस्य दूरोऽज्ञातमृत्युभीते ।  
उत्पत्तिमद्दस्तुविनाशयवश्य  
यथाहमित्यर्थभिवोपदेष्टुम् ॥  
शरदि रविरश्मितसा विभ्राणा शोषमतिशयग्लपिता ।  
ज्वरिता इव लक्ष्यन्ते लक्ष्यन्योरया महासरित ॥

**6** Vararuci also called Kātyāyana was the son of Somadatta of Sankṣṭi gotra. He was born at Kauśāmbī on the Jumnā. He studied along with Pāṇini and Vyādi under Upavarṣa in Pātaliputra and married his daughter Upakośa.<sup>1</sup> He composed the Vārtika on Pāṇini and the slokas called *Bhājas Patañjali* in his Mahabhashya (1.23) mentions a poem by him (IV.iii). According to the Avanti-Sundari-Kathāsāra (IV.17) Vararuci was born in the reign of King Mahāpadma, son of King Mahānandi, who ruled at Viśālā. According to the Purāṇas, King Mahānandi son of Nandivardhana, ruled for 43 years from 1678 to 1635 B.C. Mahāpadma his son (born of a Sudra woman) known as Nanda, ruled over Magadha for 88 years from 1635 to 1547 B.C.<sup>2</sup> According to the Hindu tradition therefore Kātyāyana must have lived sometime between the 16th and 17th Centuries B.C. To Pāṇini's sūtra (VIII.ii.50) Kātyāyana adds a vārtika to explain the term Nirvāna and says it means 'to blow out'. Paṭañjali explains this by various illustrations such as 'the lamp is blown out by the wind etc.' Nirvāna is a well known Buddhistic term, meaning absolute exemption from the cycle of transmigration, state of entire freedom from all forms of existence etc. If Kātyāyana and Paṭañjali had lived after the advent of Buddhism, they would not have failed to mention the technical use of the term. It is therefore inferred that they must have flourished before the days of Buddha. On the date of the Nirvāna of Buddha, there is great divergence of opinion, and according to Chinese chronology it is 944 or 973 B.C.<sup>3</sup> If Paṭañjali lived before that date and Kātyāyana before Paṭañjali with an interval of time sufficient for the language to develop and change to an extent that needed Paṭañjali's explanations, the Puranic date for Kātyāyana does not appear improbable.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the account given in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsagara, (*Tar* I-V). This account is supported by Bhoja. In Chapter 27, Dutādhyaśa of Śāṅgārā-prakāśa, Bhoja enumerates various mediators between lovers and among them he mentions as an illustration Upavarṣa, Guru of Vararuci, as arranging the marriage of his own daughter Upakośa with Vararuci. According to the Avanti-Sundari-Kathāsāra (chapter IV) Vararuci was the son of a virgin Kātyāyani, daughter of a brahin Kalāpi, who became pregnant by contact with Agni and suspected of unchastity she was abandoned and Vararuci was born to her on the banks of the Godavari, when Agni removed her. The poem refers to the association with Vyādi, Indradatta and Upavarṣa. For the story of Vararuci see *IA*, XI.146.

<sup>2</sup> For Puranic dates, see Introduction and T.S. Narayana Sastrī's *Age of Sankara*, App. I, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Beal's *Catena of Chinese Scriptures*, 116 note, Max Muller's *ASL*, 267.

<sup>4</sup> Weber (*JL*. 222) says "with regard to the date of Katyayana, the state-

Vararuci is mentioned in the well-known verse<sup>1</sup> as one of the nine gems of the Court of King Vikramādīṭya. In the absence of certainty on the date of that King Vikramādīṭya it is not possible to say anything definite about the poet Vararuci of his Court. It is probable he was different from Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana knew of a work dealing with the wars of gods and demons, Daivāśuram. Pātañjali mentions a Vāra-rucam Kāvya,<sup>2</sup> and the anthologies quote verses<sup>3</sup> under the name of Vararuci. Jālhāṇa in his Sūktimulatāvali quotes a verse as Rājaselhara's<sup>4</sup> which gives the name of the work called Kanthābharanam. It is conjectured that it was a poem with acrostics and alliteration as Vararuci is known to be fond of them.<sup>5</sup> Vararuci's Bhāna Ubhāśhāsārikā shows the beauty of his poetry and the antiquity of the composition and in the colophon to the available manuscript he is described as *muni*. A manuscript of Vallabhadreva's Subhāsītāvali seen in the O MSS Library, Madras, says that the verse printed (1740) as Vararuci's,

आलेहितमाकलयन्दलभितिकम्पित मुकरेण ।

स्समरति पथि स पथिको दीपिताङ्गलितर्जन लितम् ॥

ment of Hiuan Thsang, to the effect that 300 years after Buddha's death, i.e., in BC 240, "le docteur Kia-to-yan-na" lived at Tamasavana in the Punjab, is by Bohtlung referred to this Katyayana, but when we remember that the same traveller assigns to Panini's secord existence a date so late as 500 years after Buddha, such a reference of course becomes highly precarious. Besides, the statement is in itself an extremely indefinite one, the "docteur" in question not being described as a grammarian at all, but simply as a descendant of the Kātyā family. Even admitting however, that the reference really is to him, it would still be in conflict with the tradition—in itself, it is true, of no particular authority—of the Kāthāsariṣṭāgara, which not only represents Kātyāyana as the contemporary of Pāṇini, but identifies him with Vararuci, a minister of King Nanda, the father of Chandragupta, according to which, of course, he must have flourished about BC 350. As regards the age of the Mahabhashya, we have seen that the assertion of the Rājaṭaraṅgini as to its introduction into Kashmir in the reign of Abhimanyu the successor of Kanishka, i.e., between AD 40 and 65, is, for the reasons above assigned, in the meantime discredited." Macdonell (SL 432) gives 3rd century BC, Belvalkar (SSG 29) 500—850 BC. and Bhandarkar and R. Mukerji (IA, LVI 91) 350 BC. Goldstucker gives to Pāṇini 700 BC and says there was a long interval of time between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana who followed Pāṇini. See Jayaswal, *Dates of Panini and Katyayana* (IA, XLVII 112, 138).

1 On this verse, see under Kālidāsa

2 IV iii 191 Goldstucker's *Panini*, 146 note, Weber, 1st, XIII 450.

3 Peterson's Subhāsītāvali (Int. 108-110), Aufrecht, ZDMG, XXXVI 524, Pischel, ZDMG, XXXIX 98

4. यथार्थत कथ नामि माऽभूत वरसचेरिह । व्यधत कण्ठाभरण यस्सदारोहणग्रिय ॥

5 See IA, X. 366.

is from Cārumati of Vararuci and Bhojadēva quotes the following verse in his Sṛīgārāprakāśa from Cārumati as spoken by a pair of Kinnaras before the hero on an amorous embassy

कनरुकुण्डलमण्डितगण्डया जघनदेशनिवेशितवीणया ।  
अमरराजपुरो वरकन्यया तव यजो विमल परिगायते ॥

The editors of Avantisundarīkāthā say that Cārumati was an akhyāyikā (in prose) and Paṭañjali mentions the existence of Akhyāyikā in his days. The name Cārumati indicates it might be so.

There is a collection of eight verses called Māryātakam, laudatory of Durga in the terrific pose and the pictures delineated in the verses are very graphic.

According to a tradition in Malabar Vararuci married girls in all 18 castes and consequently he was treated as a śvapach or a chandāla. Bhoja has quoted a verse (Sṛī Prakāśa XI) probably from the prologue of a drama which confirms the latter part of the tradition,

भृत्यैर्न् श्वपचीकृतो वरमधि सर्वेषकल्पोऽपि सन्  
जीवशेष पिशाचर्ता च गमितो भर्तु यदन्यर्थ्यधी ।  
चन्दोगोऽयसिति प्रमाकरगुरुदेशाच्च निर्वासित  
यद्वत्तान्तविजृम्भितेन महता तत्सर्वमल्पीकृतम् ॥

Bharu was a Maukhāri king and teacher of Bāṇabhatta Prabhākara, a contemporary of Kumārila, if not his pupil, interpreted Mīmāṃsābhāṣya antagonistic to Kumārila.

7 Patanjali came after Kātvājana.<sup>1</sup> There is no indication of any poetic composition by Patanjali. But he makes numerous references to poems, romances and plays in his Mahābhāṣya. Kielhorn has collected the poetic citations from the Mahābhāṣya and says that they show that the Kāvya prospered in Patanjali's times. "Many of these verses exhibit metres characteristic of the artificial poetry, such as, Malati, Pramitakshara, Praharshini and Vasantatilaka. These verses as well as many others in the heroic Anushtabha-Sloka agree, in point of contents as well as the mode of expressions, not with epic works but with the Court Kavyas."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Patanjali's date, Bohtlingk gives 250 B.C., MaxMuller (ASL), 200 B.C., Weber (IL, 224, IA, II 206) 140 to 60 B.C., Goldstucker (Panini, 234) 140-120 B.C., N Bhāshyacarya, (*Age of Patanjali*) 10th century B.C., Peterson (IA, XII 353) 2nd century A.D. and Bhandarkar (IA, I 299, LII 21) 144-142 B.C. On Patanjali, see ISI I 141, 157, IA, I 299, II 57, 69, 94, 206-10, 238, 362, III 14, 285, IV 247, XIV 40, XV 80-4, JASB LII 269. On a Maurya passage, see XVI 156-172. On his mention of Śivabhāgavata, see IA, XLI 272,

<sup>2</sup> IA, XIV 326. See Mahābhāṣya (Kielborn's Edn.) I 426, 435, II, 119, III 143, 338. On Kielborn's Edn., see IA, XVIII, 128.

**8 Theory of Renaissance**—Max Muller propounded the theory of Renaissance. His main thesis is “that in the middle of 6th century A.D. the reign of a King Vikramāditya of Ujjain, with whom tradition connected the names of Kalidasa and other distinguished authors, was the golden age of Indian Court Poetry. This Renaissance theory is based on Fergusson’s ingenious chronological hypothesis that the supposed King Vikrama of Ujjain, having expelled the Scythians from India, in commemoration of his victory founded the Vikrama Era in 544 A.D., dating its commencement back 600 years to 56 B.C. Fergusson arrives at the following conclusions (i) that the Vikramāditya who conquered the Sākas at the battle of Karur was Harsha of Ujjain, (ii) that he died about 550 A.D., (iii) that before 1000 A.D., when the struggle with the Buddhists was over and a new year was opening for Hindu religion the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time to supersede the Buddhist Saka Era of Kanishka,<sup>1</sup> (iv) that the Guptas and Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, in looking for some name for an event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of New Era, they hit on the name of Vikramāditya as the most illustrious known to them and his victory at Karur, the most important event of his reign, (v) and that, since the date of victory in 544 A.D., was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years thus arriving at 56 B.C., and not content with this they devised another era which they called Harsha Era from the other part of his name the epoch of which was fixed at 456 B.C., by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karur.” On the basis of these deductions Max Muller asserted that the Indians in consequence of the incursions of the Sākas and other foreigners ceased from literary activity during the first two centuries A.D. and Sanskrit poetry having been dormant for five centuries was revived and flourished in the reign of a King Vikramāditya of Ujjain in the 6th century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

“The epigraphical researches of Mr. Fleet,” says Macdonell,<sup>3</sup> have destroyed Fergusson’s hypothesis. From these researches it results that the Vikrama era of 57 B.C., far from having been founded in 544 A.D. had already been in use for more than a century previously under the name of Malava Era (which came to be called the Vikrama Era about 800 A.D.). It further appears that no Sākas (Scythians)

1 *JRAS* (1880), “On the Saka and Gupta Eras”

2 *India, What can it teach us?* 281, 284, Weber, *IL*, 203 note.

3 *SL*, 323.

could have been driven out of western India in the middle of the sixth century, because that country had already been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years before. Lastly, it turns out that though other foreign conquerors, the Hunas, were actually expelled from western India in the first half of the sixth century, they were driven out, not by a Vikramādīta, but by a king named Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana”

The inscriptions that have been discovered at Krle,<sup>1</sup> and Mandassor<sup>2</sup> by Fleet have completely belied Fergusson's hypothesis and with it the theory of Renaissance. They have been fully examined by Buhler and his essay has been rendered in English by V S Ghate of Poona.<sup>3</sup> Buhler himself augmented the list of Fleet's 18 inscriptions by the inclusion of many other documents such as the Meherauli Pillar inscriptions of Emperor Chandra and the poetically coloured genealogy of the Maukharis on the Asirgadh Seal. These inscriptions show, says Buhler, that the use of Kāvya style in the inscriptions, especially in the longer ones was in vogue during the period from 350-550 A.D. and from this very circumstance it follows that Court poetry was zealously cultivated in India. After dealing with the merits of inscriptions Buhler proceeds thus to refute the theory of Renaissance:

“His first proposition, that the Indians did not show any literary activity during the first and second centuries of our era, in consequence of the invasions of

<sup>1</sup> IA, (1876), 152, see on this Max Muller (cc 286 note), Fleet's commentary in IA, XII 152, III 293

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III 65-69, Int 55. मालवाना गणस्थिता काते शतचतुर्षे । विनवलविकेऽदाना क्रतो सेव्यवनस्ते ॥

“When by the tribal constitution of the Malavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed, to that season the low thunder of the thuttering of clouds is to be welcomed”

Fleet translated this as “when 493 years had elapsed by the reckoning from the tribal constitution of the Malavas” (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 79-87) or “in accordance with the reckoning followed by the Malava tribe” [J.R.A.S., (1913) 995, (1914), 745, (1915) 138]. Thomas [J.R.A.S. (1914), 413, 1010, (1915), 533] says it means continued existence. See also Jayaswal (*Mod. Rev.* 1913, May to September) R C Dutt (*Civ. II* 51) and V S Gopala Iyer, *Chronology of Ancient India*, 153 J.M.Y., VIII 275 In IA, (1913), 161, Bhandarkar notes the use of the word मालवगणाम्नाति.

<sup>3</sup> IA, XLII 29, 137 etc. See further on these inscriptions, Apte, *Age of Kalidasa*, 4, Nandargikar, Int to *Raghuvamsa*, 48-60, V. Smith, EH 327, Fleet, J.R.A.S., XVIII 71

*the different foreign races*, is contradicted by the clear proof provided by the Praśasti of the Sudarśana lake and the Nasik-inscription No 18 I think, I must further add that the extinction of the intellectual life of the Indian during the first two centuries by the Scythians and other foreigners is improbable for other reasons also In the first place, never had the foreigners brought under their sway in the long run more than fifth part of India To the east of the district of Mathura, no sure indications of their rule have been found, and the reports of the Greeks ascribe to the Indo Scythian kingdom no further extent in the east or south In India proper, their Kingdom could permanently possess only the Panjab, besides the high valleys of the Himalaya, the extreme west of the North Western Provinces, the Eastern Rajputana, the Central Indian Agency with Gwalior and Malwa, Gujarat with Kathiawar, as well as Sindh No doubt, temporarily these limits are further extended in several cases, as the inscriptions from the reign of Nahapana prove for the western border of the Deccan, and several traces of war might present themselves in further removed districts The rulers of such a kingdom could indeed have exerted a considerable influence on the east of India, but they would never have been able to suppress the literary and scientific life of the Indians Secondly, however,—and this is the most important point—the very will to show a hostile attitude towards the Indian culture, was wanting in the foreign kings of the time, as the sayings and authentic documents inform us They themselves, as well as their comrades of the same race, were far inferior to the Indian, in point of civilisation and culture and the natural result was that they could not escape the influence of the Indian civilisation, but were themselves Hinduised Their willingness to appropriate the culture of their subjects is shown by the very fact that the descendants or successors of the foreign conquerors immediately began to bear Indian names, even in the second generation Havishka's successor is indeed a Shahi, but he is named Vasudeva Nahapana's daughter is named Dakshamitra and his son-in-law the son of Dinika, a Saka, is named Ushavadata or Usabhadata, i.e., Rishabhadatta The son of Chashtana is Jayadaman The leaning of these kings to the Indian systems of religion is equally indisputable According to the Buddhist tradition, Kanishka is one of the greatest ~~patriots~~ of Buddhism and even a Buddhist himself The latter fact is ~~indeed~~ shown to be improbable by the inscriptions on his coins On the other hand, there is no doubt that he built a Stupa and a Vihara in Purushapura, Peshawar So also it is proved from the inscriptions that Huvishka had

founded a Vihara in Mathura<sup>1</sup> Ushavadata and his consort, according to the Nasik and Karle inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> made grants to Buddhists and Brahmanas without distinction, and the former, just like a pious Indian, carried out numerous works of public utility, for the sake of merit The Mathura inscriptions further show that under Kanishka and his successors, by the side of Buddhism, many other systems of religion also, like Jainism, were not only tolerated, but enjoyed a high prosperity These inscriptions as well as numerous archaeological finds also prove that the national Indian architecture and sculptures in Mathura were on a high level, and one of the newest discoveries of D Fuhrer permits us to conclude that even the dramatic art was cultivated in the city of gods The inscription No 1b, out of the collection prepared by me for the next number of the *Epigraphia Indica*, says that 'the sons of the actors of Mathura (Māthurānām Sailālakānām), who were known as Chandaka brothers, dedicated a stone-slab, for the redemption of their parents, at the holy place of the adorable Naga-prince, Dadhikarna' If Mathura had its company of actors, then it would not have been in want of dramas All these circumstances make it impossible in my opinion to look upon the times of the Indian popular migration as a period of wild barbarism The conditions appear to be in no way essentially different from those of the times when there were national rulers The Indians of the north-west and the west had indeed to obey foreign suzerains and to pay them tributes and taxes, in return for which, however, they had the triumph of exerting sway on their subjugators, through their high culture and of assimilating the same with themselves. The conditions necessary for literary activity must have been in existence, when Ushavadata noted his great deeds in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit itself<sup>3</sup> He would certainly have lent his ear and opened his purse to bards and *Kavis* who would glorify him These considerations appear to be of importance, for the statements in the Girnar Prasasti heighten their significance.

"A second proposition which Professor Max Muller in addition to other scholars advocates,—that the period of the bloom of artificial poetry is to be placed in the middle of the sixth century of the Christ,—is contradicted by the testimony of the Allahabad Prasasti of Harishena, of other compositions of the Gupta period and of the Mandasor Prasasti These

1 Cunningham, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol. III, plate XIV, No 12

2 *Arch Surv Rep West Ind*, IV 99ff

3 *Arch Surv Rep West Ind*, L.C. No 5 i 3. ff

leave no doubt about the fact that there were not one but several such periods of the bloom of the Kavya, of which one fell before the time of Samudragupta, and they also make it probable that Kalidasa wrote before 472 A D. The same conclusion is favoured by the fact that Dr Fergusson's bold chronological combinations, on which is based the theory of the Indian Renaissance in the sixth century, have been shown to be insupportable by the researches of Mr (Dr) Fleet. The authentic documents going down to the year 533 A D know absolutely nothing about the Vikramaditya of Ujjain whose existence is inferred or set up by new interpretations of the different legends, and who is reported to have driven away the Scythians from India and to have founded the Vikrama era in the year 544 A D, dating it as far backwards as 600 years. On the contrary they prove the following facts concerning western India. Samudragupta-Parakaramaka, according to (Mr) Fleet's inscription No 11, had extended the kingdom of his father, at any rate as far as Eran in the Central-Provinces. His son Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, according to No III, conquered Malwa, before or in the year 400 and also possessed Mathura. Chandragupta's son, Kumaragupta-Mahendraditya, held fast these possessions, because, according to No XVIII, he was the suzerain of the rulers of Dasapura-Mandasor, in the year 437. His son, Skandagupta-Kramaditya or Vikramaditya, according to No XIV, ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawar, about 455-457 or 456-458. In his time, the Hunas came forth, against whom he made a successful stand, according to No. XIII. Later on, however, whether it was in his own reign which lasted at least till the year 467 or 468, or under his successors Purugupta and Narasimhagupta,<sup>1</sup> the most western possessions were lost and went over to the foreign race. In No XXXVI and XXXVII, there appear the kings, Toramana and Mihirakula<sup>2</sup> as rulers of Eran and Gwalior, and in No XXXVII, the latter is said to have reigned for fifteen years.

"The end of the rule of Mihirakula in these districts, is made known to us through Nos XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, according to which, he was defeated by a king *Yasodharman-Vishnevardhana*, before the year 533 A D. These inscriptions represent Yasodharman as a very powerful ruler who had brought under his sway not only Western India from

<sup>1</sup> See Dr Hoernle, *JBAS*, 158, 89, and Mr Fleet, *IA*, XIX, p 224.

<sup>2</sup> See also Mr Fleet's articles on Mihirakula, *IA*, XV, p 245ff and on Toramana, *IA*, XVIII p 225. With Dr Hoernle (I c p 96, Note 2) I hold that Vishnevvardhana is a second name of Yasodharman, as is shown by the grammatical construction.

Dasapura-Vandasor down to the ocean, but also large parts in the east and north. In his possessions Malwa was naturally included, whose capital Ujjain lies only something like 70 English miles to the south of Dasapura. In No. XXV, and in two considerably early inscriptions Nos XVII, and XVIII, the Malava era is used, which is identical with the so-called Vikrama era beginning with 56-57 B.C. These exceedingly important discoveries which we owe to Mr Fleet's zeal in collecting and his ingenuity, prove the absolute untenability of the Fergussonian hypothesis. Because they show (1) that the era of 56-57 B.C. was not founded in the sixth century, but was in use under the name of the Malava era for more than a century,<sup>2</sup> (2) that at that time, no Sakas could have been driven from Western India. Inasmuch as the country had been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years ago, (3) that, on the contrary, other foreign conquerors the Hunas, were driven out<sup>3</sup> of western India in the first half of the sixth century, not, however, by a Vikramaditya, but by Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhana, and (4) that therefore, there is no room at all in the sixth century for a powerful Vikramaditya of Ujjain, whose exploits called forth such an upheaval in India."

**9** These inscriptions<sup>4</sup> are dated either in Gupta-Samvat or in the Malava Samvat or merely in Samvat. There is a wide difference of opinion, which will be referred to in the Introduction, on the meaning and the beginning of these Eras. In some of these inscriptions the names of the Gupta Kings Samudra Gupta, Candra Gupta, Kumāra

1. See also *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 194ff and XIX, p. 56, in which latter place Prof Kielhorn has given the right explanation of difficult expression MALAVANAM or MALAVA-GANASTHITYA.

2. As is quite clear, the Malava era has suffered the same fate as the Saka era and came to be known by another name, as its origin was forgotten. The change of name appears to have come in about 800 A.D. The latest known Malava date is the year 795 which appears in the Kanaswa inscription, *IA*, Vol. XLIX, 55ff. Apart from the two doubtful documents, the oldest known Vikrama date is found in Dr Hultzsch's Dholpur inscription and corresponds to 16, April 842, as Prof Kielhorn has shown, *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 35.

3. If it occurs to any one to conjecture that the Hunas had caused an interruption in the literary activity of India, I bring to his notice the fact that both the inscriptions of the age of Toramana and Mihirakula contain no mean composition and that their authors glorify the foreign kings as highly as if they had been the national rulers.

4. For texts of many of these, see Prācīnalekhamāla (Kavyamāla Series) and D. R. Dinkarkar's *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions* (Rajkot).

Gupta, Bhānu Gupta and Skanda Gupta, are mentioned, and the years are in the reigns of these kings. Whether the Gupta Dynasty ruled before or after the Christian Era, as the opinions differ, these inscriptions disclose a literary composition in prose and in verse of great merit and show that "the use of Kavya style in inscriptions especially in the longer ones, was in vogue and from this very circumstance it follows that court-poetry was zealously cultivated in India". So says Buhler, but he would date this period as 350-550 A.D. though according to the Purānas, Sri Gupta dynasty ruled between 328 and 53 B.C.

**10 Vatsabhatti** —The Praśasti in the Sun Temple in Mandasor<sup>1</sup> was composed by Vatsabhatti in Malava Samvat 529, which according to Buhler equals +714 A.D. The 44 verses in this Praśasti or panegyric begin and end with Mangalas or blessings in prose and in the intermediate verses there are exquisite descriptions of the sovereign Kumāra Gupta and his vassals Viśavavarman and Bandhuvarman, of the temple then built and of the winter season, in a variety of metres, and it is said that the diction shows many marks which characterise, according to Dandin, the poets of the Eastern School. The whole piece incarnates fluid poetry and the description of the winter is enchanting.<sup>2</sup> On this appreciation, Buhler may not agree, but his remarks are interesting.

<sup>1</sup> IA, XLII 32, 137, 146, 175, 244 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No 18  
Here the words मालवाना राणश्चित्या is used See also IA, XV 194 On Kumāra-gupta see IA, XL 170, and his possible name Candraprakasa see Ibid XL 174.

<sup>2</sup> a केचित्स्वकर्मण्यथिकास्तथान्यै-

विज्ञायते ज्योतिषमात्मवद्भि ।

अथापि चान्ये समरप्रगल्भा

कुर्वन्त्यरीणामहित प्रसद्धा ॥

b प्राक्षा मनोङ्गवधव प्रथितोरुचा  
वशालुरूपचरिताभरणास्तथान्यै ।

सत्यवता प्रणयिनामुपकारदक्षा

विश्वम्भूर्वमपे ददसौहदाम्भ ॥

c. विजितविषयसङ्गैर्भर्मशीलैस्तथान्यै-

मृद्गमिरविकसत्त्वैलोक्यात्मानस्य ।

सङ्कुलतिलकमूर्त्युत्तरगोद्धदरै-

रथिकामभिक्रिमाति श्रेणिरेवकारै ॥

"In the second half of the fourth century in Vatsabhatti's Prasasti of the sun-temple of Dasapura-Mandasor we see traces of the existence of the school of the Gaudas, the poets of eastern India. This work should be called rather the exercise of a scholar who busied himself with the study of the Kavya literature, than a product of an actual poet. We can see therein that its author had studied the Kavyas and Rhetorics, but that, in spite of all the troubles he took to produce a real Kavya, he possessed little of inborn talent. Small offences against good taste, such as the use of expletives and tautologous words, are more frequently met with. In one place, the author is led to forget one of the most elementary rules of Grammar, by the exigencies of the metre, in another place, in his zeal to form long compounds, he is tempted to disregard the rule, always observed by good writers, according to which, the weak pause can never come at the end of a half-verse. In a third place, he jumbles together two ideas in a manner the least permissible, and his attempt to bring out a new comparison between the clouds and the houses leads in no way to a happy result.

"These defects in Vatsabhatti's Prasasti make it the more important for the historian of literature, inasmuch as they bear testimony to the fact that everything worthy of attention in the Prasasti, is gathered from the literature of his time and compiled into a whole. Thus on

d. रामासनाथरचने दरभास्तकराशु-  
वहिप्रतापसुमगे जललीनमीने ।

चन्द्रांशुहर्ष्यतलचन्दनतालवृत्त-  
हारोपमोगरहिते हिमदण्डपदे ॥

e. लोकप्रियङ्कुतरुकुन्दलताविकोश-  
पुष्पासवप्रमुदितालिकलाभिरामे ।

काले तुशारकणकर्षशीतवात्-  
वेगप्रवृत्तलवलीनगणैकशाश्वे ॥

f. स्मरवश्चगतरुणजनवक्षमाङ्गनाविपुलकान्तपीनोरु-  
स्तनजघनघनालिङ्गननिर्मसिततुहिमपाते ॥

and also the following verse

यद्वाल्याभिरम्यसरिदद्वयेन चप्लोमिणा समृद्धूदम् ।  
रहसि कुचशालिनीम्यां प्रातिरतिम्यां स्मराङ्गमिव ॥

Regarding verse (d) Kielhorn notices close similarity with a verse in Kālidāsa's R̥tusamhāra.

the one hand, we are assured of the fact that about the year<sup>1</sup> 472 A.D., there was a rich Kavya literature in existence, and on the other hand greater weight is gained by the points of accordance with the works handed down to us, which the Prasasti presents. It has been already pointed out about that verse 10 of the Prasasti only repeats, for the most part, the comparison contained in verse 63 of Meghaduta, with some points added in a very forced way, while the remaining points contained in that verse of Kalidasa, find themselves repeated in verse 11 of the Prasasti. Further it is to be noted that Vatsabhātti, like Kalidasa, shows a special predilection for the word Subhaga, and that while describing the king Bandhuvarman, plays upon his name just in the same way as Kalidasa does with the names of Raghū, whom he describes in the beginning of Sarga XVIII of Raghuvamsa. These facts make the conjecture more probable, that Vatsabhātti knew and made use of the works of Kalidasa. The same view is advocated by Prof Keilhorn in a publication<sup>2</sup> just appearing, which reached me after this treatise was nearly finished. He reads verse 51 of the Prasasti (otherwise) and shows that the verse sufficiently agrees with Ritusamhara V 2-3, in both words and thoughts, as there are only two new points added. Although I am not in a position without examining a good impression of the inscription, to give a definite opinion regarding the proposed, and no doubt very interesting alteration of the text, still the truth of his assertion that verse 51 of the Prasasti is an imitation of Ritusamhara, V 2-3, appears to me quite undeniable. If we may believe in the tradition which ascribes Ritusamhara to the author of Meghaduta, then the point overlooked by me, which Prof Keilhorn has made out, strengthens the probability of the supposition that Kalidasa lived before 472 A.D., which is very significant. In that case, however, it will have to be assumed that Vatsabhātti knew the Ritusamhara also."

11 **Harisena's panegyric of Samudra Gupta**<sup>3</sup> inscribed on the Allahabad Pillar is undated, and according to Buhler must have been composed between 375-390 A.D. It has 8 verses with a long prose passage and a verse in conclusion. Harisena calls it a Kāvya. Partly in prose and partly in verse it may be called a Champu. He calls his patron the Prince of Poets. In describing his greatness, he says in the 8th verse "His is the poetic style which is worthy of study and his

1. 'The Mandasor-inscription of the Malava year 549 (=472 A.D.) and Kalidasa's Ritusamhara' Gottingen 1890, p. 251 ff.

2. *Fleet Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 32. D. B. Diskalkar (*Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*) gives date about 360 A.D.

is the poetic verse which multiplies the spiritual treasures of poets.”<sup>1</sup> On this composition Buhler says, “It naturally follows that, during the reign of Samudragupta, the Kavya literature was in full bloom, and that the conditions at his court were absolutely similar to those which are reported to have prevailed in later times at the courts of Kanauj, Kashmir, Ujjain, Dhara and Kalyani, and which are found to exist even to this day, here and there in India. The cultivators of Sanskrit Poetry, who were called by the name of Kavi or Budha or Vidvai, were not born or self-taught poets, but were professional learned men or pandits who studied in Sastras, i.e., at the least, Vyakarana, Kosa, Alamkara and Chandas, and who wrote according to the hard and fast rules of poetics, as is shown by the form of Harishena’s little composition. The Sanskrit Kavya, which owed its origin to the court-patronage, and which can exist only by means of the same, was assiduously cultivated at the courts. The King supported and raised to honour such poets, and even he himself, and with him his high officers, too, emulated with their proteges. Perhaps he had even a Kaviraja, or a poet-laureate, appointed. At any rate the title as such was in use in the days of Samudragupta—the title which in later times occurs very often in Sanskrit literature, and which, even at present, is given by Indian princes, associated as it is with many benefits. His court could not thus have been the only one which patronized the exertions of the Pandits in the domain of poetry.”

The inscription on Dhanava-Vishnu’s Boar statue at Eran,<sup>2</sup> dated in the year one of King Toramana is also partly in prose and partly in verse of high flight. Vāsula’s panegyric of King Yaśoḍharman,<sup>3</sup> though undated inscribed on a pillar of Mandasor is spoken of as *Ślokāḥ*.

Among earlier inscriptions Buhler selects two, and describes their literary merit, the Nasik inscription<sup>4</sup> dated in the 19th year of Sri Pulāmāyi, and Girnar inscription,<sup>5</sup> of the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. For these inscriptions Buhler gives dates between

<sup>1</sup> निशितविदाधमतिगान्धर्वलिलैत्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुस्मृहमारदौदर्विद्वज्ञोपजीव्यानेक-काव्यक्रियामि. प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्

<sup>2</sup> Fleet’s *Gupta Inscriptions* No 36

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No 33. D.B. Diskalkar *op. cit.* gives date about 532 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Purāṇas this king reigned 409–377 B.C. as Pulomayī II of the Andhra dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> *EI*, VIII 47. The date is रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे दिससतितम्. It is said to be dated in Śaka 72 or 150 A.D. This inscription refers to Maurya Kings Chandragupta and Asoka.

150-170 A.D. In the Girnar inscription the poet praises Rudradāman's skill in poetry and expresses the views of the author on the characteristics of good composition.<sup>2</sup> The Nasik inscription shows great affinity with Gadya Kāvyas.

12 Kalidasa is a name which is the magic wand of India in the world's poetic literature. But as untold time had past, all that surrounded the life and times of that great poet have been forgotten and beyond the name everything connected with him, his age and nativity, is only a matter of vague conjecture. In this respect Kālidāsa may be compared with Homer, while however the tradition is that "Living Homer sought his daily bread." Kālidāsa was in affluence and beloved of Kings. While "seven cities claim the birth of Homer dead," the birth of Kalidasa is claimed by different parts of India,<sup>3</sup> and by Ceylon tradition generally does not lie and it is possible that Kālidāsa was personally known in the several places where he is taken solely as their own. In spite of the prevalence of a vast body of poetic literature as indicated in the early writings it is surprising and not easily accountable that no complete work of poetry has come down to us as prior to Kālidāsa beyond dispute. Kālidāsa therefore leads the long list of classical Sanskrit poets like English Caedmon. If Caedmon sang of philosophy and cosmogony, Kālidāsa retold mythical tales of love, and theology. If Caedmon appeared almost at the dawn of the Anglo-Saxon literature, Kālidāsa flourished when the Sanskrit literature was in perfection. As is common in all cases when the truth is forgotten, tales spring up which may or may not have a tinge of reality and to such tales the life of Kālidāsa is not an exception.<sup>4</sup> Many stories of his ready wit, pleasant life and delightful associations with occasions of vicissitudes are found told in various books, for instance, in Ballāla's Bhoja-Prabandha. A tradition is current that though a boor in birth he was by chance wedded to an obstinate princess and when in her

### I. स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालङ्कृतगच्छपथ

2 Haraprasadsastri, *Kalidasa, his home* [JPOS (1916) 15, I, xvi, 264, JR XI, 292] says his birth place was Dasapura in Malwa. According to A. C Chatterjee (*Kalidasa his poetry and mind*, 148) it is Ujjain, according to Bhau Daji (I c) it must be Kashmir, and according to Majumdar, *Home of Kalidasa*, I, XLVII 264 it was Viḍarbha. The following verse in Avantiśundarikathā of Dandin supports Majumdar's view —

लिपा मंधुद्वेणासन्यस्य निर्विवशा पिर. ।

तेनैदं वर्त्मं वैदर्म कालिदासैः स्त्रीवित्तम् ॥

3. See Grierson, *Traditions about Kalidasa* (IASB, xlvii April).

first company, she put him the question अन्ति कश्चित् वाग्योऽपि to ascertain if he was a man of letters. He displayed his ignorance and being ashamed or abandoned, he left her, and devoted himself to the service and worship and contemplation of Goddess Kālī. In time Kālī appeared before him in Divine Form, blessed him with literacy and poesy and made him her own. It is said that this brought him the name of Kālidāsa, his real name being forgotten and for all his life Goddess Kālī was his guardian and protector at his invocation. Having thus become a poet he sought his princess who received him with pleasure and in remembrance of the three words of her question he composed his three Poems Kumārasambhava, Meghadūta, and Raghuvamśa beginning with those words.

**13** *Kālidāsa's date*—HIPPOIYTE FALCHE considers Kālidāsa a contemporary of the posthumous son of Agnivarna, the last king mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa* and assigns to him a date about the 8th century B C.<sup>1</sup>

LASSEN assumes that Kālidāsa was a poet of the Court of Samudragupta, chiefly on account of the title "Friend of Poets," applied to that king in inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> and places him in the commencement of the 3rd century A D.

WILFORD discovers a *Vikramaditya* in the 5th century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> on

1 *Collective works of Kalidasa*, Paris, Bhau Daji's Essay on Kalidasa (*Literary Remains*, Calcutta) 7, *Saturday Review*, January, 1860, *JBRAS*, (1861) 25 S. P. Pandit (*Introduction to Raghuvamsa*, 27-28) refutes this theory "If Kalidasa were to be a contemporary of a reigning king his omission to give any history of his own ruler is unaccountable. Besides *Raghuvamsa* cannot be said to be a complete poem. Tradition says that the sequel to the history of Solar kings has been yet unrecovered. The simple fact that Kalidasa's account closes there cannot conclusively prove the end of the dynasty itself. The *Vishnu Purana* mentions a list of thirty-seven kings after Agnimitra."

2 *IA*, II 451, 1158-1160, *IS*, II 148, 415-417, M. Williams (*Indian Wisdom*, 494) accepts this date. S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 66) says that this argument is not conclusive, as many other kings like Śilāditya of Malwa and Harṣavardhana of Kanouj have similar titles. See also Hall (*Introduction to Vasavadatta*, 15), Nandargikar (*Int. to Raghuvamsa*, 66), and Bhau Daji, *op. cit.* 7. Weber (*Malavka and Agnimitra*, Berlin) gives date between 2nd and 4th century A D. T. S. Narayanasastri (*Age of Sankara*, app I 114) gives to Samudragupta the dates 321-270 B.C according to the Puranas. On inscriptions of Samudragupta, see paras 8 to 10 supra.

3 *AR*, IX, 142, 156. See Wilford's Essay on *Vikramaditya* and *Salivahana* (*AS*, IX 117) and Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 66). S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 67) and Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 66) think that there are many *Vikramādityas* and this reference in the *Śaṭrungayamāhātmya* is not conclusive on the date of Kālidāsa.

the authority of the Śaṭrunjayamāhātmya<sup>2</sup> which says that after 466 years of the era are elapsed there would appear the great and famous Vikramādīṭṭha, and his era Wilford understands to be the Samvat era which began in 56 B C In his opinion J PRINCEP and H H Wilson concur

R C DUTT places Kālidāsa between 500 and 556 A D<sup>3</sup>

BHAU DAJI identifies Mātrigupta with Kālidāsa and places him in the reign of King Harṣa Vikramādīṭṭha of Kaśmir in the middle of the 6th century A D<sup>4</sup>

His data have been thus summarised by Apte<sup>5</sup> (i) The fact of Mātrigupta being King of Kashmīr is in accordance with the tradition that King Vikrama bestowed half of the kingdom on Kalidasa (ii) There is no objection on the ground of the names Mātrigupta and Kalidasa being different, because names are often titles, and Mātrigupta may be taken as Kaligupta or Kalidasa (iii) The author of Rajatarangini mentions other poets, even Bhavabhuti, but does not mention Kalidasa (iv) Kalidasa was in all likelihood a native of Kashmīr or a neighbouring province, because his illustrations are chiefly derived from the natural history of those provinces (v) Meghadūta is simply a faithful picture of Kalidasa's feelings caused by separation from his dear wife and home a fact related

1. The Śaṭrunjaya Zāhātmya was a Jain work by Dhaneśvarasuri. The work was composed as it says under the patronage of King Śīlādīṭṭha at Valabhi, who lived 477 years after Vikramārka, who is placed 470 years after the Viranirvāṇa, Vira or Varḍhamāna relates the legends connected with the mountain sacred to R̥śabha, the first Jina. The narrator does not confine strictly to Jain mythology, but includes the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāraṭa. The language is noble, powerful and compares worthily with that of Bhāti Kāvya. The date of the Viranirvāṇa is very uncertain V Smith (EH, 46) makes Vira and Buddha contemporaries with one another and with Bimbisāra and Ajitaśatru and dates Buddha's death at 487 B C (See IA, II 139, 193, 363, IX, 158; XI, 245, XIII 279, XX 360, XXI 57, XXIII 169 Merutunga dates Puṇyamūra in the period 323-53 after Mahāvira (Weber, *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, 133). For a full review of the date of Mahāvira alias Vardhamāna, see S. K. Venkateswara [JRRAS, (1917) 122], T S Narayana Sastrī (*Age of Sankara*, 134 note) places Vardhamāna between 1862-1782 B C see M C Gaimi, *Life of Mahavira* (Allahabad), Jacobi, Introduction to SBE, XXII and XLV; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, 104

2 Cro I 25

3 *Literary Remains*, 18 et seq., JRRAS, VII. 19, 207 (Bhaū Daji calls him the author of Seṭubandha)

4 Date of Kalidasa, (Central Press, Bombay), 8

also of Matrigupta. (vi) The 252nd verse of Rajatarangini attributed to Matrigupta contains exactly the same sense as is found in nearly the same words in the 113th verse of Meghaduta. When Matrigupta was installed king, with his eyes filled with tears through gratitude he wrote to Vikrama "Thou givest not one sign, thou squanderest no praises, thou dost not even announce thy intention of giving, and nevertheless thou sendest beautiful fruit" (vii) After the death of Vikrama, when Pravarasena came to the throne of Kashmir, Matrigupta retired to Benares, and there is a poem in Prakrit, called Setukaya, which tradition says was composed by Kalidasa at the request of Pravarasena. This poem is praised by Pratapendra and Dandin and Ramaṇdhrama as that of Kalidasa. Tradition also says that Pravarasena constructed a well-known bridge of boats across the Vitasta, and that it was in connection with this bridge-poem, Bāna, a contemporary of Hiouen Thsang, says in his Haracarita —

कौति प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोऽवला ।  
सागरस्य पर पार कपिमनेव सेतुना ॥

(vin) Matrigupta being thus identified with Kalidasa, the latter must be placed in the 6th century A.D. with Pravarasena and Vikrama. Bhau Daji says that Hiouen Thsang was the guest of Pravarasena.<sup>1</sup>

**14** SIR WILLIAM JONES relies on a verse,<sup>2</sup> which records the tradition that nine poets, 'nine gems' flourished at the Court of kind Vikramāditya and calls him a poet of the Court of a King who founded the era of Vikrama,<sup>3</sup> or the Samvat era, in

1 Max Muller shows the inconsistency of this, and suggests that it was not Pravarasena but Balāditya who was most likely the host of the Chinese traveller As Apte rightly remarked, (*op. cit.* 11), Rāghavabhatta in his commentary on the Śākuntala quotes from Māṭrgupta and Kālidasa, as different poets and gives the name of a work by Māṭrgupta, as a commentary on Bharata. Kṣemendra in his Auchiṭyaviciśracarca, also quotes similarly from these poets, as distinct. See Peterson's Paper on *Auch* 21 and paper on *Paiyanjali*, 21 and *Int. to Subh* 89. Here Peterson suggests that Māṭrgupta was identical with Māṭrguptācārya, a writer on Alankāra. For a criticism of Bhau Daji's view, see also S P Pandit (*op. cit.* 68-75), Max Muller (*India*, 133, 314) and Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 68-76).

2 अन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशकु-वेताळमट्टचट्टर्कर्पकालिदासा ।  
व्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपते समाया रत्नानि वै वरसचिर्नव विकमस्य ॥

This verse is found in *Jyoṭīrvīḍābharaṇa*, a treatise on astrology, attributed to Kālidasa (See *JBRAS*, VI 25, AR, VIII 242, X 402). The extracts necessary for reference are translated by Bhau Daji (*o. c.* 10). Verse 21 of Chapter XXII says

56 B C<sup>1</sup> in commemoration of his victory over the Śakas or the

that the work was completed in the month of Kartika of the year 3068 of Kali; that is 34 B C Bhau Daji and others say that this is a literary forgery, [Kern (*Br* Sn n 12, 17), Wilson *Int to Viśnū Purāṇa*, viii] Weber (*SL*, 228), Max Müller *India*, 327], Apte, (*op cit* 42) He adds "In framing a rule for finding out the *ayāñṣma*, we are told in the work that from the number of years after Śala (the era of Śālivāhana, 78 A D ) 445 years should be subtracted and the remainder divided by 60 This alone proves that the treatise was written at best seven centuries after Vikrama Samvat Also as Jishnu, the father of Brahmagupta who gives the date of his work as 628 A D is stated to have graced the Court of Vīramaditya in addition to the nine gems, it is clear that the author of the *Jyotiṛvīḍābharaṇa* is sufficiently modern to have confounded Harsha Vīramaditya of Ujjain in the 6th century with the founder of the Samvat era "

There is a commentary on this work b, Bhīravajña He was the son of Bāhlā and Mandana, a disciple of Mahimapiabhasuri of Paurnamiya gaccha It was written at Śripattana (Srinagar) in Śaka 1633 (1711 A D ) See the Prasasti in the Ulwar catalogue, page 182, TC, III 3556

i K G SANKARA IYER (*JM* VIII 279) sums up the view that the so-called Samvat era was not connected with the name of Vīramaditya till late in the 10th century In 343 and 371 A D the era was called *Kṛta*, यातेषु चतुर्दु कुतेषु मौन्येष्वासितचोत्तरपदेषु इहवत्सरेषु (Gupta Ins 75), कुतेषु चतुर्दु वर्षशतेषु अष्टाविष्टेषु (*Ibid* 253) In 404 and 424 A D , it was called both " *Kṛtaa*" and "the era traditionally handed down by the Malava tribe" श्रीमालवगणाभ्नाते प्रक्षस्ते कृतस-हिते | एकषष्ठ्यच्छिदके ग्रासे समाश्वतचतुष्टये || (*Ibid* 87, 158) The earliest inscription of the era being called Vīkrama is dated 842 A D (*IA*, XX 406) and that being connected with a king Vīramaditya is dated 971 A D (*JBRAS*, XXII, 166) and earliest literary date is 973 A D in Amṛtagaṭī's Subhāṣitaratnasandoha (*IA*, XX. 406) Fleet collects these dates and says (*Im Gas* II 4) that the era "was founded by Kanishka in the sense that the opening years of it were the years of his reign, that it was set going as an era by his successor, who continued it and that it was accepted and perpetrated as an era by the Malava people and so was transmitted to posterity by them" R. D. BANERJEE [*JRAS*, (1917) 273-289] tries to prove that in the first century B C , Mālava was ruled by Nahapana and not by any king entitled Vīramaditya See para 8 note *supra*

GOPALA IYER [*Ind Rev* (1910) 505] considers that the era commemorated the consolidation of the tribes of Malwa into the great nation by King Chastana, the founder of the Kshatrapa dynasty in Malwa and Gujarat HOERNLE [*JRAS*, (1909) 100] says that Yaśodharman changed the name of the Malwa era into Vīkrama era V SMITH (*EH*) and BHANDARKAR [*Ind Rev* (1909) 405] say that Chandra-gupta I of the Gupta dynasty first assumed the title of Vīramaditya and changed the name C V VAIDYA [*Ind Rev* (1909) 903] relies on Hāla's *Saptasāṭī* (V 64) of the 1st century A D praising liberality of Vīramaditya He draws attention to a tradition rejected by Kalhaṇa II 5) that Praṭāpāditya was a relative of Vīramaditya Śākāri and asserts its truth, so that he considers that there were two Vīramadityas connected with Kashmūr, the prior of them

Sayıians<sup>1</sup>

15 T. S. NARAYANA SASTRĪ shows that Sri Harṣa Vikramādīṭya of Kasmir defeated the Śakas or the Persians and in commemoration of his victory founded the Harṣa era, in the year 457 BC and assigns Kālidāsa to his Court<sup>2</sup>

APTE inclines to the view of Sir William Jones He considers that Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita was modelled on Kālidāsa's Raghuvamsa, and as Aśvaghosa was a contemporary of Kanaka, the highest limit for Kālidāsa is placed at 78 AD , on the other side, is mentioned

connected with Praṭāpadīṭya, being separated from the latter connected with Māṭrgupta by several centuries He says "Though the era is mentioned in old documents as the era of the Malwa people or princes, this does not negative the idea of its being started by a particular king , secondly, the idea that any subsequent king utilised this era to commemorate his name is absurd and improbable" thirdly, that the identity of Vikramādīṭya of the 1st century BC is proved beyond doubt by the mention of his name in Hala's Saptashati , fourthly, that he was in ancient tradition recorded by Kalhana himself, regarded as Sakari and that he must have fought the battle of Karur as mentioned by Alberuni , fifthly, that the Śakas whom he overthrew most probably have been the Saka Satraps of Mathura and Taxila, whose disappearance in the 1st century BC has not been otherwise accounted for , sixthly, that the Takht-i-Bahi's inscription must be interpreted as giving the figure 103 in the era of 57 BC as Guduphares is connected by general tradition with the Apostle of St Thomas , and lastly, that this era could not have been founded by Kanishka" In his paper on *Pandyas and the date of Kalidasa* he refers to the mention of Uragapura in *Raghu*, IV, 49 and VI 59-60 and says because Uragapura (Uraiyan) was abandoned by Karikala as a Pandya capital in the 1st century A.D , Kalidasa must have known the capital in a flourishing condition, Kalidasa must have lived earliest

1 Somadeva in his *Kaṭhāsariṣṭāgara* (XVIII 1) says that Vikramādīṭya destroyed the Mleechas For a similar account, see Kalhana's *Rāj*, III 125-8

म्लेच्छेष्वदाय ब्रह्मा हरेरवतिरप्यत ।  
शकान्विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यमारो निवेश्यत ॥

See the discussion by Hultsch, IA, 261 and Stein's notes in his edition of *Rag*, II 6 शकारिर्विकमादित्य. etc

2 Sri Harṣa, the dramatist (Madras), *Age of Sankara*, (Madras) Part I, Ch 124 and *Introduction to Haridamba-Vaidyagdhya* (Madras, 1917) The Śakas vanquished by the king are said to be the Persian hordes that invaded India from the province of Sacae, under their monarch Cyrus the Great in 550 BC Narayana Sastrī calls this Vikramādīṭya the patron of Bhāṣa so that Kālidāsa is according to him his younger contemporary

144 B C, as that of Patanjali, who refers to Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra was the son of Puṣyamitra and the hero of the Mālavikāgnimitra<sup>1</sup>

**16** K B PATHAK discovers Vikrama in king Skandagupta, the conqueror of the Huns, who flourished about 450 A D and makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of Kings Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, the latter being Vikramāditya II of the Gupta dynasty<sup>2</sup>

1 Apte's *Date of Kalidasa* (Bombay) This essay contains an elaborate review of the several opinions held on Kālidāsa. Apte says "Puṣyamitra, the Sunga King, put the last Maurya King to death and came to the throne of Magadha in 183 B C His son Agnimitra is mentioned in this play as the king of Viḍishā. Mālavikā is the sister of Madhavasena and cousin of Yajnasena, the king of Berars. A quarrel arose between Madhavasena and Yajnasena about the succession to the throne, and the latter for a time took possession of the seals of the kingdom. Madhavasena thus humbled by misfortune, and aware of the danger which threatened him, secretly marched off with Malavika and his counsellor Sumati. He was taken prisoner, however, on the frontier, by a general of Yajnasena, though Malavika escaped. Now the prime minister of the Maurya king, who was a brother in law of Yajnasena, was kept in custody by Puṣyamitra and his son Agnimitra. When Agnimitra demanded the release of Madhavasena, Yagnasena proposed an exchange of prisoners. This provoked Agnimitra to a severe retaliation. He sent an army against the king of Viḍarbha and subdued him, and the kingdom of Viḍarbha was divided between the two cousins. From these historical incidents it is clear that Kalidasa cannot be put as we have seen, before the first king of the Sunga dynasty. Very little is known about these kings from the Puranas and it is probable that these events must be quite fresh in the memory of our poet, as the history of the Peshawas is in the memory of the Marathas of to-day."

Arguments based on principles of law, medicine and geography are also added. On similar points, see S P Pandit (*op. cit.* 82) Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 201) on a very similar argument places Kālidāsa somewhere between 300 and 100 B C Duff's *Indian Chronology* gives date 178 B C for Puṣyamitra and 140 B C for Patanjali. On Puṣyamitra, see V Smith (*op. cit.* 201, 218), Weber (*op. cit.* 224 note), Goldstucker (*Panini*, 228 288), IA, I, 299, II 57, 69, 94, 206, 288, 362, XV 80, XVI 156, 172); JBRAS, XVI 181, 199 Bhandarkar's *Early History of Deccan*, 189, IA, (1872) 929

2 *Introduction to Meghaduta* (Poona) and IA, XLII 265 Pathak refers to Huns mentioned in Raghu, IV 66 63 He says that Hunas crossed the Oxus (or Vankshu) about A D 425 and defeated the Sussanian king Pheroz in 484, but their empire was entirely destroyed by Khusru Anushuryan, grandson of Pharoz, between 563 and 567 A D. The defeat of the Huns by Skandagupta is recorded in Junagadh Rock Inscription dated in Gupta Samvat 186 (or A D 455 456). V Smith's statement that Skandagupta died about 480 A D. (EH, 810) seems to be contradicted by the inscriptions (IA, XV 142) which show Kumāragupta as reigning in Gupta Samvat 154 (478 A D) and Buddhagupta as reigning in Gupta Samvat 157 (476 A D). T S. Narayana Sastrī assigns to Skandagupta B C 192 to 187 [Ages of Śāṅkara, App I 125] Apte (*op. cit.* 24) and Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 88) considers that the Hunas referred to in this verse are the Indo-Scythians who established a vast empire on the threshold of ancient India and on the borders of Bactria from the middle of the 3rd century B C to the close of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. Jayaswal (IA, XL 265) thinks that the

R. HOERNLE accepts this Harṣa Vikramāditya of Kasmīr and goes further in identifying him with Yaśodharman, King of C. India, as the conqueror of Kasmīr and the Huns about 490-550 A.D.<sup>2</sup> and says that the memory of this great achievement survives in the Indian tradition which changed the name of the Mālava era into that of the Vikrama era.

Huna occupation of Kasmīr was after Mihirakula's defeat in A.D. 580 and places Kālidāsa therefore about 540 or 550 A.D. On the Huna argument, see also Pathak (*JBRAS*, XIX 85) and Chakravarti [*JRAS*, (1904) 158, (1908) 188], Bloch [*ZDMG*, (1903) 671], Schreiber (*Das Datum Candragomin's und Kalidasa's*, Breslau), Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1903) 89, 144], Kennedy [*JRAS* (1908), 879] Telang's Int to Mudrārāshas, Cunningham's paper on white Hunas in the Tr. of the 9th Congress of the Orientalists and G. Huth (*Die Zeit des Kalidasa*, Berlin). Pathak (*JBRAS*, XIX 85) also brings the time of Kālidāsa being contemporary of King Kumāradāsa of Ceylon in support of his date and concludes that Kālidāsa must be placed in the first half of the 6th century or about 532 A.D. (As to this, see the life of Kumāradāsa *post*) Panna Lal [*Diaries of Skandagupta and his successors*, *Hindustan Review*, (Jan. 1918) *JRAS*, (1919) 260] gives to Skandagupta 455-467 A.D. Pathak also relies on the allusion to Dingnāga in Meghadūta and assigns him to the 5th century A.D. [V. Smith, *op. cit.* 829, *JASB*, (1905) 227]. For a similar opinion, see Macdonel, (*SL*, 324), 304), Keith [*JRAS*, (1909), 438 ff.] and B. C. Majumdar [*JRAS*, (1909) 781].

1 *JRAS*, (1908), 549, (1904) 689, (1909), 89; Hoernle's arguments are summed up by J. J. Modi (*Asiatic Papers*, II 343-6). Hoernle relies on inscriptions on two Rāma stambhas (columns of victory in war), recorded in *CII*, 11, 147 8 (Inscriptions Nos. 33 and 34) wherein the subjugation of king Mihirakula and other Huna kings is expressly stated. He also refers to the tradition of "Nine Gems" and infers that Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira flourished at Yaśodharman's Court. For this, see also Pathak (*JBRAS*, XIX 89), V. Smith (*E.H.*, 310) cites the authority of Hiyüen Tsang (*Beal's Records*, I, 165-72, *Watters*, I, 1 288) and says that Yaśodharman's boast was unfounded and gives the real credit of the defeat of the Huns to Narasimha-gupta Baladitya (455-535 A.D.). M. Chakravarti [*JRAS*, (1908), 188, (1904), 150] ascribes the victory over the Huns to Skandagupta. For a summary of Chakravarti's views and criticism thereon, see J. J. Modi (*Asiatic Papers*, I 347). Haraprasada Sastri adds additional arguments to this view —

(i) Kālidāsa's limit of geography is Persia and he does not describe the western Empire of Rome. Persia was powerful in the 6th century A.D. and the reference to Persia (*Ragh* IV 60) shows that it was powerful at that time.

(ii) The description of Skanda in the Meghadūta (I, 27) is of a statue of Skanda on horseback on Devagiri Hill on the road from Ujjain to Mandasor supposed to be erected by king Skandagupta.

(iii) Yaśodharman made the Himālayas for the first time accessible and Kālidāsa describes the Himālayas.

These arguments about Yaśodharman &c. of Haraprasada Sastri are quoted and refuted in detail by R. G. Sankara Iyer (*JMy*, VIII 282) and D. Banerji (*Ibid.*, X 77 192).

17 FERGUSON started a theory that the Vikramādīpa of the Samvat era was Harṣa Vikramādīpa of Ujjain who defeated the Allechas at Karur in 344 A.D. and to give an air of antiquity to an era of his own started in commemoration of his victory, it was thrown back for 600 years, that is 10 cycles of 60 years, so that the Samvat era was imagined to have begun in 56 B.C. This is known as the Renaissance theory made much of by Max Muller<sup>1</sup>.

MAX MULLER took up the idea of Ferguson and was ready with other arguments in its support. He refers to the commentary of Mallinātha on a verse in the Meghasaṅdeśa alluding to the poets Dingnāga and Nicula as contemporaries of Kālidāsa and in fixing the date of Dingnāga as the pupil of Asāṅga gives the date of Kālidāsa as the 6th century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

1 See para 8 supra

2 अद्वे शृङ्ग हरति पवनं किसिदित्युभ्युखीमि-

दष्टोत्साहशकितचकित मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनामि ।

द्विपादस्मात्सरसनिच्छलादुत्पतोदत्थुख ख

दिङ्गनागाना पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् ॥

*Megha*, I. 14

"From this place, abounding in wet canes, rise into the sky with thy face to the north, avoiding on the way contact with the massive trunks of the quarter elephants, thy movements being watched by the silly wives of the Siddhas with their uplifted faces, full of surprise, as if the wind were carrying away the crest of the mountain."

"From this place where stands thy champion Niçhula, ascend, O Muse, the heaven of invention, holding up thy head, and avoiding in the course of thy effort the salient faults indicated by Dingnaga with his hands, while thy flight is admired by good poets and fair women filled with surprise and looking upwards as if the genius of the almighty Dingnaga, were eclipsed by these" Pathak's *Meghadūta*, 77.

Ganapati Sastrī (Int to Prajñānātaka, TSS, No 42 xi, refers to a passage Dakṣināvaraṇa's commentary दिङ्गनाग इति कोऽयचार्य कालिदासप्रबधान् अन्यतोऽक्षोऽयमर्थं इति स्थूलहस्तासिनयं दूषयति ॥ and says that Kālidāsa was guilty of plagiarism from Bhāsa

Apte (*op. cit* 7), says that Mallinātha's commentary is at best based on tradition and cannot at best be placed with the tradition of Kālidāsa, as a poet of king Vikramādīpa's Court in 56 B.C. Seshagiri Sastrī (I4, I. 840) says Nicula wrote a commentary on lexicon Nānār̥hasabdarajñāvalī written by one Kalidāsa at the Court of King Bhoja (See DC, III. 1171-1174) and this must be a different author of a very late age, as this lexicon is not referred to by the author of the Međim, who is particular in enumerating all the names of authors and works on lexicography

There seems to be much merit in the tradition of an allusion to Dingnāga in this verse and the recent discovery of a work called *Hastavilā* by F W Thomas makes the quotation more interesting. Referring to the above work of which a Tibetan translation

18 P V KANE thinks that Kāmandaki in the Nītisāra appears to criticise the advantages of hunting as depicted by Kālidāsa and that Varāhamihira took his list of poisoned kings from Kāmandaki. On

now exists (*Tantric Mdo*, XVII 312, XVIII 21) ascribed generally to Āryadeva, a predecessor of Dingnāga, Thomas conjectures that the commentary on it might be the work of Dingnāga. He says [JRAS (1918), 118], "It might have seemed to Kalidāsa to deserve the epithet *sthula*, 'coarse,' or *uns subtle* the standing epithet which philosophers affix to what they regard as merely *prima facie* views. And *pro tanto*, we should have an argument in favour of Maṇinatha's suggestion of a slighting allusion to that philosopher in the verse quoted *supra*. It is certainly noticeable coincidence that Dingnāga should be a reputed author of a work so called and there is a further concidence with the fact that the fifth of the six Karikas comprising the text appears to the subtle (*sūshma*) minded, who are to forgo belief in coarse (*sthala*) things. But unfortunately the Chinese tradition appears to fluctuate regarding the authorship which is sometimes ascribed in fact to Aryadeva. I have advanced the suggestion that Aryadeva was author of the text, Dingnāga, who often functions as a commentator, of the commentary. If so the fact has certainly some significance. The *Hand* treatise, an extremely compendious demonstration of the *vijnana* or else the *śunyatā* doctrine (the latter term is not mentioned) may well have been a familiar as controversial weapon and so have provoked a slighting mention by Kalidasa."

Dingnāga is a celebrated author on Pramana Sastra. See Weber (*op cit* 209 note); Watanabe "On the life of Dingnāga" (*Japanese Oriental Philosophy* (1904) No 5, Cowell, *Preface to Kusumankal*, vii, Hall (*op cit* 9), JBRAS, XVIII 229, XLVII 51, Taranatha, *History of Buddhism*, 118 S P Pandit (*op cit* 76 82), Goldschmidt, ZDMG, XXVI 808, Liebion, *Das Datum des Kalidasa* (Strassburg) 201, IA, XLI 244 (Itsang refers to Dingnāga as later than Vasubandhu and places him between 475 and 525 and Vasubandhu was a contemporary of Candragupta II and his literary career occupies the first three quarters of the 5th century. See Meghasandesa vimarśa, page 16 Peterson's *Int to Sub* 45,

Pathak (IA, XLI 244) and V Smith (EH 328) and K C Sankara Iyer (JMy VIII 85) place Dingnāga in the 5th century A D. These opinions of Dingnāga's date are based on the Tibetan tradition [JASB, (1908) 927] that Dingnāga was a disciple of Vasubandhu. According to Chinese tradition, Vasubandhu and his elder brother Asanga lived 900 years after the death of Buddha. This starting point, namely Buddha's death, is so uncertain, that the fabric constructed on such basis must necessarily be unreliable and inconclusive. For instance, Buddha's Nirvana is placed by Northern Buddhists in 2422 B C, Ami Akbar at 1246 B C, Southern Buddhists 548 B C, Rhys Davids 412 B C, Kern, 888 B C, Max Muller, 477 B C, Fleet [JASB, (1908) 179, 669] 488 B C, Oldenburg and Barth (*Ind Rev* VIII 561), Gopala Iyer (*Ind Rev* 1908, 884) 487 B C, Kirtikar (*Ind Rev* 1908, 101) 500 B C., V Smith (*Asoka EH*, 473) finds some coincidences and fixes the date 487 B C.

On Vasubandhu's date, see Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu, Macdonald (SL, 325), S C Vidyabhushan [JASB (1905) 227], N Peri *Bull de l'École fr. d'Extreme Orient*, XI 389 90, Pathak [IA, (1911), 170, (1912), 244], Hoernle IA, (1911) 264], E Narasimha Charya, (*Ibid* 812) D R Bhandarkar (*IA*, 1912 1) Haraprasad Sastri (*Ibid* 15), Watters (I 210), Takkkasu [JRAS, (1905), 44] and *Life of Vasubandhu*

thus reasoning he says that Kāmandakā being older than Bhavabhūti, Kālidāsa must be earlier than 6th century A D<sup>1</sup>

**19** KERN and BHĀNDĀRKAR accept the tradition of the "Nine Gems" that Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa were contemporaries and while fixing the date of Varāhamihira's work from a statement of Āmorāja as 587 A.D., they say that his friend Kālidāsa must have lived about the latter part of the 6th century A D<sup>2</sup>

TOD says "while Hindu literature survives, the name of Bhoja Paramāra and the nine gems of his Court cannot perish though it is difficult to say who of the three princes of his name is particularly alluded to *op. cit.* as they all appear to have been patrons of Science"

1. (*IA*, XL 236 note) This conclusion would show that Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa were not contemporaries. But A F Hoernle (*IA*, XLI 158) controverts this view. Carlo Formichi in his paper on Kāmandaki's *Nitisara* before the 12th Congress of Orientalists of Rome argues that Kāmandaki was either a contemporary of or earlier than Varāhamihira who flourished, as he said, between 505 and 587 A D. Jacobi however in his paper on Indian Philosophy (*Sitzungsberichte*, XXXV) places Kāmandaki earlier than the 4th century. Weber (*ISI*, III 145) and (*IL*, 271 note) inclines to the same view and says (*op. cit.* 825) that the Kavi Translation of the work probably belongs at the earliest to about the same date as the translation of the *Mahābhārata*. See also Int to the book edited in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No 14, with the commentary of Sankararya and *Bibl. Ind.* (1849 61). The lists poisoned kings in Kāmandaki was taken from Koutalya's *Arthaśāstra* and hence Varāhamihira need not be indebted to Kāmandaki.

2 Kern (*Preface to Brhatsamhitā*, 20) Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, 12, *JBRAS*, XIV 24) Bhau Daji (*op. cit.* 45) Āmorāja wrote a commentary on the Khanda Khādyas of Brahmagupta, who lived in 628 A D. On these astronomer, see Bhau Daji's (*op. cit.* 222-158). Colebrooke (*Essays*, II 484) assigned Varāhamihira to the end of the 6th century A D. See also Fleet, *OII*, III App 148, *JAOS*, VI Art 8, and *JRAS*, NS I 407, 892. This opinion, says S P Pandit (*op. cit.* 69), also rests on the unreliable authority of the memorial verses on "Nine Gems". On this question see also Apté (*op. cit.* 2). M Duff (*Ind. Chr.*) gives date 587 A D. See also *The Pandit*, NS XIV 18. Kern also relies on an inscription in the Buddhist Temple at Gaya which according to Cunningham shows that that temple was built by Amaradeva, one of the nine gems of Vikrama. Kern also says that Jishnu, the father of Brahmagupta, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and in 686, Brahmagupta was 90 years of age and Varāhamihira's date, 587 A D, confirms this tradition. See Max Muller, *op. cit.* 827, Apté, *op. cit.* 2.

Bhandarkar [*Ind. Rev.* (1909) 405] says that Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, put an end to the Śaka dynasty ruling over Ujjain and also the Kushana dynasty and he was probably the famous Vikramāditya Śikān, the patron of the learned poets and fixes his dates 388-412 A D.

3 *Annals of Rajasthan*, I 92, Tod gives for the three kings of that time Samvat 681, 721, 1100, that is, 575, 665 and 1044 A D, respectively. See also Bhau Daji (*op. cit.* 8).

BENTLEY relies on the authority of the Bhojaprabandha and makes Kālidāsa a poet of the Court of King Bhoja of Dhar in the 11th century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

20. Of direct references to Kālidāsa the Ahole inscription of Pulakesin II is the earliest and it is dated 634 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The famous Mandassor inscription contains an exquisite panegyric by Vatsabhāti and several verses in it have a very close resemblance to some in Kālidāsa's Meghasandesa and Ritusamhāra.<sup>3</sup> This Panegyric was composed in 472 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

21. The theory of the "Nine Gems" of Vikrama's Court may not be accepted as real history. Jyotiṣrividhbharapa may be a forgery of a late date or the verse that embodies the story may be an interpolation. But the fact remains that the tradition was current as early as the 7th or 8th century A.D. Subandhu alludes to it and the allusion cannot be easily explained away.<sup>5</sup> The tradition has become so saturated with the Indian sentiment, that it is impossible for any orientalist to shake off the impression. The feeling has become so intuitive that whenever any researcher, sceptic as he is towards anything save bare historical evidence, discovers a King, as the patron of Kālidāsa, be he Samudragupta, Kumāragupta or Candragupta, Yaśodharman, Harṣa, Śūdraka, of the centuries before or after the era of Grace, the theorist always seeks to trace an association of his name with the appellation of Vikramāditya. If in fact the tradition is false or unreliable, why should this anxiety be evinced everywhere to connect the name with a Vikramāditya at all?

1. *Assam Researches*, VIII 248 Bhau Daji (*op cit* 6 and *JBBAS*, VI 28 note) and S P Pandit (*op cit* 63) and Nandargikar (*op cit* 68) say that Bhoja Prabandha is a medley and is of little value as history. On this work, see under Bhoja post.

2. येनायोजिनवेश्म स्थिरमर्थविद्यो विवेकिना जिनवेश्म ।

विजयता॑ रविकीर्ति॒ कविताप्रितकाठिदासभारविकीर्ति॒ ॥

IA, VIII 287

3. On this similarity, see Apte (*op cit* 14) Kielhorn [*Got N* (1890), 257, IA, XIX 285] S P Pandit (*op. cit* 127) and Leibich (*Annual Rep of the Sch Ges für Vaterländische Kultur Breslau*, 1908, 6-7) rely on the identity of the verses in Ritusamhāra (V 2 8) and fix Kālidāsa's date before 478 A.D. See Jacobi (*VOJ*, III, 127) Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909), 41] criticises this view.

4. Fleet's *CII*, III 65 69, see para 10 supra

5. सारसवनाविहृता॑ नवका॒ चिलसान्ति॒ चरति॒ नो॒ कङ्क ।

सरसीच॒ कीर्तिशेषं॒ गतवति॒ भुवि॒ विक्रमादित्ये॒ ॥११॥ *Vāsavadattī*

Hoernle and Haraprasad Sastri take this verse to refer to Candragupta Vikramāditya (See IA, XLII 1, 15) who died according to them about 418 A.D., but they ignore the effect of the word *navaka*, which curiously alludes by the pun on it to the nine gems.

**22** Among the several data that have formed the basis of discussion, it may not be possible to make light of at least a few. The idea that the hero of the Mālavikāgnimitra was the king Agnimitra of the Sunga dynasty and the allusion to the successive names of Gupta Kings or the reference to the names of Dingnāga in his works, are all express pieces of material evidence, which must command a serious consideration in the determination of dates. But when an argument as to age is to be invoked on internal evidence, it necessarily follows that the conclusion can hold good only in respect of the particular work that shows the evidence, and it is a mistake to follow an a priori reasoning and to assert that the conclusion is good as the standard for all works, founded on the name of Kālidāsa.

Of external evidence, there is nothing safe to go by. Vikramāditya or the 'Sun of Valour' is more an appellation than a name and the title has come to be a formal attribute to any ruler in India irrespective of distinction.<sup>1</sup> The literature of the inscriptions abound in such instances. Of Vikramāditya, was he a reality and if he is, where is his identity? Of the Sakas, were they the Persians or the Indo-Scythians? Of the Huns, were they the intruders of the countries, before or after the Christian era? Of Dingnīga, when did he flourish? It is dependent upon Asanga, that on Vasubandhu and that on Buddha, which still hangs in the air. Of Aśvaghosa, was he a contemporary of Kaniska and when did Kaniska rule over Indian dominions? Of Agnimitra, was he the son of Pusyamitra and if he was referred to in the Mahābhāṣya of Paṭanjali, when did Paṭanjali flourish? Of Greek astronomy, did Kālidāsa copy from Āryabhata and when was the Greek astronomy brought into India? These are questions that are yet to be answered with unanimity and until then such external evidence can only beget a diversity of conclusion.

1. Kielhorn (*IA*, XX 409) as summed up by Fleet, (*IA*, XXX 4), says "The word Vikrama, from which the idea of the King Vikrama or Vikramāditya was evoked most probably came to be connected with the era by the poets, because the year of reckoning originally began in the autumn and the autumn was the season of commencing campaigns and was in short the Vikramakila or war time."

On Vikramāditya, see Seshagiri Sastrī, *IA*, I 814, Læssøe, *Alt*, II 800, Weber, *St*, II 416, Wilford, *AR*, IX, Princep, *Essays*, II, 249, *JBRAS*, VI 27, V. Smith, *EH*, 332 note, 421, A C Chatterjee, *Kālidāsa, His Poetry and Mind*, 90

Ksheetrachandra Chattopadhyaya (*All Un Studies*, II 80 *et seq*) elaborately discusses the date of Kālidāsa and says Vikramāditya, who was Kālidāsa's patron was son of Gardabhillā. He refers to passages from Kālakārcyā Kathāñkā, from which extracts are given by Rapson in *Cambridge History of India* (582 5).

**23** In this state of uncertainty the student of research is bewildered and if the arguments advanced by various scholars are all accepted it would be impossible to foist all the works that go by the name of Kālidāsa on one Kālidāsa. As early as 8th and 9th century A D the existence of three Kālidāsas in the past age appears to have been noticed. Devendra author of Kavikalpalatā refers to it<sup>2</sup> and Rājasekhara<sup>3</sup> and Abhinanda<sup>4</sup> seem to say so.

**24** T S Narayana Sastri in his introduction to Haidimba Vaidagdhīva, an epitome of Bhāsa's Madhvamavāvoga, classifies the works under several Kālidāsas thus—

i) KALIDASA (I) alias MATRGLPIA of the court of King Harsha Vikramādīpīva of Ujjain who lived in the 6th Century B C. He was the author of the three plays and the Mahākāvya Setubandha.<sup>5</sup>

ii) KALIDASA (II), alias MEDHĀRLDRA of the Court of King Vikramarka of Malwa the founder of the Malava era in 57 B C. He wrote the three poems Kumārasambhava, Raghuvamśa and Meghadūta and a treatise on astronomy Jyotiḥṛividābharaṇa.<sup>6</sup>

1 See CC, I 99, Kāvyaṁlā, I 8

2 एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।

भृङ्गरे ललितोऽरे कालिदासत्रयी किम् ॥—Sukti-mukti-aval.

It may be that this verse has been misunderstood, for कालिदासत्रयी means generally his three poems and Rājasekhara might have punned upon the word त्रयी. किम् and हन्त mean that it is वित्त or pun.

3 हालेनोत्तमपूज्या कविवृष्ट श्रीपालितो लालित

रस्याति कामपि कालिदासकवयो नीता नकारातिना । Rāmacarṣṭa

4 In his commentary on this poem King Ramadāsa of Jayapura who lived in the days of King Akbar says—

धीराणा काव्यचर्चाचतुरिमविधये विक्रमादिल्लवाच

य चके कालिदास कविकुमुदविनु सेतुनाम प्रबन्धम् ।

Setubandha or Rāvanavadha in 16 āśvāsas describes the story of Rāma, the building of the Sets and the defeat of Rāvana. It is perhaps the best poem in Prakrit literature and may certainly have been the production of Kālidāsa. There are commentaries by Rāmadāsa, written at the instance of Emperor Akbar in 1595 A D and by Kalānātha, Sri Kṛṣṇa Mādhavayayavaṇ. Ed. Bombay with Ramadāsa's commentary Ed. Göttingen and translated by Goldschmidt (Strassburg). See Stein Konow's Int to Karpuramanjan [HOS No 5 194] and S P Pandit [Int to Baghu, 72]. Apte, Date of Kālidāsa, 41. Dandin calls it "an ocean of jewels of beautiful sentences". Bāna praises Pravacasena and his poem Setu. Vidyānātha calls the poem Mahāprabandha and quotes an āryā from it.

5 This bears date 8068 Kali or 84 B C. In the Sesādhyā the poet says—

काव्यत्रये सुमतिकृद्भुवश्पूर्वं जात ततो ननु कियच्छ्रुतिकर्मवाद् ।

ज्योतिर्विदाभरणकालविदानशास्त्रं श्रीकालिदासकवितो हि ततो बभूव ॥

iii KALIDASA (III), alias Kotijit a disciple of Vūla Śankar of Kamakoti Peetam (1397-430 A.D.) He wrote Rāsamanara, Śringāratalaka, Śyāmalādandaka, Navaratnamāla and many minor poems and Śrūṭabodha (on prosody)

[These three are said to represent कालिदसत्रयी mentioned by Rīyākhaṇḍa]

iv PARIMALA KALIDASA (IV), alias PADMAGUPTA, contemporary of King Munja of Dhāra and author of Navasāhasāṅkacarita

v KALIDASA (V) known as YAMAKAKĀVĪ, author of the poem Nalodaya

vi NAVĀ KALIDASA (VI), author of Champus Bhāgavatā

vii KALIDASA ĀKBARIĀ (VII) contemporary of King Akbar, composed a number of Samasyas<sup>1</sup>

viii KALIDASA (VIII), author of Lambodara Prahasana

ix ABHINAVA KALIDASA, alias MADHĀVA, author of Sankhepasan-karavijayam

**25 Raghuvamśa** in 19 cantos<sup>2</sup> narrates the history of the race of Raghu and in five cantos, 10 to 15, the story of Rama's life is recounted. Then follows an account of the successors of Rāma until Agnivarna. The last canto presents to us the coronation of his posthumous prince then in embryo and the verse is enchanting<sup>3</sup>. It is said that his object might have been to connect some one of the dynasties of kings existing in his time with the race descended from the Sun and others think that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Agnivarna, with

1 He is quoted by Hari in his Subhāṣitahārāvali. See Thomas, *Kav 14*

2 Translated by S P Pandit, Bombay, by Nandargikar, Bombay, by K M Joglekar, Bombay, by Louis Renou (into French), Paris. See Analysis of Raghuvamśa, *JASB*, XXI 445 Ed with eight commentaries, Bombay D T Tatacharya '1st verse of Raghuvamśa' (Paper read at 3rd Oriental Conference, Madras)

For comparison of verses in Raghuvamśa and other poems of Kālidāsa with Aśvaghoṣa's verses, see references under Aśvaghoṣa. For a historical appreciation of the kings and kingdoms mentioned in Raghuvamśa, see Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya's *Date of Kalidasa*, (*All Un Studies*, II 76 et seq). There he says that the poem was complete and that Agnivarna was probably Devabhūmi of the Sunga dynasty who was slaughtered by his indignant Brahmin minister Vasudeva (l. c. 154). S Ray (*Int to Sakuntala*, 28) says Kāndasa could be contemporary of Agnivarna, the hero of Mālavikāgnimītra.

whose death the poem, as it is, ends. Either Kālidāsa did not finish his poem or the rest of the entire poem has not come down to us.

The following 21 Kings are mentioned Dilipa, Raghu, Aja, Dasaratha, Rāma, Kusa, Atīthi, Niśadha, Nala, Nālha, Pundarīka, Kremadhānva, Devānika, Ahimanvu, Pārvatātra, Sīla, Unnābha, Vajraghoṣa, Sankhana, Viṣṇutāśa, Viśvavaha, Hiranyakāshīha, Kausalya, Brahmitba, Putra, Punya, Dhruvāndhi, Sudarśana, Agnivarna. S P Pandit examines these lists as given in the Rāmāvāna and Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purānas and concludes, "The list of the kings as given by Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa does not at all agree with that given in the Ramayana but it generally agrees with those which are found in the Vayu Purana and the Viṣṇu Purana. Some difference of course is observed even between the list of Kalidasa and those of the Puranas. From these lists of the kings it is clear that Kalidasa has not adopted the Ramayana as the basis of his Raghuvamsa. It also appears probably that the author of the Raghuvamsa and of the Vayu Purana had a common source to draw their materials upon which is now beyond the hope of recovery. The Rāmāvāna gives two kings between Dilipa and Raghu and between Raghu and Aja are mentioned eleven kings, while in the Vayu Purana between Raghu and Dilipa intervenes Dirghabahu and Aja is mentioned as the son of Raghu. And this statement tallies well with Viṣṇu Purana."

**26. Kumārasambhava**, a poem in 17 cantos, describes the birth of Kumāra, the War God<sup>1</sup>. As antecedent history, the poem narrates the supplication of the Gods to Lord Śiva for the creation of a general for the forces of the Gods, capable of destroying their enemy Tāraka, whose degradations they were then unable to bear. Then follow the birth of Pārvatī as the daughter of Himāčala, Śiva's penance in the Himalayas and his marriage with Pārvatī. With the union of Śiva and Pārvatī, the 8th canto closes and the remaining cantos describe the story of the birth of Kumāra and destruction of Tāraka. Kālidāsa was a great votary of Vālmīki and named his poem after the verse of Rāmāyana.

एष ते राम गङ्गाया. विस्तरोऽभिहितो भया ।  
कुमारसमवैव धन्य. पुण्यस्तथैव च ॥

*Būlakānda*, xxxvii, 32

"The birth of the War God," says Griffith "was either left unfinished

<sup>1</sup> Ed with notes and English translation by M. R. Kale (Cantos 1—8) Translated into English poetry by Griffith (Oriental Tr. Fund Ser.).

or time has robbed us of the conclusion. The latter is the more probable supposition, tradition informing us that the poem originally consisted of 22 cantos." The language of cantos 9 to 17 is inferior to the language of cantos 1 to 8,<sup>1</sup> and commentators have noticed only cantos 1 to 8, it is therefore said that cantos 9 to 17 are not the work of Kālidāsa. There are some who say that canto 8 in which the amorous pleasures of actual union between Siva and Pārvati are described is also not the work of Kālidāsa, because it is a sacrilege and Kālidāsa would not have been guilty of it. These objections are answered by Nīrāyaṇa Pandita in his commentary *Vivarana*.<sup>2</sup>

1 R. V Krishnamacarya (*Sah* ix 151) collects defects of language and expression in cantos 9 to 17 and generally says—

नवमादय सर्गस्तु यन केनापि विरचिता स्युरिति भाति । नवमादिषु किल मवेषु क्वचित्क्वचिच्छब्दो वर्णनादिभिश्च पूर्वतरसवाददर्शनेऽपि भूयसा विमवाद एव ममुपलभ्यत । किञ्च तत्र प्रायेण विस्तुलानि परस्परसाहार्दिविरहितानि श्रिथिलशिथिलानि क्वचित्क्वचिदक्षीलप्रायाणि अप्यायुक्तानि पुनरनकन्यानि पदजातानि नियतमक्षीलदासीयन्वसेव नवमादिना सर्गाणामावेदयन्ति ॥

Siva Prasad Bhattacharya discusses the question and says cantos 9 to 17 are Kālidāsa's only (Paper read at 4th Oriental Conference, Allahabad).

2 'ननु काव्ये यत्साध्य तदनुसारेणैव काव्यस्य संज्ञा कर्तव्या । यथा—युधिष्ठिरविजय-जानकीहरणशिशुपालवधप्रसृतीनामात् । अत्र तु तारकासुरनिभ्रह काव्ये साध्यतया निर्दिष्ट, 'तस्मिन्विप्रकृता काले तारकेण दिवोक्तस' इत्युपक्रमात् । तस्मात्तारकवध इत्येव संज्ञा कर्तव्या । तत्पर्यन्तं च काव्यं प्रवर्तयितव्यम् । न चेत्तत्कृतम् । तस्मादसमझसमिद काव्यम् । अपि च कुमारारोत्पत्तिपर्यन्तमपि न काव्यं कृतम् । तस्मादनुपपञ्चमिद नामार्पीति । अत्रोच्यते—नात्र तारकासुरवधं काव्ये साध्यं, 'तदिच्छामो विसो स्तु सेनान्य तस्य शान्तये' इति देवैः कुमारसृष्टिमात्रस्यैव ब्रह्मण प्रति प्रार्थितव्यात् । तारकासुरनिग्रहस्तु कुमाराद्वप्रसृतावकृतया निमित्तवेनोपेषित, यथा—किरातार्जुनीये दुर्योधनजय । तस्मात् कुमारमसव इत्येव संज्ञा युक्ता । न चेव सर्ति तत्पर्यन्तं काव्यं प्रवर्तयितव्यमिति वाच्यम्, 'उमारूपेण ते गृह्य सयमस्तिमित भन । शमोर्यत्वमाकृष्टमयस्कानेन लोहवत्' इति ब्रह्मण प्रतिकर्तवेन शमोश्चित्ताकर्षणमात्रस्यैव परमसाध्यत्वेन प्रतिपादनात् । कारणपाप्कल्पे कार्यसावश्यमव एव ब्रह्मणस्तथा निर्देशे हेतुरिति चावगन्तव्यम् । शमोश्चित्ताकर्षण पुनरष्टमे सर्वे वित्तरतः प्रतिपादितम् । यथोक्तमन्त्यस्तोके—

'समदिवसनिश्चीयं सङ्क्रिनस्तत्र शमो  
शतमग्नभट्टला सार्थमेका निशेव ।  
स भं स्तुतस्तुतेषु छिन्नतृष्णो नभूव  
व्यलम इव समुद्रान्तर्गतस्तजलेषु ॥' इति ।

27 There are commentaries<sup>1</sup> on Raghuvamsa by Nārāyaṇa<sup>2</sup> by

उक्तं च पञ्चमसर्गान्ते देवीं प्रति देवनैव ‘अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दास कीतस्तपोमि’ इति । तस्मात् ‘उमारुपेण—’ इत्युपक्रमात् ‘अद्यप्रभृति’ इति परामर्शात् । ‘समदिवसनिश्चित्प्रयत्नम्’ इत्युपसहाराच्च शमोश्चित्ताकर्षणभावं एव तात्पर्यम्, ‘उपक्रमोपमहारावभ्यासाऽपूर्वता फलम् । अर्थवादोपपत्तीं च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये’ इति वचनात् । तच्च सम्यक्त्रिपादितम् । अष्टमसोग्रहसोग्रहवर्णनेन कुमारारत्पतेनबिन्दुपक्षेषोऽपि कृत इति सर्वमनवदम् । यत्वत्र तारकासुरनिग्रहप्रयत्नं चिकीर्षितमिदं काव्यम्, निजमदोग्रवर्णनेन कृपिनाया देव्या शापादसपूर्णं जनितमिति कैश्चिद्दुत्तम्, तदप्युत्ताया रीत्या परिहृत वेदितव्यम् । कवेश्चिकीर्षाया एतत्पर्यन्तत्वस्य समधितत्वान् । देव्या शापाभाव उनरथमर्गादौ निषुणमुण्डादिग्रिव्याम ” इति ।

अत्रैव विलिङ्गति विवरणकार— “पार्वतीपरमेश्वरयो शरीरग्रहणमात्रमपि लोकातुग्रहर्थमेव । यथोक्त भगवता—‘विदित वो यथा सार्थं न मे काश्चित्प्रवृत्त्य’ इति । देव्या अपि शरीरग्रहणादिकं लोकातुग्रहर्थमेवेति देवीमाहत्म्यादिषु तत्र तत्र प्रतिपादितम् । विविधा हि लोके जना—मुक्ता, मुकुष्ठव, सक्ताश्चेति । तत्र मुक्ताना कृतकृत्यत्वादेतयार्लोगाश्रितानां अचिन्तनश्रवणादिभि परब्रह्मातुभवतुल्यकुल्यं परमाहादो भवतीति अनुग्रहो भूयानेव । मुमुक्षुणा तु लीलायितश्रवणानुसधानादिभिरन्तरं करणशुद्धिरूपो महातुग्रह स्पष्ट एव । किं च महत्तररपि तपश्चरणैरुमाभ्यामपि तदनुग्रह एव कृत, इत्थं कर्तव्यमित्युपदेशमातपरन्वातयोग्यपश्चरणानाप् । कामिना तु चिचावर्जनं समोग्रहज्ञारातुगृहीत-कथ्याश्रवणेनवं सुकरमिति लीलागृहीतजरीरौं भगवन्ताविम प्रकारमारब्धवन्तौ । येन केनापि प्रकारेण भगवति मन प्रणिधानमेव मुक्तिकारणमित्युक्तं भागवते—‘कामं क्रोधं भयं क्षेहमैक्यं सौहृदसेव वा । निल हरौं विदधतो यन्ति तन्मयता हि ते’ इति । महाकविरपि कामिना चित्तं पार्वतीपरमेश्वरपादारविन्दाभक्तं विभ्रातुमेवाद्यमे सर्गे वात्स्यायनशङ्खातुसारिणीं पदवीमुररीचकार । तस्माल्लोकोत्तरलोकिक्लायकव्यवहारमसिलजनातुग्रहार्थमातुरुवृत्तो रेतयोर्महान-कटयोर्स्तदतुगुणाना प्रबन्धाना निर्माणतद्वचार्यानां श्रवणादिभिरनुग्रह एव भूयानाविर्भवति । तदनुब्रह्मानि वचनानि तु स्तुतावेवं पर्यवस्थन्तीत्यलभतिप्रसङ्गेन ॥” इति ।

ध्वनिकारस्तु—‘अन्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषं शक्त्या सवियते कवे’ इत्युक्त्वा, ‘महाकवी-नामप्युत्तमदेवताविषयप्रसिद्धसमोग्रहज्ञारनिबन्धनाद्यनौचित्यं शक्तिरस्कृतत्वाद्वाप्यत्वेन न प्रतिमासते, यथा—कुमारसमवे देवीसमोग्रवर्णनम्’ इत्याह ।

1. See S P Pandit's *Int to Ragh.*, 9 et seq Nandargikar's *Int to Ragh.*, Sivadatta's *Int to Nasadhā* and Durgaprasad's *Int to Māgha*.

2. *DC*, XX, 7720, *TC*, II 2593, *Op*, 2651. He was a disciple of Kṛṣṇa and lived in Malabar.

Sumatiwijaya,<sup>2</sup> by Udayakara,<sup>3</sup> by Hemadri,<sup>4</sup> by Vallabha,<sup>5</sup> by Haridasa,<sup>6</sup> by Āñiravardhana,<sup>7</sup> by Mallinātha,<sup>8</sup> by Dinakara,<sup>9</sup> by Vijayagani,<sup>10</sup> by Dharmameru,<sup>11</sup> three anonymous,<sup>12</sup> by Bharatāśāra,<sup>13</sup> by Brihaspati-miśra,<sup>14</sup> by Kṛṣṇapatiśarma,<sup>15</sup> Gunavijayagani,<sup>16</sup> Gopinātha Kavirāja,<sup>17</sup> Janārdana,<sup>18</sup> Mahesvara,<sup>19</sup> Nagnadhara,<sup>20</sup> Bhagiratha,<sup>21</sup> Bhāvadeśa-miśra,<sup>22</sup> Rāmabhadra,<sup>23</sup> Kṛṣnalhatta,<sup>24</sup> Tridivākara,<sup>25</sup> I ostaka,<sup>26</sup> Srinātha,<sup>27</sup> Aruṇagirinātha,<sup>28</sup> Raṭnacandra,<sup>29</sup> Bhāgīrahamsa,<sup>30</sup> Jñānen-

1 PR, IV 28, 84, Dec Col No 46, *Kash Cat* 72 He was a native of Viśramapura (Bikaner?) and composed his work between A.D. 1635-42. He quotes Vallabha and Kṛṣṇabhātta. The manuscript contains all the 19 Cantos S P Pandit's *l c* 11, Nandargikar *l c* 24

2 PR, IV 28, 84

3 PR, III 895, B, II 100, TC, IV 5574 He refers to commentators Viśarākāra, Dakṣināvarta, Kṛṣṇa and Vallabha S P Pandit *l c* 10, Nandargikar *c* 12

4 PR, I 118, IV 28, 84 S P Pandit *l c* 10, Nandargikar, *l c* 10 and Durgaprasad *I st. to Rajku* 5 He is quoted by Hemadri, Āñiravardhana, Mallinātha and Sumatiwijaya

5 PR, IV 29 He was son of Viśnudāsa

6 PR, II, 189 III 210, IV App 210 xxviii *Kash Cat* 72 He was a Jain and wrote at the request of Śādhu Aradakavamīla of Srimata race. He mentions commentaries by Bhoja, Vallabha, Viśarākāra, Dakṣināvarta and Kṛṣṇabhātta

7 Ed. Bombay, Madras and elsewhere

8 B, II 100 He was son of Dharmāṅgada and Kamalā. He wrote his commentary in Samvat 1441 (=1885 A.D.) He was probably a contemporary of Mallinātha and copied Āñiravardhana. He refers to a commentator Prabhākara. For S P Pandit's remarks see *l c* 17

9 Dec Col No 44 He was pupil of Rāmavijaya of Tapagaccha. The manuscript is a fragment and breaks off in 10th Canto

10 PC, I 487 See S P Pandit, *l c* 25

11 The author of one was pupil of Vijayānandasuri. See NP, VII 44, Radh, 22, Op 2975

12 IO, 551, VII 1416, 1420 He was son of Gaurāṅgāmallika of Ambeśa Vaidya Hārīharkhan family and lived in the 18th century. He has commented on other Mahākāvyas also (See CC, II 418)

13 IO, 581, 997, VII 1420

14 *Mitra Rep* VII, L 2404

15 L 8060

16 L 1184

17 B, II 100

18 Op 8156, TC, IV 5643

19 NW 620

20 L 1421

21. L 2874

22 *Mitra Rep* VII, L 2505 He was Nyāyālankara

23 Rgb 895

24 Rgb 896

25 *Kash Cat*, 71

26 Cu, 1896

27 BC, 811, Ed Trichur

28 Bd 446

29 Bd, 447

dra,<sup>1</sup> Bhoja,<sup>2</sup> Bharaṭamallīka,<sup>3</sup> Jibānanda Vidyāśāgara,<sup>4</sup> Samudrasūri,<sup>5</sup> a pupil of Vijavānanda,<sup>6</sup> Dakṣināvaraṇāṭha,<sup>7</sup> Samavasundara,<sup>8</sup> Kanaklal Thakur.<sup>9</sup>

**28** There are commentaries on Kumāra-Sambhava by Kṛṣṇapāṭi Śarma,<sup>10</sup> Kṛṣṇapāṭīcārya,<sup>11</sup> Gopālānanda,<sup>12</sup> Govindarāma,<sup>13</sup> Cāñṭravardhana,<sup>14</sup> Jinādhadasūri,<sup>15</sup> Varahari,<sup>16</sup> Prabhākara,<sup>17</sup> Bhaṭṭa-pāṭi,<sup>18</sup> Bharatasena,<sup>19</sup> Bhīmamīśra,<sup>20</sup> Munimāṭratna,<sup>21</sup> Maṭhnātha,<sup>22</sup> Raghupati,<sup>23</sup> Vatsa or Vyāsa Vatsa,<sup>24</sup> Ānandadeva-vāṇivallabha,<sup>25</sup> Vallabhādēva,<sup>26</sup> Vindhyesvarīprāṇāda,<sup>27</sup> Haricaranadāsa,<sup>28</sup> Navanītarāmamīśra,<sup>29</sup> Bharata-mallika,<sup>30</sup> Jayasimha,<sup>31</sup> Lakṣmivallabha,<sup>32</sup> Dakṣināvaraṇāṭha,<sup>33</sup> Vidyā-mādhava,<sup>34</sup> Nandagopāla,<sup>35</sup> Sīṭārāma,<sup>36</sup> Nārāyaṇa,<sup>37</sup> Haridāsa,<sup>38</sup> Arunagīrīnāṭha,<sup>39</sup> Gopāladāsa,<sup>40</sup> Pārvatīcaspaṭi,<sup>41</sup> Sarasvatitirtha,<sup>42</sup> Rāma Pārasava,<sup>43</sup> Jihānanda Vidyāśāgara,<sup>44</sup> Kumārasena<sup>45</sup> and two anonymous.<sup>46</sup>

1 BC, 410

2 S P Pandit, *Int to Ragh* 26

3 IO, 551

4 Ed Calcutta

5 Lah 4

6 Doc Col No 65 He quotes Vallabha, Dakṣināvaraṇa, Kṛṣṇabhatta and Cāñṭravardhana. S P Pandit says he was a contemporary of Dīnakara

7 The manuscript is in Madras library. He is quoted by Arunagirīnāṭha and he quotes Keavalaswāmin's Nānārthānavasamikṣepa composed in the 12th century. He was a native of the Chola country, (See Int to Meghasandēśa, Tr S Series No 64)

8 Kash Cat 71

9 Ed Benares

10 L 2408, *Mitra Rep* VII. This commentary refers to earlier voluminous commentaries by Jagaddhara and Divyākara now unknown

11 Oudh V 6

12 IO, 222, AS, 47

13 L, 701

14 Kh 65, Ed Bombay, Benares

15 L 4, Ryb 887

16 B 156, De, 171

17 B 2

18 IO, 228, 1078

19 IO, 929

20 Oudh XIX 42

21 PR, II 54

22 Ed everywhere,

22 L 1964, on 8 cantos

23 B 2, 78, BP, 17

25 Oudh, XIV 28, PR, I 114

26 PR, I 114, NW, 614

97 NW 620 He was the pupil of Kṛṣṇa by Śīva Dāsa which he proposes to follow

He refers to another commentary

28 PR, I 114

29 AS, 47

30 AS, 47 He is older than Śaka 1650, the date of a manuscript of his commentary on Ghatakarpara (*Mitra* IX No. 4172), see *JASB*, (1917) 9

31 TC, IV 4715, 4718

32 Sah XIX 106

33 TC, III 8868

35 IO, 228

34 IC, II 2692, *Kup Rep* (1916 19)

36 L, 3289 Ed Bombay (Cantos)

37 DO, XX 7720 2, TC, IV 5014,

8 17)

5548 Ed Trivandrum

38 AK, 476 (1-3)

39 Ed Trivandrum.

40 PR, IV 25

41 Ed Calcutta

42 Kash Cat 67,

43 Cochin State Library, 110

44 Ed Calcutta

45 B Or RI, Cat, 46 (3 cantos)

46 Ibid 14—15 (7 and 8 cantos).

R Krishnamāchārvā's *Raghuvamsa-vimarśa* and Kumārasambhava-vimarśa are running critiques on these poems commenting on their innate excellences.<sup>1</sup> *Raghuvanshsepa* gives a succinct account of *Raghuvamsa*.<sup>2</sup> Kumāraṇujaya<sup>3</sup> of Bhākaravajvan, son of Īśvaraśūrvā, of Vatsagotra and Kumārodyā<sup>4</sup> by Korāda Ramachandra relate the same story. Kumārasambhava of Jayadevkharaśūrvā is a later work.<sup>5</sup>

**29 The commentators**—Vallabha was the son of Ānandadeva and was a follower of Kashmir grammar.<sup>6</sup> He criticises Hemacandra's opinion expressed in his Sanskrit grammar and is attacked in Ganarāṭnamahodadhi completed in 1141 AD. Hemacandra lived in Jayasimha's reign (1094-1143 AD).<sup>7</sup> K B Pathak therefore says that Vallabha must have finished his commentary on Kumārasambhava about 1120 or a few years before 1141 AD.<sup>8</sup> S P Pandit says he must have lived long before Dinakara, that is, 13S3 AD.<sup>9</sup> Durgaprasād identified him with Vallabhadeva, grandfather of Kayyata, who wrote in 977-8 AD<sup>10</sup> and Hultzsch<sup>11</sup> and Peterson<sup>12</sup> agree with him, and the latter says that the verses quoted in *Suhhāvitāvalī* and *Sārṅgadharapaddhati* under Vallabhadeva must have been by the commentator Vallabhadeva. These verses show excellent poetry.<sup>13</sup>

Kayyata was the son of Candrādiṣṭa and wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Deviśataka* in 977 AD. He is different from Kayyata, son Jayyata, author of *Bhāṣyapradīpa*.

1 Ed Madras

2 S P Pandit's *Int to Raghu*, 15 17

3 TO, IV 5818 (f) He is the author of *Akhlālāñyakidandaka* (TO, IV 5819)

4 Ed Masulipatam

5 Ed Bombay

6 For a distinction of this author from the anthologist Vallabha, see S K De, *JRAS*, (1927), 471-7, (1928), 408 and D C Bhattachary, *JRAS*, (1928), 185

7 See for his life, later in this Chapter

8 *Int to Megha*

9 *Int to Raghu*, 10

10. *Int to Vakrokiti-pancūśika*

11. *Int to Megha*

12. *Int to Subh*

13 अयमवसर सरत्ते सलिलैरुपकर्तुमर्थिनामनिशम् ।

इदमपि च सुलभमो भवति पुरा जलधराम्बुदये ॥

परिमलसुरभितनभसो वहव काननाद्रिपरिसेर तरव ।

तदपि सुराणी चेतसि निवसितमिव पारिजातेन ॥

पाणिपङ्कवयुगेन मूरधया यन्मूरव पिहितमशुके हते ।

बछेन सुरतेन तद्विकाशोकतां कथमियान्विषाचर ॥

**30** HEBBLADRI, known as Makkibhatta was the son of Īśvarasūri. He mentions Mahrāti synonymous of Sanskrit words and he might therefore have been a Mahrāti Brahmin. He came after Vallabha. Vāmanācārya in his introduction to Kāvya-prakāsa says that he must have been a resident of Gajengraghad in Dharwar District. His commentaries are replete with innumerable quotations. He was counsellor of Mahādeva and Ramarāja, the Yādava kings of Devagiri who ruled from 1271 to 1309 A.D. Bopadevi was his protege.<sup>3</sup>

**31** MALLINĀTHA,<sup>4</sup> Telugu Brahmin, of Kāśīapa gotra of Kolacala family, was the grandson of Mallinātha and son of Kapardin. Peddi bhatta or Peddayārī and Kumāraswāmin were his sons.<sup>5</sup> The latter was the commentator on Pratāparudrīya. Mallinātha had Kanakābhiseka (bath in gold and pearls) at the hands of Sarvajna Singabhūpāla, evidently of Recharla family, on the occasion of vedaśa sacrifice which he performed with the help of his four brothers, four sons, four sons-in-law and four relatives.<sup>6</sup> He was invited by Devaraja (I<sup>7</sup>) of Vijayanagar to settle some contents about the terms *rāsiya* and *vjāpāri* in connection with a stone inscription found at Conjeevaram. The manuscript containing his judgment is found in the G O Library, Mysore. This gives him a date of 1400-14 A.D. Mallinātha quotes from Sāhiṭvacintāmaṇi, a work of Komaśīlēma of 1409 A.D.

K B Pathak says "Mallinātha frequently quotes the Sangītaratnākara a work composed in the time of Yādava king Singhapā who reigned from Saka 1133-1150. In his commentary on the Kumārasambhava (II s 1,) Mallinātha mentions Bopadeva, the author of the Mugdhabodha, who was contemporary with the Yādava king Mahadeva and his successor Ramachandra. The last mentioned king reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309. Another work quoted in Mallinātha's

1 See S P Pandit's *Int to Raghu* 2, 12, EHD, 117, 120, JRAS, V. 1889

2 See Section V, Ch I *supra*

3 Mallinātha father of Narahari alias Sarasvatīśīrṣha, who commented on Kāvya-prakāśa, is a different person and is not known to be an author. Narahari says he was born in 1242 A.D. For particulars, see Chapter on Poetics under Mammata, see Vāmanācārya's Int to Kāvya-prakāśa, 279

4 Nārāyaṇa in his commentary on Campurāmāyaṇa (DO, XXI 8212) gives the genealogy. According to him Kumāraswāmin was the son of Peddubhatta and Peddubhatta and Vallinātha were brothers. Here the genealogy differs from that given above by Kumāraswāmin himself which must be more authentic. Nārāyaṇa traces his genealogy thus, Kumāraswāmin, Śambhu, Bhāskara, Nāgēśvara, Kondubhatta, Nāgēśvara, Nārāyaṇa.

5 So says Kumāraswāmin in his commentary on Pratāparudrīya

commentary on the Meghadūta is the lkāvālī of Vidyādhara who frequently speaks of king Viranarasimha as having humbled the pride of Hammīra who was contemporary with Singhana<sup>1</sup>. King Viranarasimha reigned up to 1314 A D<sup>2</sup>. Mallinātha has also written a commentary on the Ekāvalī. His son Kumarasamīn has written a commentary on the Pratāparudrīva, a treatise on Alankar. The last named work frequently mentions the Kākātiya king Pratāparudra who invaded the kingdom of the Yadava king Ramachandra and reigned from A D 1295 to 1323<sup>3</sup>. The second verse in Mallinātha's introduction to his commentaries on the Raghuvamsa, Meghaduta and Kumārasambhava is quoted in an inscription dated in Saka 1453 or A D 1533<sup>4</sup>. From these facts it is clear that Mallinātha must have flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century<sup>5</sup>.

Mallinātha commented on the six mahākāvyas, on Lkāvālī of Vidyādhara and on Tārkikarakā of Varadarāja and is said to have written<sup>6</sup> the poems Udārakāvya<sup>7</sup> and Raghuvicacarita<sup>8</sup>. Avowedly his learning was varied and his commentaries are held everywhere in the highest esteem.

**32 Kunteavaradautya**<sup>9</sup> is a poem apparently describing an embassy to the court of Kunṭala. It is expressly ascribed by Kṣemendra to Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa was himself the ambassador. The King of Kunṭala received him with the honour due to the representative of King Vikramāditya and once by chance when Kālidāsa squatted on the floor and the King of Kunṭala appeared not to relish it, Kālidāsa humorously answered that on the floor stood the Great Vieru and there

1 EHD, 82

2 IA, XXI, 16<sup>b</sup>

3 R G Bhandarkar's Int. to Ekāvalī

4 IA, V (19)

5 Int to Megha.

6. For works of Mallinātha, see CC, I 484

7 B, II 72 Udārakāvya was probably mistaken for Udārāṅghava of Kavimallamalla who was a different poet.

8 A poem of this name is printed in Travancore (*Tr. Sans Series No 57*).

It is in 17 cantos and has good poetry but is anonymous as it is. So is the Manuscript *TC*, III 3953. The poem begins with the entry of Rāma into Dandaka and relates the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. Can it be Mallinātha's?

In the Travancore State Library, there is a Raghuvicacarita by Bhatta Sukumāra (*Cat*, 86) which is a drama.

9 Rangaswami Samayakī says it must have been a drama (*JMy*, XV 279).

rested the seven Oceans.<sup>1</sup> On returning from the errand, Vikramāditya asked him what the King of Kuntala was doing and Kālidāsa gave a facetious answer in indirect praise of his King and parody of King of Kuntala.<sup>2</sup>

Kṛṣṇa in his Bharatacarita ascribes Setubandha to a King of Kuntala

जडाग्रस्थान्तरगाधमार्ग-  
मलव्यरन्त्र गिरि चोर्यवृत्त्या ।  
लोकेवलङ्कान्तमपूर्वेतु  
बबन्ध कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेश ॥

In the introduction to Harśacarita, Bāna thus praises Setubandha

कीर्तिं प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोऽज्ज्वला ।  
सागरस्य पर पारं कपिमेनेव सेतुना ॥

1 So says Kṣemendra

अधिकरणैचिल्य यथा कुन्तेश्वरदौर्ल्य—

इह निवसति मेरु शेखर क्षमाधराणा-  
भिह विनिहितमारा सागरा सस चान्य ।  
इदमहिपतिमोगस्तस्मविभ्राजमान  
धरणितलिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

अत महाराजदूतोऽपि सामन्तास्याने स्वप्रभुसमुचितगैरवपूजाहमासनमापाद्य कार्यवशेन  
भूमावेकोपविष्ट प्रागलम्यगान्मीर्येणैव बूते, यथास्मद्विधाना वसुधातल एव भुजगपतिमोगस्तस्म-  
प्रागमारनिक्षये वरासने स्थान युक्त, यस्मदिहैव मेरुरचलचक्रवर्ती समुपविष्ट, सस महाध्यग्र,  
तत्तुत्यतैवास्माकमिलौचिल्यमधिकरणपदसबद्धेव ॥

2 This passage is in Bhoja's Śringāraprakāsh, VIII.

मैयायिकी यथा—कालिदास कि कुन्तलेश्वर करोतीति विक्रमादिलेन पृष्ठ उक्तमान्—

असकलहसितत्वान् क्षालितानीव कान्सा  
मुकुलितनयनत्वाद् व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।  
पिताति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणी  
त्वयि विनिहितमार कुन्तलानामधीश ॥

इदमेवोहयित्वा विक्रमादिलः प्रत्यूचे—

पिताति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणी  
मर्यि विनिहितमार कुन्तलानामधीश ॥

This verse is also quoted in Rājasekara's Kāvyaśāmī and Bhoja's Śakasvatī, Kanthābhāraṇam.

It is therefore a safe inference that Pravarasena mentioned as the author of *Seṭubandha* was a king of Kuntala<sup>2</sup>. The ascription of its authorship to Kālidāsa by the commentator and the strong tradition in support of it, when considered with the claims of Kālidāsa to the Court of Kuntala (as described in *Kuntesvara-dvātāra*) can only suggest that either the poem written by Kālidāsa at Vikramaditya's direction was dedicated later to Pravarasena, or a poem written by Pravarasena was revised by Kālidāsa and this created a talk that Kālidāsa was really the author of it.

Who was the King of Kuntala? Pravarasena was considered by many scholars as a king of Kashmir, who composed the poem in commemoration of the construction of a bridge on the Vitastā.<sup>3</sup> This has now come to be doubted, as in some old manuscripts recently acquired for the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, the colophon ascribes the authorship to the Vakataka king Pravarasena, of Kuntala.<sup>4</sup> The Kuntala Kingdom was conquered by Pṛthvisena I, and thus Pravarasena, it is said, must be Pravarasena II, who came to the throne about the year 400 A. D.<sup>5</sup>

Speaking of the Chamak plates of Pravarasena,<sup>6</sup> Fleet said "The date of the Vakataka inscriptions is determined by the marriage of Rudrasena II with Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Devagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Devagupta of Magadha, the son of Adityasena mentioned in the Dev Baranark Ins (No. 46, p. 213, Gupta Ins) and belonging to the period of about A.D 680 to 700. From another set of copper plates, it is seen that Rudrasena married Prabhāvatiguptā, a daughter of Candragupta II".

1 So says the commentary of Rāmarāja on *Seṭubandha*.

धीराणी काव्यचर्चाचतुरिमविधये विक्रमादित्यवाचा

य चक्रे कालिदास कविकुमुदविष्टु सेतुनामप्रबन्धम् ।

2 वितस्ताया स भूपालो बृहस्तेतुभकल्पयत् ।

रव्याता ततः प्रस्तृत्येव ताढङ्गौ सेतुकल्पना ॥ *Ragu*, III 854

3 Kunjala is the country between the rivers Bhima and Vedavati, bounded on the west by the Ghats including Shimoga, Chitaldoorg, Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur, and adjacent parts to the north in Bombay and Nizam's dominions. *Mysore Gazette*, I 289

Kunjala was the empire of the Kadambas, and adjoined the territory of the Vakatakas. *EI*, XIII 299. The Kunjala kingdom was conquered by the Vakataka king Pṛthvisena I. See G. J. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of Deccan*, 72-74. See also Buhler, *IA*, XVII 24.

4 *JMy*, XV 272

5 Int. to *Gupta Inscriptions*

Aśvaghoṣa accompanied Kanīṣka to Kāsmīr and was treated by him with great veneration and in Kanīṣka's Council, he took a leading part.

As a contemporary of King Kanīṣka, Aśvaghoṣa may have flourished at the latest, in the 1st century AD<sup>1</sup>. His biography was translated into Chinese under the dynasty of Yao-tsing (384-417 AD) by Kumarāśva<sup>2</sup>. Itsing mentions him as an old teacher and places him before Nagārjuna and Āryadeva. He praises his poems and collects his hymns, which were used in the Buddhist ritual<sup>3</sup>.

**34** HIS BUDDHACĀVYĀ is a Mahākāvya, with 17 cantos now extant,<sup>4</sup> celebrating the history and teachings of Buddha. From the middle of the 14th Canto, the poem diverges widely from the Chinese translation,<sup>5</sup> probably because Cantos 14 to 17 were lost and had to be made up by poet Amṛtānanda, about the year 1800<sup>6</sup>. His

748, Beal's *Sūtra* I 151, U., *Int to Vaisesika Philosophy*, Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* (Calcutta).

1 On Aśvaghoṣa being contemporary of Kanīṣka, see *Journal of Buddhist Text Society*, III 18, Schiefner's *Taranath*, Oh XII, Watters, I 209, II 104, Baron Staol Holstain, *Was there a Kushana race?* [JRAS, (1914), 80] Levi, *Notes Sur les Indo Scythes*, 86, R D Banerji, *The Scythian period of Indian History* [IA (1908) 25-75], Hoernle, IA, X, 894, V Smith [EH, 255-270] thinks that 78 AD marks either the accession or coronation of Kanīṣka. Fleet (JRAS, 1908, 1905, 1906, 1913) says that Kanīṣka founded the era of 56 BC. Tradition places Kanīṣka, 700 years after Buddha (IA, XXXII 382). See for date of Kanīṣka, IA, XLII, 182, and XLVI, 261. Kalhan places Kanīṣka 150 years after the Nirvāṇa (*Raj* I 168-172). Hiuen Tsang (I 181) placed Kanīṣka 960 years after Buddha, and Max Muller (*India* 806) 400 years after Buddha. According to Narṇandana Prasad [Mod Rev (1920), 889] and to Foucher [*L'Art grec-bouddhique*, I 623], Aśvaghoṣa lived in 2nd century AD. So also says Marshall, Director General of Archaeology on the evidence of stratification of the remains of Taxila. Bhandarkar gives date 278 AD. The name of Kanīṣka is discussed in IA, XIII, 58.

2 IA, IV 141, Max Muller's *India* 312, Nanjo, V, 1829

3 IA, (1888), 426. Hiuen Tsang also refers to him (Julien's Translation, II, 214)

4 Ed by Cowell (Clarendon Press, Oxford). Tr into Italian by G Formichi. See JRAS, (1914), 105 and ZDMG, XLVI, 517-19 for reviews. I Tsing says that the poem was of considerable length about 8000 Slokas [Takakusu, *Rec of Buddhist Religion*, (ivii, 181, 183)]. For critical notes, by J S Späyer, see JRAS, (1914), 105. There is a commentary on the 8th canto by Jagannath Prasad.

5 The poem was translated by Sangharavarman into Chinese in 414-421 AD and into Tibetan in the 7th or 8th century AD and into English (SBS, No 49). The Chinese translation has 28 chapters.

6 The Cambridge Ms says so सर्वदानिष्पत्तोऽलब्धा चतुर्सर्गं च निर्मितम्. Amṛtānanda is mentioned as a poet and author between years 1796 and 1830. See Mitra's Nepalese Buddhist Literature. In the colophon Aśvaghoṣa is called Bhadra (venerable).

SOUNDARANANDA<sup>2</sup> is an exquisite poem of 18 cantos. It describes the story of the conversion of King Nanda of the Ikṣvāku race and his redemption from the ocean of worldly pleasures in which he was immersed in the company of his consort Sundari. Asvaghosa avows that this poem was intended to teach philosophy by the detectable means of illuring poetry. "The Soundarananda has been somewhat neglected by students of Buddhism in the past, surprisingly perhaps, because apart from its interest as an example of early Buddhist poetry, it is," as Mr Johnston tells us in his preface, "The earliest work presenting to us a logical and carefully thought out description of the path to Enlightenment. It enables us to see the force and bearing of technical terms and arguments, which are enunciated in earlier Buddhist literature in a manner liable to cause misconception. Further, as Asvaghosa is generally agreed to have flourished early in the second century A D, the indications he gives of developments in doctrine deserve consideration."

**35** These two poems supplement each other on the life of Buddha. Asvaghosa's plays will be referred to in the chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA. If "to the ordinary critic the fame of Kālidāsa rests on the charm of his similes, Asvaghosa certainly excels him"<sup>3</sup> His vocabulary is very ancient and several of his words have now become obsolete in their

1 Ed. by Haraprasad Sastri *Bibl. Ind.* (Calcutta), where the introduction gives summary of the poem. Ed. by E. H. Johnson (Oxford) with critical notes and readings.

2 For verses containing parallel ideas, see S. P. Pandit and Nandangkar's Introductions to *Raghuvamśa*, Haraprasad Sastri's Int to *Sundarananda*, op. cit. iv vi and Kshetresa Chandra Chaitopadhyaya's *Date of Kālidāsa* (*All Eng. Studies*, II. 79). For instance, compare the following

## ASVAGHOSA

तां सुन्दरीं चेत लभेत नन्द  
सा वा निषेदेत न त नतम् ।  
द्रुद्ध व्रुत्र तद्रिकल न शोभे-  
तान्योन्यहीनाविव रातिचन्द्रौ ॥

*Sounda.* iv. 7

वाता वदुः स्पर्शसुव मनोङ्गा  
दिव्यावि वासास्यवपातयन्त्य ।  
सूर्य स एवाम्याविं चकाशे  
ज्याल सौम्याऽप्तिरन्तिरितोऽप्तिनः ॥

*Buddha.* xii. 78

## KALIDASA

परस्परेण स्पृहणीयशोम  
न चेदिम द्रन्दमयोजयिष्यत् ।  
अस्मन्द्वये स्पष्टिविद्वानक्षत्रं ॥  
पत्यु प्रजाना वितश्चोऽ मतिष्यत् ॥

*Raghu* vii. 14

वाता वदुः सौम्यकरा प्रसेदु-  
राशा विधुमो हुतमृगदिदीपे ।  
कलान्यथूकन्विभलमि तथा-  
त्स्वेऽर्जुरिक्ष प्रससाद सथ ॥

*Kum.* xi. 87.

peculiar meaning.<sup>1</sup> His philosophy was of a high order. He belonged to a school, probably of Yogacara, which preceded the Mahavāna school with its theory of Sunyata propounded by Nagarjuna two generations later.<sup>2</sup> "Asvaghosa," says Cowell, "seems to be entitled to the name of the Ennius of the classical age of Sanskrit poetry. His style is often rough and obscure, but it is full of native strength of beauty, his descriptions are not too much laboured, nor are they *purpurei pamie*, they spring from the narrative growing from it as natural blossoms, not as external appendages."

On the identity of Asvaghosa with Ārya-Sūra and Mātṛceta, scholars are not agreed.<sup>3</sup> These names appear on their reading genuinely distinct proper names and not titles and may designate different individuals.<sup>4</sup> It seems therefore not easy to assign to Asvaghosa all works, in Sanskrit, Chinese or Tibetan, going under any of these names.

## ASVAGHOSA

स हि सगात्रप्रमयोऽज्जलन्त्या  
दीप्तप्रभा भास्करवन्मुषोप ।  
महार्हजान्मूनदचारवर्णी  
विद्योतयामास दिशश्च सर्वा ॥

Buddha i 32

दृद्धानि सर्वस्य यत प्रसक्ता-  
न्यलाभलाभप्रस्तीनि लोके ।  
अतोऽपि नैकान्तसुखोऽस्ति कथि-  
वैकान्तहु ख पुरुष पृथिव्याए् ॥

Buddha xi 43

## KALIDASA

अरिष्टश्चया परितो विसारिणा  
सुजन्मनस्तस्य निजेन तेजसा ।  
निशीथदीपा सहसा हतत्विषो  
बभूवरालेख्यसमाप्तिं इव ॥

Bāgh iii 15

कस्यैकान्तं सुखमुपनत दु समेकान्ततो वा  
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिकमेण ।

Megha ii 48

The extreme similarity of the ideas and diction has given rise to a controversy as to the relative priority of Kalidasa and Asvaghosa.

1 For instance, विषय means dwelling, गान्ती, cart, and धर्मन् custom.

2 It is pointed out in *JRAS* (1914) 747 by Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya that though Asvaghosa preceded Nāgārjuna, he still refers to the theory of Śunyata in the *Soundaravanda*.

3 See *Album Korn* (Leiden) 405-8, L4, (1908), 845-60.

4 Other works directly attributed to Asvaghosa are *Gāndī Stotra* (*Bib. Buddhas*, No. XV St. Peterburg, [1918]), *JRAS*, (1914), 752], *Vajrasūta* (Weber, *op. cit.* 205-64). These are in Sanskrit *Datadūstikarmamārga Sutra*, *Mahāyāvātrāddhōtadasūtra* (Translated by Suzuki, Chicago) and *Sūtrālankūra āśṭapā* (Translated into French by Huber, Paris). These are in Chinese. See Nanjo's Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka (Oxford). For a full list of the works in the names of Mātṛceta and Āryasura, see Thomas *Int. to Kao* (*Bibl. Ind. Calcutta* 25 29).

**36** "Buddhaghosa was a Brahman born in Thaton<sup>2</sup> He was an inmate of the Kelāsa monastery, and in A D, 357 he was deputed to Ceylon by King Thini Graung (Dhammapala) in order to bring away a copy of the Buddhist Scriptures. At Bassein, he took ship for Tamalitti, the Indian port, and first went to Gava by the Gangetic route, to obtain drawings of the principal sacred sites. He returned by the same route and proceeded to Ceylon where he stayed for three years. He composed the Visuddimagga while at Anuradhapura, and on his return to Thaton, brought a complete copy of the Pītakas with their commentaries as well as other works in the Telaing characters"<sup>3</sup> This is the account given by James Gray in the *Buddhaghōṣa-upapatti*, but an earlier date is not impossible. The name of Buddhaghōṣa is held in high reverence by the southern Buddhists and he was the propounder of Buddhism as current in the south.

His *PADYACUDAMANI*, a poem in 10 cantos, describes the birth, marriage and other incidents in the life of Buddha. The story differs in some details from the narrative in the *Lalitavistara* and *Buddharacita*. The plot of the poem has thus been summarised by Prof. S Kuppuswamy Sastri:

"There ruled at Kapila, a king named Suddhodana of the Salia race, with his queen Mayadevi. As he had no issue, he performed penance. Meanwhile the Lord of the Tusita world resolved at the instance of the Devas to incarnate in this world for enlightening it and entered the womb of Mayadevi. The birth of the son Siddhartha was attended with supernatural phenomena. After the due performance of the natal ceremonies, arrangements were made for his bovish sports, and for his education. In due time as he grew, he was installed as the heir-apparent, and his marriage was thought of. He was formally married to the daughter of the king of the Koliya country. Then the

1 On Buddhaghōṣa, see B C Law, *Life and work of Buddhaghōṣa* (Calcutta), Foulkes, I<sup>A</sup>, XIX 105 122 and S Kuppuswamy Sastri, *Introduction to Padyacudamani*. Takakusu, *Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu* [JRAS, (1905)] says that Samantapāśādika of Buddhaghōṣa was translated into Chinese by Sanghabhadra in 488 A D. For Aśopīc fable in Buddhaghōṣa, see I<sup>A</sup>, I 320. For date and legends, see I<sup>A</sup>, XIX 105.

2 T Foulkes (*loc cit*) gives a summary of the dates assigned to Buddhaghōṣa and "it is stated that living in the extreme improbable date they extend from 386 to 557 A.D and group themselves about the reign of king Mahanama of Ceylon." S Kuppuswamy Sastri says that the consensus of opinion is in favour of assigning the poet to the latter part of the fifth century A D. Senavaratne (*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, I Pt II) says Buddhaghōṣa visited Ceylon in 488 A D.

prince with his wife returned to his own city amidst great rejoicings. The king took particular care to make ample provision for his son's enjoyments in the various seasons of the year. During the autumn the prince practised the use of martial weapons and mastered it in seven days. One day in the spring season when he started for the pleasure garden, he saw on the royal road, as arranged by the Devas, visions of an old man, an afflicted person and a corpse. He was greatly impressed with the sight and questioned the attendants of the chariot. On learning from the charioteer the nature of the ills to which the human body is liable, he desired to return home. On his way back, he perceived some ascetics, who were reported to have found the means of deliverance from the ills of human existence. He again started for the pleasure garden where he spent the day very agreeably in various pastimes. He returned home, where formal rejoicings were conducted. Suddenly he took his resolve to renounce his royal home, travelled 30 Yojanas crossed the river Anavama, dismissed his attendants and put on the ascetic robe. He practised severe austerities and lived by begging his food in the Bimbisāra city. Failing to attain salvation he thought over the means of securing it. During the night he had five dreams and in the morning after making out the significance of these dreams he decided on the means of attaining Nirvana. Sitting under a banyan tree, he received Parasa from a woman, proceeded to the Nairanjara river and ate the food. After spending the day in the dense Sala forest, he went to the Bodhi tree in the evening and seated himself there on a miraculously provided seat. The devas eulogised Buddha, and Manmatha, learning the news, resolved to conquer him. Manmatha's army first delivered the attack but failed to make any advance. Manmatha then made a personal attack which was repulsed. As a last resort he sent his women, who performed dexterous dances before Buddha and tried their utmost to captivate and overpower him. Finding their efforts wholly futile, they ran away. Thus came to be firmly established the supreme sovereignty of the great Siddhartha over the empire of salvation."

Being a Mahākāvya, the poet adheres to the canons of poetics in describing the various phenomena of nature, such as courses of sun and moon, the seasons, cities, oceans etc. He appears to have studied the works of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa and become so familiar with them that his own verses so closely resemble theirs that without fear of detection they could be interpolated in Kumārasambhava or Buddha-carita. Buddhagoṣa is resourceful in finding series of similes and fancies

in description, where the idea is often continuous from verse to verse. In describing the moon, for instance, in the eighth canto all the 22 verses depict the interment of the moon under the sea, the gradual ascent and descent in the horizon and disappearance in the dark fortnight, as an evolution of a child from birth to end. The whole poem reads as a garden of poetic blossoms, where to pull one for show is well nigh impossible.<sup>1</sup>

**37 Mentha** better known as Bhārtṛ Mentha<sup>2</sup> has been held by rhetoricians in high esteem probably higher than Kālidāsa. The word Mentha means elephant-driver and there is a reference to that

1 Read the following —

सुधासनाथेन सुधासमयम् कलासमग्र करपङ्कवेन ।  
त्रिलिम्पतीव क्षणदासु यसा क्रीडागृहाणासुपरिस्थलानि ॥ 1 14  
यदिन्द्रनीलोपलकुट्टिमपु प्रविष्टबिम्बा प्रथमेन्दुलेखाम् ।  
मृणालखण्डस्पृहया भरालाश्चन्द्रपुरैश्चित्रमुष्टसहन्ते ॥ 11 15

लीलाचकोररसनाश्चललिङ्गमान-  
प्रासादद्वन्तवलमीकिरणप्ररोहाम् ।  
तिर्थकप्रवृत्तमणितोरणदीर्घरस्मि-  
मालावलीयुणितवन्दनमालिकाभाम् ॥ 11 8

प्रसन्नमूर्णावलयाभिराम ज्योतिर्मय तस्य मुखारविन्दम् ।  
भूयिष्ठमन्तर्गतचन्द्रलेखा बालार्कविम्बनियमाततान ॥ iii. 60  
ऊर्णाभिरामा नरपालसूनानीटालभ्रमीनिर्तरां चकाशे ।  
वप्रक्रियाभग्ननिलीनदन्तिदन्ताङ्गुरा मेरशिलातटीव ॥ iii. 61

रराज तस्या नवरोमराजिरारोहतस्तुङ्गपयोधरात्रिम् ।  
शृङ्गारयोनेरवलम्बनार्थमालम्बितेदीवरमालिकेव ॥ iv. 28  
वीरुम्यां विश्रवमन्त्रदोलामारोप्य शृङ्गीमविगतिराम् ।  
समीरणैरात्मगवत्समुत्थै सानन्दमान्दोलयति सम शृङ्गः ॥ iv. 18.  
द्वुवर्णकारेण तपात्ययात्मना पयोदपालीनिक्षेपलान्तरे ।  
निवृप्यमाणा इव हेमराजयस्तिष्ठता भान्ति चक्रेरलोचने ॥ v. 14  
कृतामिषेका प्रथम चनाम्बुभिर्धृतोचरीयाः चरहप्रसवै ।  
विलिसगाम्य शृङ्गिरस्मिचन्दनैर्देहो दधुस्तारकहारयष्टिकाम् ॥ v. 47

2 In Aufrecht's Ms. the name is spelt as Bhārtṛmedura (Peterson, Subh., 98).

sense in a verse of Rājaśekhara quoted by Jālhana in his *Sūktimulatāvalī*<sup>1</sup>. The anthologies quote the same verse under name Menthā or Hastipāla and some of the extant verses give an exquisite description of wild elephants just caught in pits.<sup>2</sup> This confirms a doubt if Menthā was really engaged in that pursuit. Kalhaṇa mentions him as attached to the court of Māṭgupta of Ka-mir.<sup>3</sup> If Māṭgupta's date is taken as 430 A.D., Menthā must have lived about that date. The well-known verse *līmpatiṇa tamongīm* which occurs in the *Mṛtchakatikā*, in *Avimāraka*, in *Bālacariṇa*, and in *Kāvyaśālārsa* is found quoted in *Sāṅgadharapaddhati* as the joint composition of Vikramādīṭha and Menthā and this increases the cloud surrounding the authorship of that verse, but it may suggest that Menthā was connected with the court of a King Vikramādīṭha. Mankha in his *Brīkhanthacarita* mentions him with Subandhu, Bhāraṭi and Bāṇa. Rājaśekhara calls him an incarnation of Vālmīki, and Bhavabhūti and himself as his later incarnations.<sup>4</sup> This

- 1 वक्तोत्ता मेण्ठराजस वहन्न्या सुणिरूपताम् ।  
आविद्धा इव धुन्वन्ति मूर्धान कविकुञ्जरा ॥
- 2 लक्ष्मी विव्यगिरि पिता भगवती मातेव रेवानदी  
ते ते स्नेहनिबन्धबन्धुरधियस्तुल्योदया दग्धिन ।  
त्वच्छामाच्छु हस्तिनि तथमिद बन्धाय दत्त वपु-  
स्त दूरं प्रियंस लुठन्ति च शिर पीठे कठोराङ्गुष्ठा ॥  
धासओस गृहाण ल्यज गजकल्पम प्रेमबन्ध करिण्या  
पाशश्रन्थिव्रणा नामभिमतमधुना देहि पङ्कानुलेपम् ।  
दुरीभूतात्तर्वैते श्वरवरवधुविभ्रमोद्भान्तरम्या  
रेवाकुलोपकण्ठहुमकुसुमरजोधूसरा विन्ध्यपादा ॥ हस्तिपक्ष्य
- 3 हयमीवध मेण्ठस्तद्ये दर्शयक्षवम् ।  
आसमाप्ति ततो नापत्साव्वसाध्विति वा वच ॥  
अथ ग्रथयितु तस्मिन् पुस्तक प्रस्तुते न्यधात् ।  
लावण्यनिर्यणभिया तदध रुर्णमाजनम् ॥  
अन्तरक्षतया तस्य तादृश्या कृतसकृति ।  
भर्तुमेण्ठ कविमेने पुनरुक्त श्रियोर्जप्यम् ॥ Raj III 260 2
- See Max Müller's Ind. I, 814 note
- 4 बग्र वस्मीकमव पुरा कवि  
तत प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तुमेण्ठताम् ।  
स्थित पुनयो भवभतिरेखया  
स वर्त्ते सप्रति राजकेद्वर ॥

lends support to the tradition that Menthā verse a long poem Rīmacarita in 100 cantos and it is believed a copy of it is still available at Benares.

His poem<sup>5</sup> HAI TAKIT WADHA is lost. The first verse of it is quoted by Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyaśāmīśā and Kēmendra in his Śūrtitilaka,<sup>6</sup> and another by Raghava in his commentary of Sakuntalā.<sup>7</sup> Many verses are extracted by Bhoja and in the anthologies as Menthā's or Hastipaka's and rightly merit their appreciation.<sup>8</sup>

**38 Kumaradasa** was a King of Ceylon.<sup>9</sup> He was the son of King Kumāramanu who died on the battle field and on that day Kumāradasa was born. He was bred up by his two distinguished maternal uncles Sri Megha and Agrabodhi with paternal affection.<sup>10</sup>

1 PR, I 9 Hemacandra in his kāvyaśāsana (p 15) mentions it as a poem (BKR, 42). For references, see CO, 754. Troyer thought it was a drama (JBRAS, VII)

2 आसीद्विलो हयग्रीव सुहृदेन्मसु यम्य ता ।  
प्रथयन्ति बल बाहो सितच्छस्मिता श्रिय ॥  
3 य प्रेक्ष्य चिररुढापि निवापश्रीतिरुज्जिता ।  
मदेनरावणमुखे मानेन हृदये हरे ॥  
4 वाचो माधुर्यवर्णिण्यो नामय शिथिलाशुका ।  
दृष्टयश्च चलङ्घका मण्डनान्यन्द्रयोषिताम् ॥  
तथा प्रकृतकोत्तालहासपछिताधरम् ।  
मुख ग्रामविलासिन्या सकल राज्यमर्हति ॥  
न तथा नागरखीणा विलासा रमयन्ति न ।  
यथा सप्ताकमुग्धानि वृत्तानि ग्राम्ययोषिताम् ॥

5 There are poets by the names Kumāra, Kumārakārtta, Kumārabhatta and Bhatta Kumāra mentioned in the anthologies. Are these identical?

6 So says he himself in the last four verses of Jānakiharana (TC, IV 4248 9).

नित्य सद्गुणमत्किरिद्रियदमश्रीसयत् सयत  
क्षम्भौतितमूर्खि भृत्तहृदयोऽभीसगत सङ्गत ।  
विद्वानस्य कवे पितार्थ्यहृदय धीमानितो भावितो  
लङ्घैश्चर्यपुञ्ज कुमारमणिरित्यासक्षय सक्षय ॥  
येनान्यप्रकृति निराकृतवता समानितो भावितो  
यस्य साक्षमाभिज्ञातो दिपुमृष्ठ कर्त्त्वेष्वित शोषित ।  
श्रीमेष्वोऽस्य कवेरसो किल वृहद्वाक्तुलो भातुलो  
दृष्टत्रासजड द्विषामाविगतवासेनर्या सेनर्या ॥  
श्रीमनेक शरण्य. परिसक्विदं भाजनानां जनानां  
रूपेणानुप्रयातो दिक्षयतिसुमसु रक्षयन्त जयन्तम् ।

Writers on the Indian literary history now take it for granted that Kumāradāsa whose name as such appears in the colophon to the poem is the same as king Kumāra Dhātusena who ruled over Ceylon according to Mahāvamśa in the year after Buddha's Nirvāna which corresponds, as worked out by European Chroniclers, to A D 515-524. In the last four verses of canto 20 of the poem Kumāradāsa gives his father's name as Kumāramani and says that on the day his father died in the battle-field he was born and thenceforward he was brought up by his mother's brothers, Sri Megha and Agrabodhi. In the last verse there is also an indication that as a child he was troubled by disease. What the disease was we are not told, but Rūjāsekha in his Kāvya-Mimāmsa instances Kumāradāsa as a poet born blind.<sup>1</sup> Is it possible that the disease was congenital blindness?

39 The Mahāvamśa<sup>2</sup> thus notices the acts of this celebrated Prince — “After his (Moggalana's) demise, his son, who was known as Kumāra Dhatusena, (both) mighty and godlike, became king. He repaired the temple which had been built by his father, held a convocation of (Dhamma) the Baudda Scriptures, and purified the religion. He pleased the priesthood with the four pachchaya, and, having done many meritorious actions, passed away in the ninth year. Kittisena his son then became king.”

This account given in Mahāvamśa shows that the name of the king was Kumāra Dhātusena and not Kumāra Dāsa, that that king's father was Moggalana and not Kumāramani, that Kumāra Dhātusena

ग्राता तन्मातुरस्या शशिधवलयश्च कारणानां रणाना  
कर्तुं पुत्रोऽप्यबोधिर्जनशिरसि लसद्वासुराङ्गं सुराङ्गं ॥  
आदायैन दशाया स्थितमपि तदहस्तनाभ्या स्तनाभ्यां  
तुष्टे तस्मिन्नादानाभरहितपितृके पारयन्तौ रथन्तौ ।  
आत्मापत्त्वाविशेषं पुष्पतुरहतप्रेमदान्तौ मदान्तौ  
यत्सानाथ्यात्स काव्यं व्यरचयदसुरद्विष्महार्थं महार्थम् ॥

These four verses are found in the above manuscript but not in the other manuscript. But the last two lines are found in the poem as originally restored by Dharmārāma as the end of the 25th canto which ought to be 20, for there are only 20 cantos in the complete manuscripts now available. This would show that the four verses must have been part of the original poem and not any suspicious later addition.

The colophon in the manuscript is इति सिंहलस्य कुमारदासस्य वृत्तौ जानकीहरणे महाकाव्ये विशिति सर्गं परिसमाप्तिमगमन् ॥

<sup>1</sup> Gaek Ed page 12.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by L C Wijesinha, 1889.

was a mighty king and ruled well, that he was not incapacitated by any disease or that his father died on the battle field when he was just born, and that there is no mention there of his maternal uncle Sri Megha and Agrabodhi. The latter names occur 40 years later in the list of kings in Chapter 44 of the Mahāvamśa as the 76th king. After his death after a reign of nine years his son Kittusena succeeded him.<sup>1</sup> It will therefore be observed that the account given by the poet of himself in the poem differs in every respect from Mahāvamsa's description of King Kumāra Dhātusena. This name Kumāra Dhātusena when read with his son's name Kittusena shows that the main part of the name was Dhātusena and the word Kumāra was prefixed to it.

The identity therefore of the poet with that particular king cannot possibly be accepted. The language of the poem which in its merit is very akin to that of Kālidāsa and the earliest poets, when read with the tradition that Kālidāsa and Kumāradāsa were friends, suggests the conclusion that Kumāradāsa must have been a far earlier poet than the 5th or 6th century A D, which is induced by the wrong identification. Even in Ceylon, it is not now generally accepted that the author of the poem was this king of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup>

1. In the chronological table Part II Ch xvii in Wijesumha's Mahāvamsa, we have a list of Kings and there we find,

67	Kumara Dhatusana	515 24 A D
74	Kittusri	560 1 A D
76	Aggabodhi I	584 A D

2. Mr S Paranartana, Assistant to Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, writes to me so and was kind enough to give this following information, which is at best available now. King Kumāradāsa is mentioned in the *Mahāvamśa* by the epithet of Kumāra; Dhātusena (Kumāra Dhātusena). But in Sinhalese historical works this king is always referred to as Kumāradāsa. In the chapter dealing with the history of Ceylon in the *Pujñavata*, a Sinhalese work written about 1266 A D, it is said that Moggallana I's son was Kumāradāsa and that he was a great scholar and a contemporary of Kālidāsa, the Indian poet. Other Sinhalese works such as the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, *Sadīkarma Rainākara*, *Rājāratnākara*, and *Rūjñavata*, also mention the same. The *Perakumbū Sirsta*, a Sinhalese poem composed in the 15th century, attributes to King Kumāradāsa the authorship of the *Jānakiharapa*. The identification of Kumāra-dhātusena with Kumāradāsa, by Turnour and others, is evidently based on these Sinhalese authorities. There is an inscription of King Kumāradāsa at a place called Nagunkanda. In this, the king is styled *Maha Kumāradasa raja*, the Sinhalese form of Māha Kumāradāsa rāja. This inscription has been published by Muller in his *Anient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 1872. In this inscription it is somewhat weathered he has not been able to decipher the date. An edition of this record will be

**40** Tradition makes him a contemporary of Kālidāsa and the following story is current. Kumāradāsa had a fair courtesan and in one of his visits to her he wrote a line दमले दमलोत्पति श्रूयते न च दश्यते and promised a reward for the completion of the verse. Kālidāsa was then on a visit to the royal court and happened to lodge in the same mansion and seeing the incomplete verse added ताले तव मुखाभ्योज दष्टमिन्दी-वरद्वयम्. On learning this the courtesan made away with the poet and concealed the body and demanded the reward, but the king suspected that the real poet was elsewhere and made her confess the crime. Aggrieved by the loss of his friend the king consigned himself, in despair, to the fire on the funeral pile of Kālidāsa.<sup>1</sup>

Peralumba Sīrīta thus notices both author and work—"King Kumāradāsa, who on the very same day celebrated a three-fold feast in honor of the inauguration of the queen-consort, the installation into office of a number of priests, and the founding of 18 temples and 18 tanks, and who in masterly and elegant strains composed Janakīharana and other (maha kavu) great poems offered his life for the poet Kālidāsa". Apart from the merit of this story for the purposes of chronology, there can be no doubt that Kumāradāsa was a devout admirer of Kālidāsa and his works.

**41** His Janakīharana, a poem in 20 cantos describes the story of Rāma and the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana.<sup>2</sup>

---

published in the *Epigraphia Ceylonica* at an early date. I attach herewith a transcript in Nagari of the verses dealing with Kumāradhatusena in the *Mahāvānsa*.

तस्सच्चये कुमारादि धातुसेनोऽति विस्तुतो  
अहु तस्समुत्तो राजा देवस्थो महाबलो  
कारिते पितुनाऽकासि विहारे नवकम्मक  
कारेत्वा अम्मसगीति परिसोधेसि सासन  
सतपेसि महासच पञ्चयेहि चतुहिण्ठि  
कत्वा पुञ्जानिङ्गेकानि नवमे हायनेऽतिगा

*Mahāvānsa, Ch. 41, verses 1-8*

1. A description of Ceylon by J. Cordilier, (1907), *Ceylon, ancient and modern*, by an officer of the Ceylon Rifles mentioned in Seehaguri Sastri's *Rep II* (1899), 20, Nandargikar's *Int to Ragh* 122. This story is attributed also to Kālidāsa's wife, Kamalā, in Bhau Daji's *Literary Remains*, 51.

2. On Kumāradāsa and his work, see D'Alwis *Des Cat of Sanskrit, Pali and Singhalese Manuscripts* (Ceylon), Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 17 and *CG* I 110, Peterson *PR*, IV 24, *JBRAS*, XVI 10, and *Int to Subh.* 24, *BR*, (1897), 333. Laumann, *Zum Janakīharana des Kumāradāsa* (*VÖJ*, VII 226-24). S. K. De

The poem was not available for a long time, when Dharmarama reclaimed 15 cantos from a Singhalese sān̄dā (part-share) of Kāysundara and edited the poem so far. Nandargikar and Haraprasad Sastri brought out other editions, but their editions also extended only to 10 and 14 cantos respectively. The 16th canto was edited by Barnett for the London School of Oriental Studies recently. There are now manuscripts of the whole poem intact and they show two recensions of the poem. In the manuscript recently obtained by Mr Ramakrishna Kavi of Madras, the number of verses in each canto is far more than in the manuscript of the Oriental Manuscripts' Library of Madras and in the published editions.

"The first chapter treats of the history of Dasaratha, the second, of the visit of Indra, and the gods, to Vishnu in the Nagaloka, after they were defeated by Ravana, and Vishnu's promise to be born in the human world, the third is on Ritu Varnanā, the fourth, on the worship of Agni, and the birth of Rama in the womb of Kausalā, the Queen of Dasaratha—his education—his departure with Lakshmana on the application of Vasishtha to fight with Rakshasa, etc., the fifth gives a description of, and particulars connected with, the jungle-residence of Vasishtha, the sixth treats of the departure of Rama, etc to Mithila, where a marriage was concluded for him, the arrival there

---

*Some readings of Janakiharana, XVI (Bull of Sch of Or Studies, London, VI, 611 2, Kalidasa in Ceylon [JRAS, (1894) 297], Kumaradasa [JRAS (1901) 578, 265, 128]*

Ed. by Dharmarama Colombo, (1891), by Haraprasad Sastri (Colombo, 1894) Nandargikar (Bombay, 1907, 10 cantos only). For quotations of Kumāradāsa's version in the anthologies, and in Ujavala Jāṭī's commentary, see Thomas, *Int to Kav 36* and Peterson, *Int to Subh*, 26. There is a controversy on the original of the verse, quoted by Kṣemendra in his *Aucyayavicārśacarō*.

अथि विजहीहि ददोपगूहन लज नवसगमसीरु वष्टेम ।

अरुणकरोद्रुम पुष वर्तते वरतु संप्रवदन्ति कुकुटा ॥

based on the last line, found in Pañcāṅguli's *Mahābhāṣya* (T 288) Seshaguri Sastri (Rep, II 20) says, "The verse is not found in the present edition of *Janakiharana* and the full stanza as quoted by Kṣemendra is quite different from that quoted in *Pada-*  
*manjari* except the last lines which are identical.

अपनय पादसरोभमङ्कृत शिथिलय बाहुलती गलादत्ताम् ।

कृत वदनेऽञ्जुकमाकुलीकृत वरतु संप्रवदन्ति कुकुटा ॥

On this question, see *BR*, 1888 84, 56 and *JRAS*, XVI 170 199, Nandargikar, *Int to Ragh*, 196. It seems as if the last line was taken from Pañcāṅguli and the rest of the verse was made up by way of *samsayā pāṭras*.

1 Cat of Colombo Museum Library, page 11,

of Dasaratha etc , the seventh on Rama's marriage with Sītā, the daughter of king Janaka , the eighth treats of their honey-moon , the ninth, the departure of Dasaratha and the new married couple to Ayodhya—the battle fought during their journey, etc , the tenth relates the circumstances attending Rama's expulsion by the infirm Dasaratha, owing to the application for the throne by Kaikeyi for her own son, the invitation of Bharata to Rama, and the abduction of Sītā by Ravana , the eleventh contains the fight between Garuda and Ravana to prevent Sītā being carried away, the death of Garuda, the flight of Ravana with Sītā to Lanka, and the acts of Rama in connection with the battle of Sugrīva and Vali , the twelfth gives a description of Autumn or Sarat Varnana, and Sugrīva's visit to Rama, the thirteenth records Rama's lament for the loss of Sītā, gives description of Varsha, or the rainy season, Sugrīva's attempt at consoling Rama etc , the fourteenth mentions the construction of Adam's bridge , and the fifteenth (which is called the twenty-fifth, and which is evidently deficient in matter) gives a glowing picture of (the blessing of) Barce, as opposed to (the ravages of) war , which is introduced as a message sent by Rama to Ravana <sup>1</sup> The remaining cantos continue the story of Rāmāyana

Kumāradāsa follows Kālidāsa in every line of his description and if imitation is not laudable, he is at least a worthy compeer The poem has been held in high estimation and Jalhāpa praises him in the name of Rājasekhara as an adept in relating the story of Rāma, next only to Kālidāsa <sup>2</sup>

1 As summarised by D'Alwis (10) 194

2 In Suktamukṭāvali

जानकीहरण कर्तुं रथुवशे स्थिते सति ।  
कवि कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षम ॥

For illustration of his language

यत वातायनासभवारमुख्यामुखेन्दव ।  
रस्यासचारिणो यून स्खलन्ति पदे पदे ॥  
उङ्गसत्पु कुमुदेषु षट्पदा सपतन्ति परितो हिमाशुना ।  
सिध्यमानतमसो नम स्खलात् विच्छ्युता इव तमिक्षबिन्दव ॥  
स्त्रियो न पुसामुदयस्य साधन त एव तद्वाम विभृतिहेतव ।  
तडिदियुक्तोऽपि चन प्रजृभते विना न मेघ विलसन्ति विव्युत ॥  
गतापि भर्ते परिकोपमायत गिर कथा मा परुषार्थदीपिनीम् ।  
कुलशियो भर्तुजनस्य भर्त्सने वदन्ति मौन परम हि साधनम् ॥

42 Bhatti was the son of Śrīswāmin or Śrīdharaswāmin. Bhatti has been identified with Bhartṛhari and Bhatī is said to be a prakritised form of Bhatī. The fact that Bhatti and Phartṛhari were both grammarians and the tales that sprang up about their connection with

करोति जीलेन पतित्रता पति गुणस्पृह वश्यमवश्यमङ्गना ।  
 परामव भर्तुरुपंति दुस्तर विनष्टचारिवश्या गुणेषिण ॥  
 उमे वक्षमि वश्याना तिष्ठतो रक्तरुक्षे ।  
 यौवने वनिता वल्कसन्ततिर्वर्धके च न ॥  
 नरेन्द्रचन्द्रस्य यशोवितानज्योत्सना महीमण्डलभण्डनम्य ।  
 तरयारिनारीनयनेन्दुकान्तनिष्पन्दहेतुभवन ततान ॥  
 तेनोपयेमे विधिवद्विधेया वडे समझ समय विदित्वा ।  
 इन्द्रद्विषदभर्तुनिषूदनस्य माता मविकी भवतुत्यधाम्न ॥  
 नामिपश्चस्पृशौ येन भीमौ मायाशयालुना ।  
 पाणिमि पाटितौ काम कीटवन्मयुक्तमौ ॥  
 नृपेण केलीकल्हे परस्याशिश्चन्युत स्याम्बुजिनीपलाश ।  
 हारस्य वीचीकणिका समीपे पूर्वस्थिता. सवरणा बद्धु ॥  
 क्रीडाविमदें वलयस्य मिन्नप्रप्तस्य चिक्षेप विकृप्य हस ।  
 सुच्छे जले बालमृणालमङ्गशङ्काहत शङ्खमयस्य खण्डम् ॥  
 फुळ यदीद कमल किमेतचक्रैव नीलोत्पलयोर्विकास ।  
 हस्याचशङ्कानुसरस्तरन्त्या हस सिषेवे वदन मुदला ॥  
 न स राम हह क यात हत्यनुकूल वनितामिरप्रत ।  
 निजहस्तपुटावृताननो विदधेऽलौकनिलीलमर्मक ॥  
 मुखमाहितधूलि गण्डयो करघृष्टाजनदानमस्य तद् ।  
 वदन सुरदानिनो यथा विबमौ दन्तचतुष्टयोज्ज्वलम् ॥  
 कतरस्तव तात उच्यतामितिधात्रीवचनेन चोदित ।  
 रुचिरेण करेण निर्दिशन् जगदीश प्रमदेन संदधौ ॥  
 सब्रेदवेदाङ्गविदो यमव्यय विदन्ति यत्नेन पद तपस्ति ।  
 स लोककृत्यानि विचिन्त्य कानिचित् तपस्यति स्मेह पुमारु पुरात्म ॥  
 अति विसृज्य वनातिकृष्टाणा मद्वजलोकसमीपनिवेष्णः ।  
 तदिदलातशैरमिताङ्गिता वनगंगा इव सखेन्द्रम्भुदा ॥  
 पतति वृष्टिरेयन्तु निरन्तरं रजतरज्जुक्षताहृतिरायता ।  
 जलधरस्य पतद्विमण्डल स्फटिकदण्डस्तैरु विवारितम् ॥

kingship and King Vikramārka lent colour to this confusion. But on the literary evidence now available the identity is uncertain<sup>1</sup>. There

नग्नेन कृत्वा नवचन्द्रमनिभ विधाय वन्मूकदल कपोलयो ।  
 प्रियाय कोप समुदाहरन्वसौं परम्य गोपी नवमार्त्तगङ्किने ॥  
 मननतश्चनेहित ऊरेज्जून परिगदिते ममधिश्रितनञ्च मौनम् ।  
 पिहसितमपि सान्वने नरोर्बं प्रणविजने युवतेरथ हि दण्ड ॥  
 युवतिमुख्यानेन लोचनेन स्फुटमपि मे न शृणोषि जस्तितार्थ ।  
 मृख्यमुरुज्ज्ञ येन गल कुलिगते नयनश्रवोषपि जात ॥  
 स्वतनुवितरणेन त प्रलोभ्य द्विप्रभिव वन्यमिहोपनेतुकामा ।  
 सविगजगणिकेव चटितासि स्फुरति हि सञ्जन एव भितकले ॥  
 परिभ्रमन्तो महुजा महीतले विदूरभावादतिसूक्ष्मदर्शना ।  
 विभान्तसी वर्मनि शुक्रवामस मुखाहितान्ना इव झीणपङ्क्षय ॥

1 Among the commentators, Jayamangala and Harharsh call him Bhatti, son of Swamini श्रीसामिन्नु कविमहिनामा रामकथाश्रय महाकाव्य चकार। Kandarpa Cakravartin calls the work Bhatti and author Bhartrihari अत्र तावन्भास्मोपा यायश्रीमर्तु हरिकविना शब्दकाण्डयोर्लेखण। Narayanaividyavinoda makes the author Bhartrihari, son of Śridhara-swāmī अत्र कविना श्रीधरस्मिन्नुना मर्तुहरिणा सर्गबन्ध। Bharatamalika names the author Bhartrinam भर्तुहरिनामकवि श्रीरामकथाश्रय महाकाव्य चकार।

Colebrooke (*Essay*, II 116) says "The author was Bhartrihari, not, as might be supposed from the name, the celebrated brother of Vikramaditya but a grammarian and poet who was son of Śridhara Swami, as we are informed by one of his scholars, Vidyavinoda." Professor Aufrecht, in his *Böhl'sian Catalogue*, (p 175b) speaks of Bhartrihari, "onus liber grammaticus, minime vero Bhattikavyam memoratur," but in his notices of the *Praudha memoriam* (p 182 b), and of the *Sarasvatikapthūbhāṣyam*, he cites Bhatti, and in the last named work both Bhatti and Bhartrihari have been separately cited.

Two verses attributed to Bhartrihari in *Subhāṣṭipāvali* are shown as Bhatti-swamini's or Bhartrihari's in *Śvargdhārapadḍhaṭi*. Jayamangala calls the work Bhatti Kāvya and author Bhartrihari Aufrecht says Bhatti, called also Bhartrīswamini or Bhūtiswamini or Śwāmi Bhatta, was the author of Bhatti Kāvya and was the son of Śridhara-swāmī or Śriswāmī. Bhatti is said to be a prakritised form of Bhartrihari (*Notices*, VI i 145) says Bhatti is a diminutive of Bhatta. Kṣemendra and Vallabhadra quote distinctly from Bhatti and Bhartrihari (See Peterson, PR, I 9 Subh 73 4) Bhau Daji Śastri, Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909) 119] and Kishor [IA, III 218] distinguish them. B G Majumdar [*JRAS*, (1904), 297] and probably Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909), 112] identify Bhatti with Vatesabhatti of the inscriptions. But Muju udar [*JRAS*, (1909) 763] seems to waver and withdraw. See also Keith [*JRAS*] (1909) 435], S Ray, *Introduction to Edn Calcutta*, R C Dutt, CIV I 261 A B Keith, *OSL*, 58, Weber, *SL*, 196, S. K. De, *SP*, 60, Jagobi, *Sitzungsber d*

are other stories which make Bhatti son of Bhartrihari or brother of Bhartrihari,<sup>1</sup> a minister of Vikrama or Vikramarka.<sup>2</sup> The stories are many (i) A Brahmin named Chandragupta had four wives, one of the Brahmin caste, another of the Kshatriya, the third of the Vanya, the fourth of the Sudra caste. They were called Brahmani, Bhanumati, Bhagvati and Sindhumi. Each of the four bore him a son. Vararuci was born of the first wife, Vikramarka of the second, Bhatti of the third and Bhartrihari of the fourth. Vikramarka became King, while Bhatti served him in the capacity of prime-minister. (ii) There is yet another version, that Bhattarka, a king of Valabhi, was the real Bhatti and Bhartrihari a poet of his Court, composed his poem Rāvanavadha and let it pass in his patron's name.<sup>3</sup> (iii) Bhartrihari was himself a king. Once a Brahmin brought to him a present of a priceless fruit, he gave it to his queen, and she gave it to her paramour. The discovery of this infidelity made him distrust the world and he left the household and turned an ascetic. It is said this is indicated in his composition of the three Satakas in a verse in his subhāṣita<sup>4</sup>

सा रस्या नगरी महान् स नृपति सामन्तचक्र च त-  
त्पार्थे तस्य च सा विद्यधपरिषिद्धाश्चन्द्रविम्बानना ।  
उद्गृह्ण स च राजपुत्रनिवहस्ते वन्दिनस्ता कथा  
सर्वे यस्य वशादगात्स्मृतिपथ कालाय तस्मै नम ॥

In the last verse of his Rāvanavadha he mentions his patron King Sri Dharasena of Valabhi

काव्यमिदं विहितं मया वलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम् ।  
कीर्तिरथं भवतादतो नृपस्य क्षेमकरं क्षितिपो यत् प्रजानाम् ॥

" May this poem, written by me in Valabhi, the protected of the Great King Sri Dharasena, be to the glory of the king, since the king is the well-doer of the people "

<sup>1</sup> Valabhi was the capital of Saurashtra (Gujrat) Kingdom and has been identified with Walleh<sup>5</sup>. There were four Dharasenas, the first

*Preussischen Akademie* (1922), 216, Anderson, *Some account of Bhatti Kavya* [JBRAS, III ii 20]

On Bhartrihari, see Kielhorn, IA, XII 226, K. P. Pathak, *Bhartriharis and Kumarsas*, JBRAS, XVIII 218, Was Bhartrihari a Buddhist? Ibid XVIII 341, and Telang, *Int. to Satakas*, and IA, IX 808. On his Vakyapadiya see IA, III 286

1 Bhau Daji, JBRAS (1869) 214

2 Bohlen, *Pref. to Satakas*, 6

3 SeshaGiri Sastri IA I 819.

4 M. Suryanarayana, *Some Buddhist Poets*, Telugu], 85

5 IA, I 166

about Valabhi Samvat 183 and the last 330 Valabhi Samvat appears to be identical with Gupta Valabhi Samvat<sup>1</sup> and the epoch of the Gupta era varies according to different scholars, 167, 190, 319 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to say which of these four Dharasenas was the patron of Bhatti and it is likely Bhatti flourished in the 4th or 5th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

1 See I4, XV 187 and XIII 160, when these terms are used, indicating identity of meaning

2 The Gupta era is placed by different writers in different years, (see I4 XV 388) by Cunningham in 167 A.D., by Bayley in 190 A.D. and Alberuni in 319 A.D. For his Kāra grant, see Fleet, CII 184 98 dated Gupta Valabhi 380 which according to Fleet is 319 20, plus 330 or 649 50 A.D. See also Tol's *Rajasthan*, I 705, Phan darkar, *EHD* 18, Dosabai's *History of Gujarat*, 825, Lossen (See Max Muller, *India*, 851) says that Bhatti's patron was Dharasena II [I4, VII 68, VIII 801, XV, 187, dated Val Sam 252]. The name Bhatti is found in two grants of Dhruvasena I (Sam 221) and Dhruvasena III (Sam 384) as Superintendent of the Kitchen (See Archaeological Survey of India, 86-96, Trivedi's Int to Edn xxii)

3 The following grants and inscription with dates will be useful for research

Dharasena I	I4, V 204	Val S 207
	,, IV 104	,, 216
Guhasena	,, VII 266	,, 240
	,, V 206	,, 268
Dharasena I	,, VI 9	,, 269
Dharasena II	,, XV. 187	Gupta Val S 252
	,, XIII 160	Val S 252
	,, VII 68, 72}	
	,, VIII 801 }	,, 259, 270
Dharasena IV	,, I 45	,, 272
	,, VII 78 }	
	,, XV 385}	,, 880
Dharasena IV and Śilāditya I	,, I 45	,, 286
Śilāditya I	,, XIV 827	,, 272
	,, IX 287}	
	,, XI 805	,, 290
	,, XI 827}	
Dhruvasena II	,, VI 12	,, 810
Kharagrha II	,, VII. 76	,, 887
Śilāditya II	,, XI 805	,, 852
Śilāditya V	,, VI 16	,, 441
Śilāditya III (Dhruvabhatta)	,, VII 79	,, 447

See also *JBRAS*, VII 116, VIII, 280. For the genealogy from Bhattark see C V Vaidya's *History of Medieval India*, I 250. But on the dates given in the inscriptions, the order of these kings requires reconsideration.

For a discussion regarding Valabhi chronograms, see I4, VII 808

There is a tradition that one day when Bharṭṛhari was lecturing on grammar, an elephant passed between him and his pupils and as a result of the evil omen, the lectures had to be suspended for a year. Bharṭṛhari could not forbear so long and resorted to the device of teaching grammar through the medium of poetry and at the end of the year, the poem was complete.<sup>1</sup> True or untrue, the method so adopted has really served to achieve the end and to this day, a study of Bhatti helps the teaching of language with felicity.

**43 Bhāttikāvya** is a work of great renown.<sup>2</sup> In four parts, Prakīrṇa, Prasanna, Alankāra and Tīñanta, it illustrates the grammatical formations according to the aphorisms of Pāṇini, figures of speech and other rhetorical devices, but often we see verses of real poetic merit.<sup>3</sup> In Canto X, there are illustrations of Alankāras<sup>4</sup> and from their number and their significance, it is conjectured that Bhātti came after Bhāmaha.<sup>5</sup>

1 S Ray, *Int to Edn*, viii.

2 Ed. Bombay [BSS, 56, 57], Madras and Calcutta. On works ascribed to Bhātti, see *I.A.*, XI, 285.

3 हिरण्यमी साललेते जब्बामा च्युता दिव स्थास्तुरिवाचिरप्रमा ।  
शशाङ्ककान्तेरधिदेवताकृति सुता ददे तस्य सुताय मैथिली ॥  
न तज्जल यश सुवाशुपङ्कज न पङ्कज यच्छलीनषट्पदम् ।  
न षट्पदोऽसो न जुगुञ्ज य कल न खुञ्जित तज्ज जहार यन्मन ॥  
अच्यैष वेदांस्तिवदशानयष्ट पितृनातासीत् सममस्त बन्धून् ।  
अजेष्ट षड्गंभरस्त नीतौ समूलवात् न्यवधीदर्दीश ॥  
पपात राक्षसो भूमौ रराट च मयकरम् ।  
तुतोद गदया चारि त द्वावादिणा कपि ॥

4 For the list of alankāras illustrated in Canto X, see *JRAS*, (1928), 880 *et seq.*

5 On this question there is a difference of opinion. It mainly turns on the two verses

काव्यान्यपि यदीभानि व्यास्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।  
उत्सव सुवियामेव हन्त दुर्मेष्टसो हता ॥

*Bhāmaha*, II. 30,

and

व्यास्यागम्यमिद काव्यमूत्सव सुवियामलम् ।  
हता दुर्मेष्टसव्यास्मिन् विद्विष्यतया भया ॥

*Bhātti*, xxii. 34

**44** Dasānanavadvahakāvya of Yogindranātha Tarkacūḍāmanī embraces the same theme<sup>1</sup>

There are commentaries on Bhattikāvya by [Kandarpacakravarṭin Bharatāsena, Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda, Puṇḍarikākṣa, Kumudanandana, Puruṣottama, Rāmacandra-vācaspati, Ramānanda, Hariharācārya].<sup>2</sup>

"Even if these, which, like scientific treatises, can be understood only by commentaries, be poems, it is only a festival to those who have a fine intellect, but alas undone are the dull witted"

"This poem is explicable by a commentary. It is, however, sufficient that it will be a festival for the intelligent, and it is because I like the wise, that I have not thought much of the dull witted"

Which of these could be the earlier? Either Bhāmaha criticised Bhatti [Jacobi, ZDMG, lxiv, *so der preses A AD* (1922), 2103, Keith, SL, 51] or Bhatti wrote in anticipation of the rhetorical objection as already set out by Bhāmaha. The former seems more likely S K De, [SP, 50]. H. R. Diwekar [JRAS (1924), 880] says "It is not thus a boast, but rather an excuse. If a poet is to boast of his poem as being a hard nut to crack, he will boast that the learned and not the dull witted will find it difficult. To puzzle the dull-witted is not a thing to be proud of, and this is why Bhatti gives vīḍvatpriyatā as an excuse for that. It will, therefore, be not wrong if it is said that the verse of Bhāmaha, whose conception of a poem is अविद्वदङ्गनाबालप्रतीतार्थं प्रस्तुवत् | must be the original, and the verse of Bhatti, was also accepts that conception, is based on Bhāmaha's words. The word *eva* which signifies a *pratiṣedha* (contradiction), and the reason *vīḍvatpriyatā* put forward makes this position quite clear in the minds of the readers."

For striking resemblances between Bhāmaha and Bhatti compare also

१ सविकमाकान्तभुवश्चित्र यच तवोद्भृते ।

को वा सेतुरुल सिन्धोर्विकारकरण प्रति ॥

Bhāmaha, ii 10

and

बुद्धिमान् राक्षसो मूढश्चित्र नासौ यदुद्भृत ।

को वा हेतुरनार्यणी घमे वर्त्मनि वर्तितुम् ॥

Bhatti, x 27

11. यथेनशब्दौ सादस्यमाहतुर्व्यतिरेकिणो ।

दूर्वाकाण्डभिव श्याम तन्वी श्यामा लता यथा ॥

Bhāmaha, ii 81

and

योषिद्वन्दारिका तस्य दथिता हसगामिनी ।

दूर्वाकाण्डभिव श्यामा न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला ॥

Bhatti, v 18

1 Ed Calcutta

2 For these commentaries, see IO, 544 5, CG, I 418

Bharata or Bharatamallika,<sup>1</sup> Jayamangala,<sup>2</sup> Jīlānandavidiāśīgarā,<sup>3</sup> Mallinātha,<sup>4</sup> Śridhara,<sup>5</sup> Sankarācarya<sup>6</sup>

**45** Bhatti's example has been fruitful in similar compositions. In Rāvāṇārjuniyam<sup>7</sup> in 27 cantos, Bhūma or Bhaumaka<sup>8</sup> relates the story of Kārtavīrya and illustrates almost the whole Aṣṭadhvāni of Pāṇini. He is quoted by Jayāditya in his Kāśika and by Kremendra in Suvarittilaka and may have lived about 7th century AD. In MSS available in Malabar the author's name is given as Bhosa and the colophon runs as इति श्री बलभीष्मास्तन्यमहूमविरचिते There is a commentary on it by Parameswara.

Similarly in Lakānādarśa, Mahāmohopādhvāva Dvākara,<sup>9</sup> narrates in 14 cantos the story of Mahabhrāta, with expressions illustrative of grammatical rules of Panini.<sup>10</sup>

**46** Kāśīnātha's Yaduvamsakāvya, describing the history of Yadus,<sup>11</sup> Pāṇiniśūtrodāharanam, of unknown authorship dealing with the story of Bhagavatam<sup>12</sup> illustrates the aphorisms of Pāṇini. So also

1 Ed Calcutta DC, XX 7788 He was the son of Ambastha Gaurīṅga Mallika and lived about 1800 He mentions Kavikalpadruma of Bopadeva See Metra, VI 144, CO, I 899

2 Ed Calcutta Jayamangala's definitions of Alankaras in Canto X show him to be older than Mammata (see Trivedi's Int to Edn) There is a criticism of this commentary, TC, IV 5467

3 Ed Calcutta 4 Ed everywhere 5 DC, XX 7787.

6 CO, I 418, quoted in Mādhyaviya Dhātuvṛtti

7 Ed Bombay BKR, 62, Trivedi's Int (op cit)

8 There is an Angada nāṭaka by Bhubhatta (B, II 116; CO, I 4) which seems to be a mistake for Subhata Bhumata (CO, I 418) and Bhima Kavi (L, XXXI 229) are different. The other variants seen in MSS are Bhuma Bhatta, Bhu Bhatta, Bhumabhatta. See Peterson, Subh 88. There are verses quoted in Śārangadharapāḍḍhi:

9 TO, IV 5684. Kārvīśīcarya, also known as Devakara son of Vaidyēśvara and Gupavajī of Bhāraṭvāja gotra lived in the court of King Kṛṣṇaraya of Vizianagar and wrote the poem Bhāraṭāmr̥tam in 20 cantos (TC, IV 5502). His brother Madhusudana wrote Dhūrjatcarīśabhanā

10 The following colophon will show the object of the poem.

इति लक्षणादर्थे पाण्डवचरिते महाकव्ये पाण्डित्ये कुटसदिभ्युपादि कावद्येत्तुक्षमसङ्गहा-  
पाण्डवलक्षणो नाम प्रथमसर्वं ॥

11 Nag, Cat, II. 220; Oudh, II. 65; PR, III. 226. Kāśīnātha was son of Śāradā and Rohṇī.

12 TO IV. 4548 A commentary in pt. by Viśadeva on the Poems of King Revivarman of Malabar

are Subhadrāharanam (in 20 cantos) of Nārāyana, son of Brahmadaṭṭa of Kudalür-mana of Malabar<sup>1</sup> and Vāsudevavijayam of Vasudeva,<sup>2</sup> treating of the marriage of Subhadrā and story of Kṛṣṇa respectively. Nārāyaṇa's Dhātukāvyam is a sequel to the latter, in illustration particularly of verbal forms, as dealt with by Bhīmasena's Dhātu-pāṭham and Mādhava's Dhātu-vṛtti.<sup>3</sup> Vālyāvalī illustrates in four cantos grammatical peculiarities, figures of speech, prosody and poetical tricks.<sup>4</sup> Śrīchhnakāvyam in 12 cantos relates the life of Kṛṣṇa, the first eight cantos were written by Kṛṣṇalilāśuka in illustration of Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa and the rest by his pupil Durgāprasādayati, in illustration of Trivikrama's Prākṛta grammar.<sup>5</sup>

47. **Bhattara-Harichandra.**<sup>6</sup> is praised by Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita. It is said that he wrote a romance Mālatī. He may therefore be assigned to the 5th or 6th century A.D. In Saduktī-Karpāmṛṭa (5139) he is mentioned as an "enchanting poet" and classed with great poets.<sup>7</sup> His verses are quoted in the anthologies.<sup>8</sup>

Harichandra,<sup>9</sup> a Jain poet of the Digambara sect, was the son of Ārdradeva and Rādhā and brother of Lakṣmana of the Kāyaśha Samomaka family. He bore the title of Sarasvatīpuṇṭra.<sup>10</sup> He is mentioned by Rājāśekhara in his Karpūramanjarī.

1. *TC*, III, 8889. There is a commentary by the author himself for 16 cantos. He is different from Nārāyaṇa Bhattāṭṭīn, who wrote Nārāyāpiyam in 1587 A.D. See *JRAS*, (1900), 763 and *Int. to Narāyāpiyam* (Tr Sans Series).

2. Ed. Bombay, Kāvyamāla Part X. See on this author, *post*.

3. *DC*, XX, 7744. There is a commentary probably by the author himself.

4. *Kup Rep* (1919), 39.

5. *TC*, V, R No 4156.

6. Hultzsch (*JMy*, XII, 818) denies and Peterson is not certain about his identity (*PR*, II, 77) with the other Haricandra.

7. सुबन्धौ मतिर्णे क इह रुकारे न रमते

धृतिर्दोषीपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि इदयम् ।

विशुद्धोक्ति. सूर प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिर.

तथा प्यन्तमोदं कमपि भवभूतिवित्तुते ॥

8. *ZDMG*, XXXVI, 269, *Subh*, 161.

9. He is called Hariscandra by Lakṣmapa in his Commentary in Vājirāja's Yosodharacarita (*IC*, III, 8924).

A poet Haricandra, son of Rudrapāṇḍita, lived in the court of Bhillama III of Devagiri and composed an inscription in 1025 (Saka ?) (*IA*, XVII, 120, XXIII, 129).

Another Haricandra known as Vaidya Haricandra, an ancestor of Maheśvara, author of *Vishvakośa*, was a poet and he is quoted in Subhāṣīvālī. See *Auf Bod Cat*, 187, 857, *Sskh Rep* II, 45-6, Peterson, *Subh*, 186, *Būna*, *His predecessors and Contemporaries*, (*JRAS*, XVI, app. II p. 111).

10. *PR*, II, 77.

His DHARMASARMA DHYU DAYAM<sup>1</sup> is a poem in 21 cantos describing the life of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tīrthankara from his birth to nirvāna. The hero was born as the son of Mahāsena of Ilavāku family and king of Raṭnapura by his wife Suvaratā. His verse is full of melody and his expression noted for its lucidity.<sup>2</sup>

In his JIVANDHARACAMPū<sup>3</sup> he relates in 13 lambhas the story of a Jaina prince Jīvandhara, son of king Satyandhara as related by Sudharmā to King Srenika. The language is charming and takes rank with the best of its kind. T S Kuppuswami Sastrī mentions a drama, Jīvandharacaritam by Haricandra.

**48 Bharavi**, known also as Dāmodara, was the son of Nārāyaṇa-paśūnāmin of Kausika goṭra. His ancestors lived at Ānandapura in N W India and migrated later into the country of Nāsikya<sup>4</sup> (Dekhan). Once accompanying the local prince Viṣṇuvardhana<sup>5</sup> on a hunting expedition, in dire distress, he was obliged to eat meat and he set out on pilgrimage to expiate the sin. On his way he made acquaintance with Durvinita<sup>6</sup> (a Ganga prince). Having heard his glory sung by a

1 Ed. Bombay

2 He himself says so in his concluding verse

सकर्णपीयूषरसप्रवाह रसधनेरव्वनि सार्थवाह ।  
श्रीवर्मद्यमाभ्युदयामित्रान् भ्राकवि काव्यमिदं व्यवत्त ॥

8 Ed Tanjore, DC, XXI 8119, T S Kuppuswami Sastrī says that he lived after 900 A D on the analogy of story and language and with Vādībhasimha's Kṣaṇracudāmaṇi.

Other works about Jīvandhara edited by T S Kuppuswami Sastrī, Tanjore, see Gunabhadra's Jīvandharacaritram, and Vādībhasimha's Gadyacūḍāmaṇi. On the story of Jīvandhara, by E Hultzsch, see JMY, XII 817.

4 The word probably means Peninsula. Dandin uses this word in the sense of South India where Kāñcī is situated.

5 Viṣṇuvardhana here referred to might be Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana of the inscriptions. He was the younger brother of Saṭyāśraya Pulakesin II who ascended the throne in 608 A D. As a general under the latter he captured Vengi from the Pallavas and conquered king Haṛṣavardhana. He was viceroy of a province with the capital at Piṭṭipura, now Pithapuram in Godavari District. Later, he declared his independence of his brother and founded the dynasty of Eastern Chalukyas. On Pulakesin and Viṣṇuvardhana, see V Smith, BH 426, 486, Rep. of Epigraphy (Madras) G O No 574, 11th July 1906, Keilhorn, EI VIII App 11. For grants of Viṣṇuvardhana I (E. Chalukya) see IA, XIX 308 (589-40 Saka=608-9 A D) and XX 15 (682 A D) and of Viṣṇuvardhana V, see IA, VII 186 (640 Saka=668-9 A D) and VII 191 (581 Saka=659-60 A D). JAHS, I 86.

6. Durvinita was the son of king Aviniṭa of Kongani and daughter's son of Punnesvara. Durvinita was disinherited by his father and in his banishment wandered

Gandharva in a couplet, king Simhavisnu,<sup>2</sup> of Kāncī invited the author of it and that was Bhāravi. There he lived happily in the company of the royal prince Mahendravikrama, the son of Simhavisnu. He had a son Manorāṭha and Dandin, as we shall see, was the son's son of Manorāṭha. This is the account given in the Avantisundarikathā.

over distant countries. He was a great scholar and wrote a commentary on 15 cantos of Bharavi's Kirātārjuniya a Sanskrit version of the Brāhmaṇihā and the work called Sabdāvastāna. See,

श्रीमत्कोङ्कणमहाराजाधिराजस, अविनीतनाम्न पुत्रण गच्छतारकारेण देवभारती-  
निबद्धबृहत्कथेन, किरातार्जुनीयपञ्चदशमर्गशीकाकारेण दुर्विनीतनामध्येन

[*My Arch Rep* (1916) 26], also *EC* (Tumkur) 28, 1A, XLII 204

On the genuineness of these inscriptions doubts were expressed but there is no reason to suspect a forgery. There is a learned discussion by R. Narasimhachar Durvinīta is mentioned in Nṛpiṇuga's Kavirājamārga as a great Kanarese author.

1 Simhavisnu was the Pallava king who ruled between 575 and 600 A.D. at Kāncī. He vanquished the Mulaya, Pandya, Chola etc. kings and took possession of the banks of the Kāveri. His son was Mahendravarman or Mahendravikramavarmā I (600-635 A.D.). He bore the titles Śāṭrumalla and Avari bhājana. He was the author of the Maṭṭavilāsa Prahasanam, a farce known after his own title Maṭṭavilāsa (Ed. Tr. Sanskrit series, No. 55). In this play are described the drunken rivelry of a Kāpālika with his female companion, his quarrel with a hypocritical Śākyā Bhikṣu for alleged theft of a bowl, the mediation by a degenerate Pāśupāṭa and the final recovery of the bowl from a madman.

The genealogy from Simhavisnu is given by V. Venkayya in *Mod Rev* VIII 185 in this order—Simhavisnu—Mahendravarman I—Narasimhavarman—Mahendravarman II—Paramesvaravarman (defeated Chalukya Vikramaditya)—Rajasimha—Mahendravarman II and Paramesvaravarman II—Nandivarman (about 760 A.D.)

In the Mamandoor inscription we find गवदञ्जुकमत्तविलासादि and the rest of the inscription is mutilated. If गवदञ्जुक means भगवदञ्जुक, the coupling of it with मत्तविलास would mean that their author was the same. There is also a broken line in the Avantisundari kāṭhā स च तथा गृष्मामाणगन्धमादनप्रस्तुतिमि श्रीवरकृतै सस्फुटप्राकृताना च ...

Śrīvara is the general name of Pallava kings, used in inscriptions. It is possible that this verse may refer to a work called Gandhamāḍana by Mahendravikramavarman. See also the following verse of Rājasekhara quoted in Jālhana's Sūkṣmukti-vāli.

शूर- शास्त्रिदे शाता साहसाङ्क स भूपति ।  
सेव्य सकललोकस्य विद्येये गन्धमादनम् ॥

Here the word Sāhasāṅka may refer to this king.

For relevant inscriptions, see *EI*, IV 152 and *SII*, 1 29-30, and Venkayya, *Inscriptions on the Tissamunopoly cave (Arch Surv Annual 1908-4, 270 ff.)*; G. Jouanny-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Dracan* (Pondicherry), 68, and *The Pallavas* (Pondicherry), 89; *Pallava Antiquities*, I Ch 11, T Ganapati Sastrī, *Int to Maṭṭavilāsa-prasādana*.

There is a doubt whether Bhāravi and Dāmodara were identical,<sup>1</sup> and Bhāravi was another name of Dāmodara. Avantisundarīkaṭhā-sāra is a version in verse of Avantisundarīkaṭhā in prose and the version is almost a faithful reproduction. In Kaṭhāsāra (123) the verse is

दामोदर इति श्रीमानादि ब्राह्मन् । मैथावी कविविद्वान्मारवि प्रभव (वा?) गिराम्-  
अनुसन्ध्याकरोन्मेत्री नरेन्द्रे विष्णुवर्धने ।

The corresponding prose passage in Kaṭhā as printed by M R Kavi is mutilated and indistinct

यत कौशि व पुण्यकर्माणि विष्णुवर्धनास्ये राजसूनो प्रणयमन्वनात् ।

G Harihara Sastri has made an extract of this passage from another manuscript obtained from the Department of Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Trivandrum.

यत कौशिककुमारो (दामोदरो) महाशैव महाप्रभाव प्रदीपसाम भारवि रविमिवेन्दु-  
रनुरुद्ध दर्श इव पुण्यकर्माणि विष्णुवर्धनास्ये राजसूनो प्रणयमन्वन्वनात् ।

That is, this passage reads Bhāravi and the adjectives attached to it in the objective declension so that the word becomes an object of the verb *anuruddha*. Harihara Sastri says 'what we learn from the prose and metrical versions is that Bharavi was a saivite (*mahasava*) and great poet (*girāmprabhavah*) attached to the Prince Viṣṇuvardhana and that Dāmodara, who was also endowed with poetical gifts of a high order, secured the friendship of the Prince through the medium of Bharavi'.<sup>2</sup> This does not however affect the date to be assigned to Bhāravi.<sup>3</sup>

Besides these synchronisms, the name of Bhāravi is mentioned in the Aihole inscription<sup>4</sup> of Pulekesin II, dated Saka 556 (=AD 634). Bhāravi may therefore be taken to have lived on either side of the beginning of the 6th century AD.

1 IHQ, III 169

2 S K De, (IHQ, I 81, III 162) concurs in this view. S K De, assigns Bhāravi to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th Century AD.

3 IA V 67 71 where the whole inscription is published

येनायोजि न वेश्य स्थिरमर्थविघ्नी विवेकिना विनेवम् ।

स विजयता रविकीर्ति कविताश्रितकालिदाससमारविकीर्ति ॥

'May this Revikirthi, who has obtained the fame of Kalidasa and Bharavi who followed the noble path of poetics be victorious! May he flourish for ever, who in his great wisdom had this temple of Jina constructed, as firm as rock itself on a costly and new model.'

For a discussion of this inscription, see page 63 supra, and IA, VI 78, XVI 109; CII, III 79 note

**49** Stories of Bharavi's poverty and affluence are current in a variety of versions Pargankar gives a version

"Bharavi was ground by poverty and being ever immersed in poetic life, was often troubled by the furious remarks of his wife. She once reproached him for his dullness in as much as he did not stir himself about money, and the poet, goaded by necessity and the constant reproaches of his wife, did set out to try his fortune to seek royal support. When he had gone a few miles, he saw a beautiful tank. Fatigued by the labours of the journey, he stopped there and wrote the following verse on a lotus-leaf

सहसा विदधीत न कियासविवेकं परमापदा पदम् ।

वृषुते हि निमूल्यकारिणं गुणलुभ्या स्यमवे सपद ॥—*Kirata*, II 80

The king of the country who happened to be on the very spot as as he had left his palace for hunt, was so much delighted with it that he ordered the poet to see him in his palace at a particular time and then galloped off. The poet, mean looking and dressed in rags, found no admittance to the royal presence, and had in despair to go back. The king, however, had the verse painted in gold in his private chamber. A year silently passed, when the king set out with his chosen few to hunt, declaring that he would return after a week. On the second night, however, his camp not being far off, he rode alone to his private chamber and to his extreme wonder and rage, found the queen lying with another person on his bed! Suddenly he drew out his sword and was about to strike both dead, when the verse in golden letters attracted his attention. His rage abated and he resolved to awaken both and tell them of their heinous offence and then to pass the sentence of capital punishment on them. But what was his surprise when, on awakening them, he was told that the youth was no other than his son, who being stolen away by a nurse from cradle, was discovered that very evening! The king, immediately in tears thanked God that he had not rashly murdered his wife and his only son the sole heir to the throne. It need hardly be added that the king afterwards sought out the author of the verse that had so curiously preserved the life of his son, and rewarded him suitably.”\*

1. The verse was so popular that it is frequently quoted in Sastric discussions. Prabhākara in his Br̥hatī (I 1) ridicules his opponent's want of sense by the 2nd line.

2. For another version, see M Suryanarayana Sastry, *Lives of Sanskrit Poets* (Telugu) Amalapuram, 92-6

**50 Kiratarjuniyam**<sup>1</sup> is his only poem known to us. In eighteen cantos, it describes the fight between Arjuna and Śiva in the garb of a mountaineer. On the advice of Vyāsa to seek celestial arms by penance, Arjuna engages himself in severe penance in the Himālayas. Śiva comes to meet him as a Kirāta, wild-hunter, and a mighty boar which came to attack Arjuna is slain. Both Arjuna and the disguised god claim the merit of having slain the animal and a quarrel is picked up and fight ensues. When fighting in the air Arjuna holds the god by the feet and on his appeal, Śiva reveals himself and blesses the warrior with the gift of arms with which he was to win back his lost kingdom. The poem bears *Lak-mī-pada-anka*<sup>2</sup>. The poem displays a vigour of thought and language and a lofty eloquence of expression rarely equalled in Sanskrit literature<sup>3</sup>. In a well-known verse in *Sadukti Karnāmṛta* his words are said to possess a natural grace<sup>4</sup>. On account of the beauty of a particular verse, the poet became known as *Chatra Bhāravi*<sup>5</sup>.

1. Ed. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and elsewhere and in Harvard University Series No 15, with a German translation by C Cappeller, [reviewed in *JBRAS* (1917) 869 by F. W. Thomas]. Translated into English (Cantos 1 to 4) by B N Nandi (Calcutta), (cantos 1 to 5) by Subrahmanyā Sastri, Madras; (cantos 1 to 10) by L R Pangarkar, Bombay, (cantos 1 to 8) by M B Kale, Bombay. Cantos 1 to 8 by M B Kale with an elaborate introduction, Cantos 1 to 10 by Pangarkar (with an introduction). Abridged in verse in Dutt's *Lays of Ancient India*.

On Bhāravi generally, see Peter on, *Subh* 79 B C Dutt, *CI*, II 287-92, Bhāskar Daji, *JBRAS*, IX 815, Bhandarkar, *JBRAS*, XIV 24; Fleet *LA*, V 67; VIII, 207; *JBRAS*, XVIII 148, *JRAS*, (1917), 869, Jacobi, *VOJ*, III, 144; Goldenka, *AR*, XII, 889. Kiehl (Ok 51) places him before Bāna. A Rangaswami Sarasvati, *The Age of Bharata and Dandin*, *JMy*, XIII 670-88, *JOB*, (1927) 198, *Sah* XVI 89, Elou's Bibliography appended to Edn in Harvard University series.

2. B V Krishnamacharya collects such maxims or *ankas* in several poets (*Sah*, XVIII, 223).

3. It was Māgha's ambition to view with Bhāravi and both chose their plots from the *Mahābhārata*. For parallel passages, see C Cappeller, loc.

There is this traditional verse

तावद्धा भारतेर्मति यावन्मात्रस्त नोदय ।  
उदिते च पुनर्मति भारते मर्म रेतरित ॥

4. प्रकृतिभवुरा भारतीगिर

See the verse quoted *supra*.

5. उत्पुष्टस्थलनिलिकानादमुप्पाद्यूत सरसिजसमवं पराग ।

वात्याभिर्विशति विवर्जित समन्तादावते कनकमयातपत्रलङ्घीम् ॥

*Karāta*, V 89.

See *Sah*, XVIII 89 for similar titles.

His work is compact and meaning-leaden "He is a hard-thinking poet, in whom we feel at work a certain intension of will" <sup>1</sup>

This poem has been the standard text book for ages for students of literature. The first three cantos are particularly hard and came therefore to be known as pāñāṭrayam and in the 15th canto, there are verses in a variety of meanings and alliteration.

**51** In the richness of a creative fancy, in true tenderness and pathos, says R C Dutt, and even in the sweetness and melody of verse, Kālidāsa is incomparably the greatest poet. But nevertheless Bhāravi boasts of a vigour of thought, and of language, and lofty eloquence in expression, which Kālidāsa seldom equals. Bhāravi's dramatic expression is the subject of approbation when Śāradātanaya says —

तादात्म्य भावरसयोर्मारवि स्पष्टमूचिषान् ।

Mallinātha describes Bhāravi's language as nārikelapāka and says that the sweetness of his poetry is enveloped in a garb of apparent ruggedness <sup>2</sup>. The saying of pandits ranks Kalidasa's similes along with Bharavi's pregnant expressions <sup>3</sup>.

**52** There is a prose abidgment by a Pandit Ayurveda Bhushana M Duraiswami Iyengar <sup>4</sup>. The same story of the fight between Arjuna and Śiva <sup>5</sup> is related in the Sankarānanda Campū of Gururāma <sup>6</sup> in Pārthalilā <sup>7</sup> a poem of unknown authorship and is dramatised in the Kiratārjunīyavyāyoga of Rāmavarma, <sup>8</sup> and in Dhananjayavijaya, vyāyoga of Kancanācārya <sup>9</sup>.

1 Bhāravi's अर्थगोरवम् is proverbial Krishnaki in his Bharata Carita (Tr. Sans Series) wrote

प्रदेशवृत्त्यापि महान्तमर्थं प्रदर्शयन्ती रसमादधाना ।

ता मारवे सत्पथदीपिकेव रम्या कृति कैरिव नोपजीव्या ॥

Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, 84, Manning's *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, II  
184 5

2 नारिकेलफलसमितं वचो मारवे सपदि तद्विमञ्ज्यते ।

सादयन्तु रसगर्मनिर्मर्मं सारभस्य रसिका यथेसितम् ॥

उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेर्धगौरवम् ।

3 Ed Madras

4 In the cave temple of Mahabalipuram there is sculpture representing Kirāti and Arjuna. See Kalā, I

5 DC, XXI 8808

6 TC, III 8460

7 Ed Sahridaya, IV

8 Ed Karyamala, Bombay

**53** There are commentaries on the poem by Mallināṭha,<sup>1</sup> by Vidyāmādhava<sup>2</sup>, by Mangala,<sup>3</sup> by Devarājabbhatta,<sup>4</sup> by Rāmacandra,<sup>5</sup> by Kṣitipālamalla,<sup>6</sup> by Prakāśavarsa,<sup>7</sup> by Kṛnakavi,<sup>8</sup> by Cīrabhānu,<sup>9</sup> by Fkanaṭha,<sup>10</sup> by Jonarāja,<sup>11</sup> by Harikāntha,<sup>12</sup> by Bharatāsena,<sup>13</sup> by Bhagīrathamisra,<sup>14</sup> by Peddabbhatta,<sup>15</sup> by Allāda Narahari,<sup>16</sup> by Haridāsa,<sup>17</sup> by Kāśinathā,<sup>18</sup> by Dharmavijayagani,<sup>19</sup> by Rajakunda,<sup>20</sup> by Gadāsimha,<sup>21</sup> by Dāmodaramisra,<sup>22</sup> by Manoharasirman,<sup>23</sup> by Mādhava,<sup>24</sup> by Lokānanda,<sup>25</sup> by Vankidāsa,<sup>26</sup> by Vijavarāma or Vijavasundara,<sup>27</sup> and Sabdārthdipiṭika,<sup>28</sup> and Prasanna Sahityacandikā of unknown authorship,<sup>29</sup> by Nṛsimha,<sup>30</sup> by Ravikīrti,<sup>31</sup> by Śrīrangadeva,<sup>32</sup> by Śrīkantha,<sup>33</sup> by Vallabhadeva,<sup>34</sup> by Jībananda Vidyāsagara,<sup>35</sup> by Kanakalālaśarma and by Gangābharamisra.<sup>36</sup>

1. Ed everywhere

2. *DC*, XX 7759, *TG*, III 8924. He was in the court of Bhulokamalla Somesvara III who ruled about 1125 A.D. See V. Smith, *EH*, 437.

3. *TC*, III, 8820

4. *DC*, XX 7882, *TG*, II 2594; III 3319, 8831. He was son of Kṛṣṇadvaitapāyanabbhatta.

5. *MR*, X

6. *PR*, IV 22, *CASB*, 47, IO, 548

7. *DO*, XX 7708, *Taylor*, I 1174

8. *DC*, XX 7701

9. Ed. *Tr San Series* No 63 with a short introduction by T. Ganapathi Sastri. The commentary is very elaborate but embraces only 8 cantos and is therefore called *Trisargika*. He says that his object was only to show the standard of what a commentary should be and that he did not therefore proceed further. Nothing is known about Cīrabhānu, but he is also the author of two poems: *Bhāskarodyaṭṭa* and *Bhāskaravajodvyaṭṭa*. There is one Cīrabhānu, father of Bāna but he is a different person.

10. *P*, 9

11. *BP*, (1887) It was composed in 1418 A.D. the reign of Zhuangzhi of Kaspuni (1422-72 A.D.) Jonarāja is the author of a *Rājatarangini* *BP*, 51, 233, 386 (A.D. 1449)

12. *CASB*, 47, IO, 548

13. IO, 843

14. IO, 884, 548 5

15. *DC*, XX 7878

16. *P*, 9,

17. *DC*, XX 7883

18. *Kh*, 65, *Huk*, III 4

18. L, 8806

20. *Rep*, VII, L, 2806

21. L 2140.

22. L, 2986

23. L, 2296

24. *Op*, 2798

25. *Bh*, 187

26. L, 1814,

27. *BP*, 278, 488,

28. *Op*, 5988, *TG*, IV 5597

29. See *Sat* XIV 101

30. *DC*, XX 7885, *TG*, IV 5588

31. *TC*, IV, 4722

32. *TC*, IV, 5649, 4718

33. Ed Calcutta.

34. Ed Bedares

**54** **Māgha** is one of the most popular among Sanskrit poets Mediaeval tradition<sup>2</sup> has recorded that he was patronised by King Bhoja of Dhar Pressed by want the poet sent his wife to that king's court with a verse<sup>3</sup> describing the rising sun but indirectly deplored the sports of chance Delighted with its merit the king gave her a present of money, but on her way back the generous woman distributed it among the wandering beggars whose needs she thought were worse than her own So she came home just as she left it, with a further throng of beggars behind her The poet saw the scene and became desperate He cursed poverty in a few verses and drooped down dead on the spot The king heard the story and with great grief himself performed the poet's funeral ceremonies To preserve his memory he named the village Bhinnamala<sup>4</sup>

Māgha was the son of Dattaka<sup>5</sup> His grand-father Suprabhādeva was the minister of king Śrī Varmalāṭa<sup>6</sup> whose capital was the city of Śrīmāla in Guzarat Māgha was a great grammarian<sup>7</sup> and his knowledge of grammar and lexicon is often apparent in his poem<sup>8</sup> He is mentioned by Somadeva,<sup>9</sup> Rājāsekharā,<sup>10</sup> Ānandavardhana<sup>11</sup> and by Bhoja<sup>12</sup> Nṛpatunga who became king in 1814 A D refers to Māgha in his Kavirājamārga<sup>13</sup> as an author of

1 Bhallāla's Bhojadāriṇa, Mefūṭunga's Prabandha Cintāmaṇi and Prabhācandra's Prabhāvaka carita For a full account, see Durgaprasad's Int. to Śisupālavāḍha (Bombay)

2 कुमुदवनमपश्च श्रीमदस्मोजषण लजति मदमुखकं प्रीतेमास्तकवाकः ।  
उदयमहिमरस्मिर्यति शीतांशुरस्त हतविधिलितानां हा विचित्रो विपाक ॥

S. 16 XI 64.

3 Probably because Māgha was a poet of Malwa There is a village named Bunna Malava now known as Bhinnamala on the boundary line between Guzarat and Marwar.

4 Peterson gives the name as Vattaka or Sarvāśraya, (Int. to Subh 88).

5 See the description of the poet's family given by himself at the end of Śisupālavāḍha

6 Durgaprasad (op cit 8 note) gives the colophon of a manuscript which reads श्री Bhinnamālava-vāya Daṭṭaka sūcī or mahāvāyākaraṇasya Māghasya kṛtau.

7. It is a saying नवसर्गते मादे नव शब्दो न विद्यते

8. In the Kāvyamimāṃsa (composed about 900 A D ) Gaek Or. Series Int. xxii

9. In his Yādastilaka cāṇḍī (composed in 960 A D ) See PR, 1982-84, 45.

10. Contemporary of Avanjivarman, king of Kashmir (857 to 884 A D.) See his Dhvanyāloka, 114, 115

11. In the Sarasvatī Kenthībharaṇa (Sis IX. 6). See CC, I 446.

12. Int. to K. B. Pathak's Edition. Māgha is also referred to in a Canarese inscription IA, V. 46 dated Saka 1102=1180 A.D.

acknowledged excellence and ranks him with the immortal author of *Sakuntala*. These references distinctly prove that the tradition of Māgha being a contemporary of Bhōja cannot possibly be true.

In a well-known verse of *Śīśupālavadha*,<sup>1</sup> Māgha refers to the two grammatical treatises the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and its commentary the *Nyāsa*. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* was the joint production of Jayāditya and Vāmana, and according to ITsing Jayāditya died about 661 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The real difficulty in determining Māgha's date lies in the obscurity of the correct name of the king he refers to in his genealogy. It is possible that the correct reading is *Varmalāta*.<sup>3</sup> This king *Varmalāta* is mentioned in an epigraphic record dated Sam 682 (625 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> and in collation with the references to and by the poet aforesaid we may not be wrong in relying on this inscription as giving the real clue to Māgha's age. Māgha was the grandson of *Suprabhādeva*, the minister of this king. He may therefore be placed in the latter half of the 7th century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

1

अणुत्सूत्रपदन्यासा सद्वृत्ते सञ्चिब-धना ।  
शब्दविद्येव नो माति राजनीतिरप्यस्पथा ॥

<sup>2</sup> MaxMüller, *What can India teach us?*, 346, English Translation of ITsing's work, chap xxxiv, 176. ITsing does not however refer to the commentary *Nyāsa* and from this silence K. B. Pathak (*JBRAS*, xx 808) concludes that Jinendrabuddhi did not flourish during the interval of 44 years that elapsed between Jayāditya's death and that of ITsing's departure from India in A.D. 695. He therefore places the composition of *Nyāsa* in the first half of the 8th century and consequently assigns Māgha to the latter part of it, but it must be remarked that the *argumentum ex silentio* cannot be of much merit and to the mind of ITsing the commentary might not have struck as important as the original work. But Keilhorn adds "An interpretation of this verse to denote the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi is based solely on the outward form of the word and its proximity to the word *Vrsi*,<sup>6</sup> and would completely disregard the meaning and context of the poet's interesting and scholarly statement. Jinendrabuddhi had freely copied from Haradatta's *Padamanjari* and this would make Jinendra much later than Magha because that poet is quoted by name more than once in the *Padamanjari*", *JRAS* (1908), 499.

<sup>3</sup> The name appears in several forms *Dharmanābha*, *Dharmanāga*, *Dharmaibha*, *Dharmadeva*, *Gharmalāta*, *Carmalāta*, *Varmalākhy*, *Varmanāma* and *Nirmalanāja*, varying according to the scribe's ingenuity. Prabhācandra mentions the name as *Varmalāta*.

<sup>4</sup> See Keilhorn's article in *Gottinger Nachrichten*, (1906), Part II, 143 6, *JRAS*, (1908), 728.

<sup>5</sup> Prabhācandra mentions Śiḍharī (xiv, 10-16) as the first paternal cousin of Māgha. Śiḍharī was the author of *Upamitibhāvaprapancakathā* composed in Sam 962. Relying on this Dr. F. Klatt assigns Māgha to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Durgaprasad refers to Ānanṭavarṇhana's quotation and disposes of *Prabhāvaka-carita* as based on pure hearsay and as of no authority. He agrees with

**55** The only work of Māgha that has come down to us is the *SISUPALAVADHA*.<sup>3</sup> A Mahākāvya of 20 cantos, it relates the episode in the Mahābhāraṭa of Kṛṣṇa's slaying of Sisupāla. The Rājāśūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhīra is described and in it Sisupāla's misbehaviour, the immediate cause of the conflict, is well delineated. The last three cantos are devoted to the description of the actual warfare. As a classical poem it has always maintained its popularity and though the thoughts are sometimes voluptuous, a profound learning is everywhere apparent.<sup>4</sup> His ideas reflect his life and the sufferings he had to undergo are often alluded to with a tinge of the consolation of fatalism.<sup>5</sup> The anthologies<sup>6</sup> quote some verses under Māgha's name. These are not traceable in any known work and it is possible that *Sisupālavadha* was not the only poem of his composition.

Some of his fancies are quite original and it was one of them<sup>7</sup> that brought him the name of Ghantā-Māgha. We cannot be certain of the line of his religious persuasion, though the invocation in the

Prof Jacobi who cannot place Māgha later than about the middle of the 6th century, (*VÖJ* IV 61, 286) R C Dutt assigns him to the 13th century (*Civ* II, 294) and M Dutt (*Chronology*) to about 860 A D. Macdonell (*SL*, 890) gives as the ninth century, undoubtedly before the 10th century A D. Weber, (*IL* 196 note) places Māgha prior to Hālāyudha of the 10th century A D (see *IStr*, I 198). Taranaṭha in his *Encyclopaedia* quotes a line of Udbhatta, *Tāraṭ bhāṭ Bhāravor bhūṭ yāvan-Māghaysa nodayah*. Udbhatta was a contemporary of Jayāpila, king of Kashmir (779-819 A D). But Dr. Klatt cannot discover this line in Udbhatta's work and draws attention to the gloss by Taranaṭha himself on the word Udbhatta where Taranaṭha says that the line is of unknown authorship. See also Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, xxvii 72, CC, I, 446, *JBRAS*, XVI 176, Bhārakarī, *Rup* 1897, pp. xviii and xxxix, F Thomas, *Int. to Kāv* 69 (where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected).

1 Bhimasena in his commentary *Sudhāśikhara* on *Kīvyaprakāśa* says that Māgha was only the purchaser of the authorship of the book from some poet whose name has been suppressed. He says Māgha was a Vaisya and gave this work as an illustration of a poem composed for money (*arthākṛita*). See Venkateshīry's *Int. to Kīvyaprakāśa* (Bombay), 9. Prabhāvakacarita also calls Māgha's uncle Subhan-kara as 'Sresthi', (xiv 15).

2 He illustrates Śāśvata citra in Canto IV, with musical praises of a very complex character.

3 See for instance, *Sis* xvi, 64.

4 *Subhāśitavali* (Int. 87, 89), *Indriyavivād* in front of Kāṇḍūmātī दुष्टिनिै

&c. See Dargaprasāda (*op. cit.* 6).

5 उदयति विततोऽर्वाश्मिरज्ञावहिमसुचौ हिमवान्मिण याति चात्तम् ।

वहति गिरिरय विलम्बिष्वप्ताद्यपरिवारेत्वारणन्द्रलीलात् ॥ *Sis* LV, 20

Sisupālavadha indicates that he was a votary of Viṣṇu. He must have all the same been much in the company of Buddhists and had a great regard for the teaching of Buddha. He describes his grand-father Suprabhādeva as prime minister to a king "who listened to his advice with as great respect as the enlightened public received the words of the revered Buddha" and with a similar desire he compares Hari with Bodhisatva and the allies of Sisupāla with the host of Māra or the Satan of the Buddhist legend.<sup>1</sup> To a certain extent he adopted the style of Bhāravi, but in general merit Māgha takes a higher place.

There are commentaries on Sisupālavadha by Cāitravardhana,<sup>2</sup> Pedda Bhatta,<sup>3</sup> Devarājā,<sup>4</sup> Haridāsa,<sup>5</sup> Śrīrangadeva,<sup>6</sup> Śrīkantha,<sup>7</sup> Bharatasena,<sup>8</sup> Candraśekhara,<sup>9</sup> Kavivallabha Cakravartī,<sup>10</sup> Lakṣmīnāṭha,<sup>11</sup> Bhava(ga)datta,<sup>12</sup> Vallabhadeva,<sup>13</sup> Maheśvarapancānana,<sup>14</sup> Bhagiratha,<sup>15</sup> Jibānanda Vidyāśigara,<sup>16</sup> Gaūḍa,<sup>17</sup> Ānandadevayāni,<sup>18</sup> Divākara,<sup>19</sup> Prasāpti,<sup>20</sup> Rājākunda,<sup>21</sup> Jayasimhācārya,<sup>22</sup> Mallinātha,<sup>23</sup> [Śrīrangadevi and Padmanābhadratta, Vṛiṣākara, Rangarāja, Ekanātha, Bharatamalihka, Gopala]<sup>24</sup> and one Anonymous.<sup>25</sup>

1 See the concluding verses in cantos II and XV 58  
There is a traditional anonymous verse to say so

तावद्वा मारवेर्माति याचन्माघस्य नोदय ।  
उदिते च पुनर्मधे भारवेर्मा रवेरिव ॥

2 *Tanj. Cat.*, VI, 2506.

3 *DC*, XX, 7693

4 *DO*, XV 7882

5 *DO*, 7883 He was son of Viṣṇudasa and Muladevi. His grandfather Śaktumīśa and the son of Jycṣṭha of Rudra family and of Kāśyapagoṭra and resident of Lābhapurā. Haridāsa quotes Kāvya-darpaṇa

6 *DO*, X, 7885, *IC*, IV 5588

7 *TC*, III 8904, IV 4729 He was Varior by caste and lived in Jayasimha-mangala on the banks of Dakṣinagangā in Malabar. All the members of his family were known by the name of Śrīkantha

8 *IO*, 8222 8, *L*, 8176

9. *IO*, 3222, 82 23, *L*, 3040

10 *IO*, 685

11 *IO*, 178

12. *K*, 63

13 *TM Kashi Sanskrit Series*, Bonares, *TC*, IV 4714, 5649

14 *IO* 3222 8

15. *L*, 1682

16 Printed, Calcutta

17 *B*, 296

18 *B*, 294

19 *NP*, 151

20 *IO*, 8222

21 *Cu*, 2287.

22 Cochin State Manuscripts

23 Printed everywhere

24 *Sah*, XIX 208

25 *Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2510 (7th canto only)

**56** *Sivaswamin*<sup>1</sup> was a poet of the court of King Avantivarman who ruled over Kashmir between 855 and 884 A D<sup>2</sup>. He was a follower of Buddha and an ardent admirer of his religion. His only poem KAPPHANABHYUDAYAM opens with an invocation to Buddha. In twenty cantos it describes the expedition of Kapphana, the king of Dakṣināpatha, against the country of king Prasenajit of Sravasti and in the course of the march through the Malaya mountains several seasons are passed and parties of lovers do not miss pleasant excursions in regions of sylvan beauty. Though successful in his expedition, Kapphana turns philosophical and renouncing his worldly attachments he becomes a pious follower of Buddha. The poem in general follows the plan of Sisupālavadham and Kirātārjunyam and verbal beauties of composition such as yamakas and bandhas are not rare.<sup>3</sup>

The following verse illustrates his prolific writings in Sanskrit though most of them have now become extinct.

वाक्यं च द्विपदीश्चतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्  
न्यक्षप्रलङ्घनिर्भितस्तुतिकथालक्षणि चैकादश।  
कृत्वा नाटकानाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायाद् प्रबन्धान्बहन्  
विश्राम्यतद्युनापि नातिशयिता वाणी शिवस्तामिन् ॥

1 He is also known as Bhattacharjī or Bhataśrī Śivaswāmin

2 मुक्ताकण शिवस्तामी कविरानन्दवर्धने ।

प्रथा रत्नाकरश्चागात्साप्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्षण ॥ Ray, V 84

3 For analysis of the poem, see *SB*, II (1899) 40, see also *BR*, (1897), xviii, Aufr. 3, *ZDMG*, xxvii, 92, *CC* I 651, Peterson's (*Subh* 129). Thomas (*Kav* iii) collects all quotations in the anthologies. Rayamukuta and Sarvānanda quote fragments, not traceable in this poem. For the beauty of his poetry see the following

दिव इव निस्सूतैर्गिरिनदीन्यं इवोऽच्छुवसितेर्पुरुष इव सप्लौतै क्षितितलादिव चोऽस्तितै ।  
जलविजलोद्भैरिव ककुम्य इवोत्कलितै स्तिमित्रकुलैरनीषदृदमेषि मषीमलिनैः ॥

वेणीषु मूर्छामिव सप्रयाता कपोलयोर्लानिमिवादधाना ।  
स्मितेत्पिवोऽच्छुवसितेर्पुरुष विलासिनी शिष्ठिषुरिन्दुपादा ॥

धृतसन्धिरसौविचित्रवृत्तिविदधान स्फुटशुद्धपात्रयोगम् ।  
मधुवारविधि सनायकाङ्क्षो वृद्धे नाटकविभितम्बिनीनाम् ॥

विनय विनयत् स्मितानि पुण्यचयनानि अमयन् वर्चासि ध्रुवन् ।  
मुखराणि विभूषितानि कुर्वन्वरवेषो वृद्धे मदो वृद्धनाम् ॥

मुहुरविशदा विश्वस्माद्र्मा मुहु स्मृतमन्यवो मुहुरसरला प्रेमप्रहा मुहुर्सुहुरस्थिरा ।  
वितथशपथोपालम्भाहा मुहुर्मुहुरा मुहु. परिवृद्धिरे निष्पर्यन्ता भिषो मिशुरोक्तयः ॥

**57 Jinasena** was the pupil of Virācārya and was at the head of those who were proficient in the fragment of the sacred texts left after the time of Sulhadra and Lohārya, sages who were conversant with the Ācārāṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jain religion<sup>1</sup>. Virācārya and Jinasena converted the Rāstrakūta king Amoghavarṣa<sup>2</sup> into Jainism and the king abdicated his throne in favour of his son in 875 A D. Virācārya was an illustrious mathematician and alludes to the king in the prasasti of Ganītāśrāsaṅgraha<sup>3</sup>. Jinasena's pupil Gunabhadra was the preceptor of king Krṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa<sup>4</sup>. Among his works Harivamśa<sup>5</sup> was composed in the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja I,<sup>6</sup> grandfather of Amoghavarṣa, in 793 A D and Pārvatībhūdaya,<sup>7</sup> in 814 A D. Of Adipurāna,<sup>8</sup> 42 chapters were written by Jinasenā and the last five were completed by his pupil Gunabhadra according to his instructions as Uttarapuṭānam. This was consecrated by his pupil Lokasena in the reign of Rastrakūta King Krṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa, on 23rd June 897 (Saka 828).

PĀRVATĪBHŪDAYA is a poem in imitation of Kālidāsa's Megha-sandesaṁ. The last lines of the verses of the latter are taken and the first three lines are added. The poem deals with the story of Pārvatīnātha, the 23rd Tirthankara.<sup>9</sup>

Jinasena's poetry is of a high order and often equals if not surpasses the beauty of Kālidāsa's expressions<sup>10</sup>.

1 See Padmasundara's Rāyamullabhūdaya, PR, III and I4, XX 849, App. 256 (which contains a prasasti at the end of Harivamśa). See also PR (1888 84) 118, PR, IV 167 177, xli, K B Pathak, JBRAS, XVIII. 222 6, Bhandarkar, EHD, Sup 1.

2 For his inscriptions dated Saka 765, 765, 788, 789 A D, see I4, XII. 915, XIII. 128, 188, 215. See Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, 407, K B Pathak's paper in I4, XIV 101 and XV. 141.

3 See his Ātmānuśāsana, verse 102.

4 For his inscriptions dated Saka 822 and 881, see I4 XII 220, 222, I4, XV 141.

5 Printed Bombay

6 For his inscriptions, dated Saka 675, see I4, XII. 238

7 Ed by K B Pathak, Poona

8 Printed, Indore in 8 Vols. There is a doubt if Adipurāna and Harivamśa are by two different Jinasenas.

9 For fuller account, see under Meghasandesa in the Chapter on Laghukāvya post

10 For instance, the following —

पूलालवक्षसवासमुरभि श्वसितैस्मृते । स्तनैरायाण्डुभिं सान्द्रचन्दनब्रवचर्चितैः ॥

सलीलमृदुभिर्यीनैर्नितम्बमरमत्सरै । स्मितैरनङ्गपुष्पासत्रस्तवकोद्देविभ्रमै ॥

कोकिलालापमधुर्जल्पितैरनतिस्फुटै । मृदुब्राहुलतान्दोलस्मगैश्च विचेष्टितै ॥

**58** Rañnakara,<sup>1</sup> was the son of Arītabhānu<sup>2</sup> and descendant of Rajānaka Durghata, who lived at Gangabrada. He began his poetic career in the reign of King Cippala Jyū īdtya<sup>3</sup> and became famous during the reign of his successor, King Avantivarman, who ruled over Kashmir between 838 and 884 A D.<sup>4</sup> He bore the title of Vidyāpati Vāgīśvara. He was praised by Rājasekhara as a poet of vast learning and imagery<sup>5</sup> and is popular with rhetoricians.

His HARAVIJAYA is a long poem of 50 cantos describing the tales relating to Siva.<sup>6</sup> From the beauty of a particular verse he has been known as Tāla-Rañnakara.<sup>7</sup>

लासै स्वलत्पदन्यमैर्मन्त्रापायोविभूषणे । सन्दगञ्जुभिरुद्धतेजितालिकुलशिखने ॥  
तमालवनवीधीयु मचरन्त्यो यद्यप्त्यया । शनोऽस्य जहरान्दृद्योवना केरलस्त्रिय ॥  
क्षचिच्छुकपुखाकुटकणा कणि मजरी । अलिवप्रपु सोऽप्यद्यद्वैर्मुक्ता इव दित्य ॥  
सुगावकलभाषोदसादादि धसितानिले । नाथन्तीर्दित्य शालिकाणिशेरवतसिता ॥  
पीनस्तनतयोत्संगतद्वर्माम्बुद्धिमि । मक्तालङ्घारजा लक्ष्या घटयन्तीर्निजोरासि ॥  
सरसोऽजरज र्णार्णसीमन्तरुपरै कचे । चूडामाव नती द्वेरमन्थितेन्पलदामर्क ॥  
दधतीरातपक्षान्तमुखपर्यन्तसङ्गिनी ॥

1 Ritusimha, who wrote Pradyumna in Śukla 1671, when Hemasoma was chief Sung of the Tripugachchha is a different person—see PR IV Last of authors, and PR, I 169.

2 This person is different from the poets Amṛtidvī (a court poet of Shahabuddin of 1852 A D) and Amṛtiwaidhāna, and Amṛtideva quoted in the Subhāṣṭīvali. See Peterson Int. to Sūl. 9, 4.

3 He bore the title of Tāla Vidyāpati and Rañnakara calling himself Bhṛaspati yanujivin, "a servant of young Bhṛaspati." (See PR IV 675.) He reigned 882-844 A D. Between him and Avantivarman there were three minor kings of the Karkota dynasty. See Buhler, KR, 42 and Peterson Int. to Subh. 9c.

4 मुक्ताकण निवासी कविरानन्दवर्धन ।  
प्रथा रन्नाकरश्चागात्साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मण ॥ PR, V 34

5 मासम सन्तु हि चत्वार प्रायो रन्नाकरा इमे ।  
इतीब सकृतो धाता कविरलाकरोप्तर ॥

as quoted in Hārāvali and Sūkṣmuktīvali

6 Printed, Benares with Alaka's commentary. For a full account of the poem see Buhler's KR, 42, and Aufrecht, ZDUG, XXVI 373 M. Duli (Chronology) gives date for Rañnakara as 840-860 A D.

7 सन्ध्याप्रवृत्तहरवाणगृहीतकास्य-

चालद्वयेन समलक्ष्यत नाकलक्ष्मी ॥—Haravijaya, XIX. 5.

There is a commentary on it by Vallabhadeva,<sup>1</sup> an incomplete commentary by Alaka,<sup>2</sup> son of Rājānaka Jayānakī, which stops in the middle of 46th canto. Alaka was a contemporary and pupil of Raṭnākara. Haravijaya was left unfinished by Raṭnākara and completed by Gānapati. It is possible therefore from the limit of Alaka's commentary to say that so far Raṭnākara wrote too.<sup>3</sup>

Vakrokti-Pancasikā is a small poem of fifty verses, being an imaginary dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, of ingenious intricacy,<sup>4</sup> and Dhvanigādāpanīkhī is a similar poem.<sup>5</sup>

**59 Abhinanda** was the son of Saṭānanda.<sup>6</sup> Soddhala, in the introductory verses to his Udayasundarī, praises Abhinanda and Rāja-sekhara.<sup>7</sup> The sequence, it is very likely, shows that Rāja-sekhara came after Abhinanda.

Soddhala lived mostly in the first half of the 11th century A.D. Abhinanda mentions his patron King Hūravarsa Yuvarāja by whom he was well honoured and in appreciation of his talents the King accorded to him a seat on his throne.<sup>8</sup> Abhinanda and Soddhala class King Hūravarsa along with famous royal patrons of letters, Vikrama, Hāla and Sri Harṣa. In the various verses in Rāmacarita, Abhinanda refers to king Hūravarsa Yuvarāja as the son of Vikramashila, a scion of the house of King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty.

1 Stein's *Kash Cat*, page 76

2 He is not to be confounded with Allata, who completed the Kavyaprakāśa of Mammata. See Stein *Int. to Ray*, xxvi.

3 PR I 18, BKR, 45

4 Printed Kavyānūla, Bombay. There is a commentary on it by Vallabhadeva, son of Anandadeva. See MR, X, PR I 14. The poem has रत्नालङ्क

5 See PR, IV civ, OC 491 BKR, 42, 66, See also Stein *Int. to Ray* (foot notes to V 34)

6 So says Abhinanda himself

7 तथा तूर्णं कवे कस्य निर्गत जीवतो या ।

हारवर्षप्रसादेन शातानन्देयैथातुना ॥

Abhinanda, son of Jayānakī, and author of वादानुबन्ध Kāṭhāśāra is a different poet. Buhler wrongly identified those two poets (II, II 103). They were sons of different persons. Aufrecht distinguished them (OC, 2<sup>o</sup>) see also, Konz's *Int. to Kāṛyā-* manjari, 197. Is this Śatānanda identical with the rhetorician Rudradeva Śivānanda, author of Kāvyālankara?

8. So says Soddhala

स्पष्ट यदत्र युवराजनेरेश्वरेण यदुप्तकर किमपि येन गिर त्रियश्च ।

प्रसादेन स्फुटमकारि निजे कवीन्द्रमेकासने समुपवेश्यताभिनन्दन् ॥

In the Pāla dynasty of Bengal King Dharmapāla was famous and he had two sons Tribhuvanapāla and Devapāla. In the Monghyr grant,<sup>1</sup> Tribhuvanapāla is mentioned as the Yuvarāja, but Devapāla succeeded his father and became famous in the second half of the 9th century A D. K S Ramaswami Siromani compares verses in this grant with verses in the Rāmacarita, to show the purity of ideas and expressions relating to King Devapāla and concludes rightly, that King Devapāla was the King Hāravara Yuvarājadeva.<sup>2</sup> He says "The question may be raised as to how a king of the Pāla Dynasty, instead of bearing a name ending in Pāla, should prefer to the called Hāravara a name quite foreign to the Pāla tradition. The reason for this is not difficult to discover. It is well known that Dharmapāla married a Rastrakuta princess known by the name of Kamadevi. Rastrakūta princes were very fond of adopting names ending on "Varṣa" and it is very probable that king Devapāla during his stay in his maternal uncle's household was known by the name of Hāravara, while his elder brother Tribhuvanapāla was Yuvarāja in the Court of his father Dharmapāla." Abhinanda must have therefore lived in the earlier half of the 9th century A D.

His RAMACARITA<sup>3</sup> is profusely quoted by Bhoja, Mammata and Mahima Bhatta and must have therefore very soon attained high celebrity. It is a long poem relating the story of Rāmāyaṇa. In the Baroda edition recently published the editor says that "I have four cantos have two definite recensions, one attributing the authorship to Abhinanda and the other to Bhimakāvi a fairly unknown author. But this latter definitely says that Abhinanda left the work incomplete and it fell to his lot to complete the book by adding four more cantos. Most of the 36 cantos which are undoubtedly Abhinanda's own contain besides the subject-matter of the poem additional verses written obviously in praise of his patron king and describing the merits of his own composition." The ease of narration, the melody of versification and the grace of poetic fancy are apparent everywhere.<sup>4</sup>

1 IA XXI, 268

2 JOR, III, 57 *et seq.* which contains a learned discussion on this identification

3 Ed by K S Ramaswami Sastri Siromani in Clark Or series. The manuscript in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts library breaks off in the 40th canto (IO, IV 5871). There is a manuscript with M R Kavi of Madras which stops with the 67th verse in the 50th canto.

4 There is a Rāmacarita by Kaśinatha (IO, 1184, CC, I 105), and another by Sandhyākaranandīn (Ed by Haraprasad Sastri for Asiatic Society of Bengal)

**60 Abhinanda** also called Gaudābhīnanda, was the son of Jayanta. His ancestors lived in the Gauda Country until one of them named Sakti went to Kashmir and married there in the town of Darvīshisāra. Sakti's grandson Saktiswāmin was a minister under King Lalītaditya Muktidipa of the Karkota dynasty,<sup>1</sup> who ruled at Kashmir about the year 726 A.D. From Saktiswāmin, Abhinanda was the 5th in descent. Jālhana in his Sūktimul tāvāli mentions Abhinanda as a contemporary of Rajasēkhara, and Abhinanvagupta quotes him in his Locanā.<sup>2</sup> From these references it appears that this Abhinanda lived in 9th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> But Jayanta, the father of Abhinanda, ridiculing in Nyāyamanjari, the *śringūra* idea in Kuttinimata of Damodaragupta incidentally mentions Sankaravarman as the King of Kashmir in his time (Nyā p 279). Sankaravarman ruled from 884 A.D. This allusion brings down Abhinanda to a generation later, to the first half of the 10th century. His Kadambari-Kāthāsāra<sup>4</sup> epitomises in 8 cantos the story of Bāna's Kadambari in verse. His poetry has been held in high estimation by later rhetoricians.<sup>5</sup>

**61 Padmagupta**, otherwise known as Parimala Kālidāsa,<sup>6</sup> was the son of Mṛgāṅkagupta. He was a poet of the Court of King Munja of the Paramara dynasty, who, among several other titles, bore also the name of Navasāhasrāṅka.<sup>7</sup> His literary activity extended through the last and first quarters of the 10th and the 11th centuries. He was a devotee of Śiva. He was an admirer of Kālidāsa and in descriptive imagery, he

1 These facts are given by the poet himself in the introduction to his Kādambarikāthāsāra.

2 See Kavyamala Edition, p 142. But he mentions further Jayanta as the author of the poem.

3 On Abhinanda, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 6, 27, *OC*, I 24, *PB*, IV, 7, (1887-91) 21 and F. W. Thomas, *Int. to Kav.*, 20 22, where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected.

4 Trivikrama, pupil of Sakala Vidyādhara cakravartī wrote a poem Kādambarisāra in 17 cantos in about the 14th century (*TO*, IV 429).

5 Rāyamukuta in his commentary on Amarakośa and Kṣemendra in his Suvarṇajīlaka quote him and Somesvara in his Kirtikāumudi (I 26) eulogises him.

6 *DC*, XXI, 86 79, See Burnell's *Tan. Cat* 168, Peterson's *Int. to Subh* 51

7 King Munja bore the names, Vākpatīrja I, Sahasrāṅka, Śindhurdā, Utpala rājī, Śrivallabha, Prabhavallabha, Amoghavarsa. He ruled between 974-994 (977) and was finally defeated and beheaded by Tsila II of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyān. See Prabandhacintamāṇi (Tawney's *Tr*), V Smith, *ED*, 30 6, 395, 431, also Buhler, *EI*, I, 222 294, 302, Fleet, *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, 482, Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 214, Haas, *Dasarupa*, *CUS*, xxii, note 4, Elliot, *Carnatadesa Inscriptions*, I 370, 415, IA, XII 270, XXI 167, XIX, 28, XIV 160. He was himself a great poet and for his verses collected from anthologies, See F. W. Thomas *Int. to Kav* 108.

was a successful second to him. It is possible that his influence extended through the reign of King Bhoja,<sup>1</sup> the successor of King Munja, and that the poet of the name of Kālidāsa, so often said to be a friend of that king is Padmagupta himself, as shown by his drama Parimala Kālidāsa. His only poem that has come down to us is NAVASAHASANKACARITA. In 18 cantos it describes the marriage of his king Śinjhuraja, with the Nāga princess Saśiprabhā. In one of his hunting excursions he shoots a deer with a golden chain on its neck. The deer escapes. It is a pet of Saśiprabhā and from the mark on the arrow, she recognises the name of the king. So in pursuit of the deer, the king in his turn sees a swan on a lake, with a pearl necklace hanging in its beak and when he takes hold of it, he sees the name of Saśiprabhā engraved on the pearls. Thus the love dawns, Saśiprabhā sends her maiden in search of the necklace and she interviews the king. To get at her the king is asked to invade Nāgaloka, capture and kill the demon Vajrākuśa at his capital at Bhogavīt and bring the golden lotus from his pleasure pond. This the king easily accomplishes and the lovers are married.<sup>2</sup>

Among later references to Padmagupta are some by Bhoja in his Sarasvatī-Kanthābhāraṇa, by Kremendra in his Aucityavitaranī, by Mammata in his Kāvyaprakāśa and by Vardhamāna in his Granaratnamahodadhi. Some of the verses quoted there as Padmagupta's are not found in the Navasāhasāṅkacarita. From some of those verses,<sup>3</sup> it is inferred that the theme of another poem must have been that expedition into Gujarat despatched by Tailapa under a general of the name of Basapa against Mularāja, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty at Anhilapattana.<sup>4</sup>

Padmagupta's language is highly embellished and though oftentimes he appears an imitator of Kālidāsa, whom he holds in high esteem, his expression is original and verse melodious.

**62** *Bilhana* was born at Konamukha<sup>5</sup> near Pravarapura, the capital of Kashmir. He was the son of Jyesthakalasa and Nagadevi. His

1 He ruled between 1018-1038 A.D. See for a fuller account under Bhoja.

2 Ed. BSS, No. 53. For an elaborate account of the poem, See Buller 14, XXXVI 149, based on Zachariae's Essay in German, also Maedenoll, ST, 391.

3 See Petersons' *Int. to Subh* 51-58, Aufrecht, ZDMG, XXXVI, 517.

4 On Mularāja who lived about 973 A.D., see EI, X 76, JRAS, (1900) 269. He was killed by a Chouhan Rāja Vigrahartija II. See JRAS (1918) 266, 267, 269, V. Smith EI7, 391.

5 This is the modern village of Khunmoh 3 miles north-west of Pimpur. See Cunningham, AG, 98, BKR, 40 and Stein's *Int. to Raj*.

grandfather was Rājakalasa and his great grand-father was Muktikalasa. His family belonged to the sect of Madhyadevi brahmins of Kauśika gotra. His father wrote a commentary on Mahābhāṣya. His brothers Istārama and Ānanda were poets. Educated in Kashmir and particularly proficient in grammar and poetics, he commenced a tour. At Mathura he stayed for some time engaged in playful disputations with the learned of Brindāvan. He visited Kanouj, Prayag and Benares. He was received well in the Court of King Kṛṣṇa of Dāhala (Bundelkhand) and in that Court probably composed a poem in honour of Rāma.<sup>1</sup>

He intended to see Bhoja of Dhar, but he could not. He went to Anhilwid in Gujarat, but he was not heartily welcomed there and he complains of this indifference.<sup>2</sup> He offered his devotions at Somnath and setting out southward, he visited Rameśwara. On his way back, he reached the Court of Kalyan, where Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> admired his learning and made him his Vidyā-pati, or Director of Instruction, and his parasol when he travelled on elephants through Karnātak land, was seen borne aloft before the king.<sup>4</sup> Of the Kings of Kashmir Ananta had been dead and he probably knew Kalava. He lived to see Harṣa (1084-1101 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> From the last verses of Vikramāñkadevacarita and some other verses attributed to him,<sup>6</sup> which are really characteristic of his self-conscious spirit, it is conjectured that latterly he fell into disfavour with Vikramaditya and had to leave his territories probably on an order for confiscation of his estates.<sup>7</sup> This may account for the incomplete narrative of Vikrama's history in Bilhana's poem, for it stops with his Chola war and does not refer to the expedition beyond the Narbada in 1088 A.D.<sup>7</sup>

1. So he says

त पौलस्य विद्वितवत् स्तुतिनिष्पन्दशीताम् ।  
सीतामर्तुर्बर्चयदसो राजधानीमयोध्याम् ॥ JRAS. xviii, 94.

2. *Vik.*, XVIII. 97

3. See *IA* VIII. 10 (Saka 99 0), VIII. 21 (Saka 1018), VI. 187 (Saka 1018)  
X. 149 (Saka 1080).

4. *Raj.*, VII. 997

5. *Raj.*, VII. 1781 *et seq.* and *JBRAS*, III. 203 11

6. सर्वस्त गृहवर्ति कुन्तलपतिर्णङ्गातु तन्मे पुन-

भाण्डागारमस्तुष्टमेव हृदये जापाति सारसतम् ।

रे शुद्रास्त्वजत् प्रमोदमचिरादेष्यन्ति मन्मन्दिरम्

हृलान्देलितकर्णतालकरटिस्कन्थाधिरूढा श्रिय ॥

7. *JRAS*, IV. 15.

**63** His VIKRAMAKADIVACARITAM is a poem in 18 cantos, describing the glory of King Vikramāditya Trishuvanamalla of Kalyān “The main theme of this laudatory poem is royal wars and royal marriages. The poet begins with a short account of the Chalukya race and the kings of the restored dynasty which begins with Lalapā, he dwells at some length upon the exploits of Vikramaditya’s father and describes with all customary amplifications, the conquests of Vikramaditya before his accession to the throne, his destronement of his elder brother Someswara II, his defeat and capture of his younger and his numerous wars with the faithless Cholas.”<sup>1</sup>

His KARNASUNDARI,<sup>2</sup> a play in four acts after the manner of Ratnāvali, must have been composed in the Chalukya Court. It describes the secret intrigues of a Chalukya prince Karnadeva, son of Bhīmadeva, with Vidyādhara princess and their eventual marriage with the consent of the queen.

His ŚRĀSIUTI is a small poem in praise of Śiva.<sup>3</sup>

**64** His CAURAPANCASIKE,<sup>4</sup> is a poem of fifty verses of amatory import, attributed to Bilhana. By itself it describes only the recollections of a lover of the company of his darling princess. But in some manuscripts, there is an introductory part, relating its romantic origin.<sup>5</sup> Bilhana was the tutor of Candralekha or Sasikallī, the daughter of King Varisimha of Guzarat. The pupil fell in love with the teacher and the intrigue went on undiscovered. When at last when the secret was out and Bilhana was condemned to death by the incensed father and taken to the place of execution, he repeated these verses in remembrance of the graces of the princess and the joys of her company. The executionors were moved and when they conveyed to the king the last invocation of Bilhana,<sup>6</sup> the King was moved and the result was a pardon and restoration to favour and a formal bestowal of the hand of the princess.

1. For a full account of Bilhana and this poem, see Rubler’s Int to Edn and IA, V 817, IA, V 824, IA, X 817 Durgaprasad’s Int to Karnasundari (Bombay), Peterson Int to Subh 66, where verses quoted in the anthologies are collected

2. Ed Bombay (Kavyamala, No 7)

3. CM, 285 There is a Bilhanastavam (TC II, 186) Are these identical?

4. Ed Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and elsewhere. See Colebrooke, *Mss Ms* II, 95, Bohlen, Introduction to Edn Berlin, *BKR*, 48, C Bod, No 245

5. See Bilhanacarita, *TC*, II 1196 2622 Ed by V Venkatrayaswami, Madras

6. पञ्चत्र तदुरेतु भूतनिवहे सोंशा मिळ्नु शुभ

धातस्त्वा प्रणिपल भादरमिद याचे निषद्धाज्ञालि

तद्वापीषु पयस्तदीयमुक्ते ज्योतिस्तदीयाङ्गणे

ब्योमस्त्वाच तदीयवर्तमनि धरा तचाळवृन्तेऽनिल ॥

A similar story is told of a poet Caurasundara and in the Bengali version Caurāpanchāsikā is attributed to that poet Sundara<sup>1</sup>

It is apprehended that Caura was not identical with Bilhana, though many scholars have fallen into that error<sup>2</sup> and this suspicion has almost become a certainty when we see that Bhoja quotes two verses from Pancāśikā in his Śringāraprakāśa and Jakkana, a Telugu poet, in his Vikramārkacarita praised Bilhana and Cora distinctly among several poets.

This introductory part is certainly a later compilation, for it contains verses of different authors put together to suit the description, though indeed it is an admirable collection. King Vairisimha of Anhilvid died in 920 A D,<sup>3</sup> long before Bilhana was born. The name of the heroine and the king are given in many manuscripts as Yāmī-purnatilakā and Madanābhīrāma, King of Lakṣmīmandira, capital of Pāncāladesa. Bilhana himself in his autobiographical passages never alluded to his long sojourn and relationship with any king of Gujarat or Pāncāla.

There are commentaries on Pancāśikā by Ganapatiśarma and Ramopādhyāya<sup>4</sup> and by Basavēśvara<sup>5</sup>

**65 Vasudeva**<sup>6</sup> was the son of Ravi and disciple of Bhārataguru called also Mahābhārata-Bhātītātri. He lived at Viprasatṭama (Papanathur) in Travancore. Tradition in Malabar gives the following story about his early life. "He used to be particularly interested in listening to the texts of Puranams and Shastras repeated by the pupils of his master. As he could not for want of education pronounce words distinctly, his associates used to taunt him by calling him Vathu, a lisping form of Vasu his correct name. One day, as usual, while he was coming back from a temple at Iruvīlakkūvu, where he had gone to worship, it rained heavily and the ferryboat, on which he was to cross an intervening stream which was in high floods, was on the other shore.

1 CASB, 64 Ed Kavyasangraha, Calcutta. Bāṇa's mention in Harsacarita does not refer to any poet of that name, but only a general abuse of plagiarists.

2 See for instance, Peterson, *Subh.* 68, Durgaprasad's Introduction to Karpasundari where the whole story is given.

3 See Forbes, *Rasmala*, I 42

4 IOO, VII, 1528

5. TO, II 1622

6 For other Vasudevas, see Index and article on *Rāmakathā—A Study* by K. R. Pisharoti, *Bull. of Or. Studies*, V. iv.

Bhattatīrṇi retraced his steps to the temple, where he spent the whole night. It was raining heavily and he had only one wet cloth on his waist. In despair he appealed to his favourite deity who gave him some fuel and fire to warm himself and a bunch of plantain fruits to appease his hunger with. After eating of the fruits he became by inspiration a poet of a high order. The sweeper woman who came early in the morning to the temple learnt from him where he threw away the rind of the fruits and ate it herself. She also became a poetess.<sup>1</sup> He eulogises his patrons King Kulaśekhara and King Rāma and lived in the 9th century A D.<sup>2</sup>

In YUDHISHTHIRAVIJAYA<sup>3</sup>, a poem in 8 aśvāsas in ārya metre King Kulaśekhara is mentioned as the reigning king. It describes the story of Mahābhārata from the hunting sports of Pāṇḍu to the coronation of Yudhishtira after the war.<sup>4</sup> There is a commentary on it by Sokkanātha, son of Acciambā and Sudarśana of Sattanur near Srirangam.<sup>5</sup>

SAURIKATHODĀTA, and TRIPURADĪVĀNA mention the name of the ruling King as Rāma. The former narrates the life of Kṛṣṇa from birth to the conquest of Dānisura as related in Harivamsa.<sup>6</sup> There is a commentary on it by Nilakantha, son of Iśāna of Muktiṭhalai.<sup>7</sup> The latter describes the story of destruction of the Three Cities by Siva.<sup>8</sup> There is a commentary on it by one who calls himself son of Nitrapriya.<sup>9</sup>

1 Travancore State Manual, II 427

2 This King Kulaśekhara cannot be the author of the Mukundimālā which must have been the work of a far earlier author, who was the famous Kulaśekharālvar, the saint of the Vaishnavas. The patron of Vāsudeva must have been the author of the dramas Subhadrañjanaya and Tapatiśayavatāra (*T. Sans. 5c*). On several Kulaśekharas, see article by A S Ramanatha Ayyar, *Tr. Arch. Jl. Vol V pt 2*

For detailed information, see under Kulaśekhara in the chapter on Nāṭka poet. Tradition gives to the saint 28th Kali, Parabhaava Koralottappati mentions Vāsudeva as contemporary of Kulākhara Perumal, whose death it gives as 203 A D. For the identification of Kulaśekhara and Rāma, see A S Ramanatha Ayyar, *Nalodaya and its author* (*JMy, XIV 802 11*)

3 Printed Kāvyamāla, Bombay. There the poet and his patron are wrongly said to have lived in Kashmir

4 DC, XX 7808

5 TC, II 2589

6 DC, XX 7886 This was written during the reign of the Rāmavarmas and Godāvaras.

7 TC, II 2589

8 TC, III 8878

All these three poems are illustrations of Yamaka composition<sup>1</sup>. It has recently been suspected whether Vāsudeva was also the author of the similar composition Nalodaya attributed to Kālidāsa<sup>2</sup>.

**66 Dhananjaya** was son of Vāsudeva and Śrīdevī. He was a Jain. By his time Dvīsandhāna, or poem of double entendre narrating different tales in the same expression became, as it were, a generic name. Dandin inaugurated it and his poem of that name is mentioned by Bhoja in his Śringāraprakāśa, but it is not now available. Suhanḍhu adapted the device to prose and his Vāsavadattā indicated the heights to which a poet can work upon the innate excellence of Sanskrit vocabulary, to express his imagery in brief punning phrases. Dhananjaya followed and he narrated the story of Rāmāyana and Māhābhāraṭa at a time in his Dvīsandhāna<sup>3</sup> in measures at once fluent and heavy. He is conscious of his merit and deems himself almost a combination of Vālmīki and Vyāsa, who, with Dandin, were in his mind the only three poets. He classes his work as one of the three gems, as unblemished as Akalanka's Nyāyaśāstra and Pūjyapāda's Vyākaraṇa. He praises Ānandavardhana and Raṭnakara, is eulogised by Somadeva and Jālhana and is quoted by Vardhamāna. He must therefore have lived in the 9-10th centuries A.D.<sup>4</sup>. He also wrote a lexicon Dhananjayanāmamālā<sup>5</sup>.

1. See for instance

1 कीर्तिमदभा तेन स्मरता भारतसुधाभद्रान्तेन ।

जगद्गुपहासाय भिता पार्थकथा कलमषापहा सा यन्मिता ॥

11 बबन्धुरव बन्धुरे स्वर्त्मनि स्थिति जना ।

पिनाकिनापि नाकिनासमोदि मोदकारिणा ॥

2. This view has been elaborately propounded and may very likely be correct by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar in *Nalodaya and its Author*, JMy, XIV 862. In a manuscript of Malabar (DC, XX 7886, R No 1852) all these three poems are found written together.

3. Ed. by Śivādēśa in Kāvyamāla, Bombay with a preface.

4. M. Duff (Chronology) identifies Dhananjaya with Śruṭakirṇi Traividya and gives him the date 1180 A.D. Śruṭakirṇi is mentioned in an inscription (Id, XIV 14) dated Saka 1045. But this identification seems to be wrong as Pampa says that Śruṭakirṇi's work though embracing the subject of Rāmāyana and Māhābhāraṭa was a Gatapratyāgaṭa (read to and fro) poem. In the Introduction to Kavyāvaloka, (Bd. Oas. 4) Śruṭakirṇi is mentioned as the author of a Rāghavapṛṣṭhadaviya, thus Pampa and Meghaonandra were contemporaries and Meghaonandra's soi wrote work in Saka 1076 (Id. XIV 14).

5. E. V. Veerāraghavachariar (JAEHS, II 181) places Dhananjaya between 750-800 A.D and Kavirāja as earlier than Dhananjaya in 650-725 A.D. Bhandarkar [BR (1894) 20] says Dhananjaya borrowed the idea from Kavirāja.

**67 Atula's MUSIKAVAMSA** is a poem of 15th cantos. About Atula nothing more is known. The poem relates the story of a long line of kings that ruled over the Musika kingdom, which according to Keralotpatti was South Travancore. When Parasurāma was slaying the Kṣatriyas as queen of a king, who was killed, hid herself in a mountain cave. One day, a rat as big as an elephant entered the cave and when it threatened to devour the queen, fire arose from her eyes and burnt the rat. The soul of the rat appeared in the form of the Parvatarāja with his attendants and the Parvatārāja astonished at his own change said that he had been cursed by sage Kusika to become a rat and his curse thus came to an end at her view. The queen continued to live in the cave and brought forth a male child. The Purohit who was all this time helping the queen educated the boy. When Parasurāma was performing a sacrifice and was on the look out for a Kṣatriya to act at a particular ritual, this boy was taken to him and pleased him, he made him the king of Musika coming under the name of Musika Rāmaghata because he was consecrated with potful of water. He killed Mādhavavarman, the king of Magadha, in battle and married his daughter Bhadravānī. He installed the son of Mādhavavarman on the throne of Magadha. Rāmaghata had two sons. The elder Vatu was made king of Iruhaya and the younger Nandana of the Cola kingdom. He returned to forest and spent the rest of his days in retirement. Then follows a long line of kings and their story, ending with Śrikantha, Valabha and his son. In the time of Śrikantha the poet lived and composed his poem<sup>1</sup>. In canto 14, it is stated that king Valabha joined the king of Kerala in opposing the advances of Cola King towards Kerala. It is thought likely that the Cola King referred to was Rajendra Choladeva I, who ruled in 1014–1046 A.D. In cantos 12 and 14, the temple of Buddha at Śrimulavasa is described as on the verge of ruin an account of the inroads of the sea. This temple was in a flourishing condition and had royal grants in 868 A.D.<sup>2</sup>. It is conjectured that that the poem must have been composed in the 11th century A.D.

**68 Kṣemendra**<sup>3</sup> surnamed Vyāsaḍā, was the son of Prakāśendra and grandson of Sindhu. His father was a great patron of Brahmins

1 Tr. Arch. Series 87 et seq. In the Mahakula inscription (IA, XIX 7) it is stated that King Kirtivarman I (489 to 567) ruled over the kings of Kerala, Musika &c. See JMy, XXI 62

2 Ibid I 198 5, II 116

3 On Kṣemendra, see Buhle (BKR 45), JBRAS (1877), XII Extra No. JBRAS, XVI 167. PR I 4, 75, JA series, VII 400, VII 216 M Duff (Ind. Chr.)

and expended three crores in various benefactions. He was himself a devotee of Siva but latterly, under the teachings of Somācārya, it is said he became a Vaishnava Bhāgavata. He studied under Abhinavagupta<sup>2</sup> and was in the court of King Ananṭa of Kashmir (1029-1064 A D)<sup>3</sup>. He wrote many works, and among them are some independent didactic poems and narrative abstractions of older poems<sup>4</sup>.

His Rājāvālī is a history of Kashmir like Kalhana's Rājaṭaranginī. Br̥haṭkathāmanjarī,<sup>5</sup> Rāmāyanamanjarī<sup>6</sup> and Bhāraṭamanjarī<sup>7</sup> are epitomes of Br̥haṭkathā, Rāmāyana and Māhābhūrata.

Among his works known only by name are Śāśivāmsa-mahākāvya Amṛtarangakāvya, Avasarasāra, Muktāvalī, Lāvanyaavatī, Deśopadesa, Pavanapancāśikā, and Pañvakādambari, and among his known and printed works are,<sup>8</sup> Avadāna-Kalpalatā, Niṭikalpaṭaru, Lokaprakāśakosa, Sevyasevakopadeśa, Niṭilatā, Vinayavallī, Darpadalana,

gives the date Loka 12 41 and A D 1087 and notes the dates of some works Br̥haṭkathāmanjarī (Loka 12), Samayamātṛkā (Loka 25), Dasāvatāra Cariṭa (Loka 41) Laukuka era commenced in year 25 Kali or 3075--6 B C. A Laukuka century commenced in 1025 A D. See Stein's *Int. to Raj*, Macdonnel (SL, 290, 376) calls Kṣemendra contemporary of Somadeva

1. Kṣemaraṇa, the author of Śāmbapancāśikā vivarana says he was a pupil of Abhinavagupta. He may probably be identical with Kṣemendra (*PR* I 11). But Buhler (*BKR* 46) says otherwise. He identifies him with Kṣemendra, author of Spandanirnaya. Kṣemendra son of Yaḍusārman of Gujarat and author of Hastijana prakāś is a different person.

2. The King is referred to in the concluding verses of Suvṛttatilaka and other poems. He was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhar —

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।

सुरी तस्मिन् क्षणे तुल्य द्वावास्तीं कविबान्धवौ ॥ *Raj* VII 255

3. For a list of his works, see S. Levi, *JA*, (1855), 809. Peterson's *Int. to Subh  
27*

4. Printed, Bombay *DO*, XXI 8165. See the paper on it by Levi, *JA* (1886), Feb April. Buhler (*JA*, I 802) fixes Somadeva 1088-82 A D and makes Kṣemendra his contemporary. Levi does not agree and says that Kṣemendra's work was anterior to Somadeva's Kaṭhāsarīṭsāgarā and that the latter was written as a direct criticism upon or it is a kind of reply addressed by Somadeva to Kṣemendra. This being assumed, Levi refers to a quotation from Br̥haṭkathā in the Dūṣarapa and differing from Hall concludes that the latter work is posterior to the Br̥haṭkathā and anterior to Kaṭhāsarīṭsāgarā.

5. Printed, Bombay

6. Printed, Calcutta

7. Printed, Kāvyaṁāla, Parts I, IV, and VI, Bombay *C. Bod* 88b and *Berl Cat No 804.*

Munimatamimāmsā and Kavikanthābharaṇa<sup>1</sup> Dasāvatāracarita gives the story of the incarnations and the story of Buddha is related according to the Buddhist works Kalavilāṇa<sup>2</sup> in 10 parts describes several arts with illustrations from traditional tales

**69 CARUCARYA**<sup>3</sup> is a century of moral aphorisms, easily expressed, each with a sanction of the orthodox kind appended, which gives a quaint and pleasing picture of virtue's ways of pleasantness in the Kashmir of his time Chaturvarga Sangraha,<sup>4</sup> is a concise exposition of the four great motives of human activity, duty, wealth, love and salvation

**SUVRITATILAKA**<sup>5</sup> is a treatise on metres and is valuable in literary history, for its quotations from several works with the names of their authors<sup>6</sup> In three chapters, it describes the collection of metres, their faults and merits and their proper application<sup>7</sup> The particular merit of this composition is that the illustrations seem at once to the eye and the ear as a versus memorials both of the character and of the name of the particular metre

In SAMAYAMATRAKA, "one of his most original poems which is intended to describe the snares of courtesans", he gives us among other stories an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine, Kankali, through the length and breadth of Kashmir The numerous places which form the scene of her exploits can all easily enough be traced on the map More than once curious touches of true local colour impart additional interest to these references To Kshemendra's

1. On this work, see S K Dr, SP II 861, and T Schonberg Wion

2. It contains the story of Mulaṭeva alias Karnisūta referred to by Bāna and Subandhu On Mulaṭeva, see page.

3. Ed Bombay, Kāvyamāla, Part II PR, I, 4, JBRAS, XVI Extra No For instance there is the version of the proverb, "The early bird catches the worm"

प्रासे मुहूर्ते पुरुषस्यजेचिद्रामतन्त्रित ।

प्रात् प्रबुद्धं कमलं प्रयेत श्रीगुणाथ्या ॥

4. Ed Bombay, Kāvyamāla, Part V PR, I 5

5. Ed Kāvyamāla, Part I Bombay, PR I 5 11.

6. Among the authors mentioned are Abhinanda, Bhatta Indurāja, Utpalajīla, Kalafaka, Kālidāsa, Gādinaka, Cakra, Tunjua (King, Rāj II 16), Dipaka, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, Parimala, Blas, Bhartṛi Mentha, Bhartrihari, Bhavabhuti, Bhāravi, Muktiṣaṇa, Yaśovarman, Ratnākara, Rājāsekha, Rissu, Lata Dindina, Bhatta Vallata, Viradeva, Sāhila, Bhatta Śyāmala, Śri Harsadeva, Bhatti, Bhāsumaka

7. Kshemendra says that Abhinanda excelled in Anustubh, Pāṇini in Upajāṭi, Bhāravi in Vāmisāṭha, Ratnākara in Vasanṭatilaka, Bhavabhuti in Śikharī, Kālidāsa in Mandkārāṇa and Rājāsekha in Śāḍulavikridiṭa

poem we owe, for instance the earliest mention of the Pir Panthal Pass (*Pancaludhara*) and its hospice (*matha*). Here, too, we get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade which still follows that route with preference Elsewhere we are taken into an ancient Buddhist convent, the Kṛtyasrama Vihara, where Kankali's conduct as a nun is the cause of no small scandal."

LOKĀPRAKASA<sup>1</sup> "supplies us with the earliest list of Kashmir Parganas. Besides this we find there the names of numerous localities inserted in the forms for bonds, Hundis, contracts, official reports, and the like which form the bulk of Prakasas II and IV. The Pargana list as well as these forms contain local names of undoubtedly ancient date, side by side with comparatively modern ones. Some of the latter in fact belong to places which were only founded during the Muhammadan rule."

By far the most valuable work of Kaemendra is the AUCITYAVI-CARACARCA<sup>2</sup>. It is a book on literary criticisms and treats of rhetorical style. His enunciations of literary canon are accompanied by discussions. He has no regard for individual fame or dignity and he deals out praise and censure as a true critic. His illustrations are sometimes his own and often taken from eminent poets, whose names he gives.<sup>3</sup> These illustrations form as it were an anthology. When he gives the date of composition for instance, Samayamātrkā as the 25th year of the Kashmir Cycle, or 1050 A.D. he furnishes a regular land-mark in the history of Sanskrit literature.

**70 Hemacandra** was born at Dhanduka in Samvat 1145 (1088 A.D.) and was the son of Chachiga Sresthi and Pāhini. When his father was away, a monk Devendrasūri of the Vajra Sākha asked his mother to give away the child then 5 years old, to be brought up in the monastic order. The mother parted with him very willingly and he was initiated under the name of Changdevu. His father was put out at the news

1 Ed Kavyamala, Part I, Bombay. See also Peterson's paper, *JBRAS*, XVI, 167-180, S. K. De, *SP*, II, 356-61.

2 Among the poets mentioned there, are Pañmagupta alias Parimala, Dharmakirti, Rājākhara, Ebatta Nārāyaṇa, Chandraka, Medhāvirūḍha, Mālava Kuvalaya, Śyāmala, Mātṛgupta, Pravarasena, Muktāpida, Yaśovarman, Utpalarāja, Amaruka, Kumāradāsa Cakrā, brother of Muktākṣaṇa and contemporary of Ratnakara, Bhallata, Vamana, Varāhamihira, Yaśovarmadeva, Māgha, Bhatta Tauta, Gangaka, Dipaka, Parivrājaka, Śrī Vakra, Harṣa.

The lost work Kuntēśvaraṇādautya by Kālidāsa referred to. He also refers to three plays by himself, and Chitrabhārata, and Lalitāraṇamālī?

and discovered the son, when it was too late, all-engrossed in his ascetic serenity To demonstrate his powers he set his arm in a blazing fire and his father found to his surprise the flaming arm turned into gold Hence came the appellation Hemacandra He studied under Devacandrasūri of Pūrnatālīyagaccha<sup>1</sup> He was consecrated in Sam 1154 and made a sūri in thirteen years later At the court of Anhilvid in Guzerat he spent many years under the patronage of kings Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A D) and his successor Kumārapāla<sup>2</sup> He was in fact a minister at the royal durbar and by his influence Jainism became the state religion Viharas 1400 in number, were built and laws against consumption of meat and cruelty to animals were enacted Though a Jain by adoption, his reverence for the brahmin was not anything less He was a genius of great versatility and his works embrace every field of literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit<sup>3</sup> He was the originator of a new school of grammar<sup>4</sup> His works contain 35,000,000 lines in all and he was called the Omniscient of the Kaliyuga Great Soul that he was, he passed away by self-starvation in 1173-4 A D<sup>5</sup>

His KUMĀRAPĀLA ACARITA, a poem of twenty-eight cantos, describes the history of the Anhilvid dynasty, particularly of Kumārapāla The first twenty cantos are in Sanskrit and the last eight are in Prakrit, and

1 He was the author of Sāntināthaśāstra in Prakrit, (See Jiss Cat 46, PR, I, 65)

2 On Kumārapāla, see Mangol inscription dated Sam. 1202 in *List of Antiqua  
rian Remains* (Bombay) 180 Kielhorn, AR, (1880) 110 gives the date of a Ms of Kalpacarni as Samvat 1218 as in the time of Kumārapāla See also Meitūnaga's Prabandhasaṅgāmanī, (Tawny's Translation, Calcutta, V Smith, EH 181) and E Dossabhai, *History of Guzerat* (Ahmedabad) 89 26 An account of Kumārapāla is contained in the Prakrit Kavya Kumārapāla i ratibedha, (Ed. Gok Or series, Baroda) of Somaprabhācarya, about whom see post

1 On Hemacandra generally, see Peterson, 5th Rep; A K Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I 189 204 (which says that he died in śvāvat, 1229 1174 A.D. in 84th year), Lassen, *IAit* III, 567, 1195 IV 808 ff , S K De, SP, I 203 Colobrooke, *Mss Ms II* 206 ff, Tattavall of Upadesa Gaosha (mentioned as the contemporary of Sri Kakka Suri, Sam 1154) Buhler, *Über das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemacandra*, M Duff, *Chronology*, Aufrecht CO 768, Bod Cat 170, 179, 180, 185a, ZDMG xliii 848, IA, IV 71, VI 181 BKR 76 Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, 184, 287 Jacobi (*Enc of Rel.  
and Ethics*, VI 591) gives Hemacandra's dates as 1086, 1089 1178. R Shamashastri, JMy, XIII 568 72 and Chandraprahasuri's Prabhavakacharita (Chapter 22) give an account

2 See Peterson, PR IV 6, I, 63 Subh. 189. All works of Hemacandra are preserved in Patan Library For a list of his works, see Int. to Kavyānusāsana, (Kavyamala)

3 See Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*.

this continuation has given it the name of Dvyāśrayakāvya.<sup>3</sup> The portion that is in Prakrit was intended to illustrate his aphorisms of Prakrit grammar and comprises the six different dialects of the Prakrit language.<sup>4</sup> Some say that the poem was begun by Hemacandra in 1160 A.D., and left unfinished by his death, and was later completed by Abhayatilakagani in 1255 A.D., but the latter says expressly that he is the author of the gloss only.

In Triastisalākāpurusacarita, a long poem, he describes the lives of Jaina Saints.<sup>5</sup> So is his Sthavirāvalīcarita.<sup>6</sup> Chandonuśāsana is a work on metrics.<sup>7</sup>

Kāvyanuśāsana with a commentary on it called Alankāracudāmani, in eight chapters, is a valuable work in literary history.<sup>8</sup> It discusses the poetical theories of Bharata, Lollata, Dandin, Śāṅkuka, Mammata, Bhātanāyaka and refers to several works of which some are not extant.<sup>9</sup>

Among his works on Lexicography<sup>10</sup> are Desināmamāla,<sup>11</sup> Abhidhāna Cintāmani,<sup>12</sup> and Anelārthasangraha,<sup>13</sup> and Nighantuseśa.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited, Bombay, *BSS*, No 60, with an Introduction by S P Pandit. See *IA*, XVIII 841. There is a commentary on some chapters by Abhayatilakagani (composed in Sam 1812) and on one chapter by Purnakalasagani (composed in Sam 1807). There is another Kumārapāla-carita by (Jinasimhasuri?) Jyaysimhasuri (see Kirtane's Int and Cat of Bikaneer State Library), *BR*, (1888 4).

<sup>2</sup> On the treatment of Prakrit by Hemacandra, see O D Dalal, Int to Bhavī sattalatha (Gaek Or Series), 68 65. Jinamandana, pupil of Somasurđwa, wrote Kumārapālaprabandha in prose and verse in Samvat 1492, [PR IV 82].

<sup>3</sup> Ed by Jacobi, *Bib Ind PR*, V 4. For a summary and extracts, see *CSC*, (1909), 108 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Printed, Bombay

<sup>5</sup> *PR*, V 184

<sup>6</sup> Printed, Kāvyanālā, Bombay *DC* XXII, 8696. See *JBBAS*, XII.

<sup>7</sup> These are Rāvivijaya and Harivijaya (Sanskrit poems) Āḍhūmatathana (apabramsa poem), Bhīma kavya (Gramya apabramsa poem), Līlāvātī (as a Padyamayī kāthā) Śādraka (Śudraka-kāthā?) a parikatha, Damayanṭikāthā of Trivikrama, and Hayagrīvavadha of Mēntha.

At p 97, Hemacandra quotes a conversation between Cīramāya and Rāma as from a drama Unmattarāghava. This is not traceable in Bhaskara's Unmatta rāghava, and the work quoted must therefore be a different one.

<sup>8</sup> See Int to Kalpadrukōśa (Gaek Or Series)

<sup>9</sup> Called also Rajāvai Ed by Pischel, Bombay

<sup>10</sup> *PR* III App 58, 108 with a commentary by the author (c 109, 154), Ed. by Boddingk and Eieu, St Petersburg

<sup>11</sup> With a commentary by the author's pupil Mahendrasuri, *PR*, III 51, App.

<sup>12</sup> Ed by Zacharias Vienna

<sup>13</sup> *PR*, V 28. It is a botanical glossary

Syādvādamanjari<sup>1</sup> and Jinendrastotra,<sup>2</sup> are hymns in praise of Vardhamāna. Sabdānuśāsana<sup>3</sup> is a treatise in Sanskrit grammar, of which the Prakrita grammar is in the eighth book. Logasāstra<sup>4</sup> is a companion of Jain doctrines. Ingānuśāsana is a treatise on gender.<sup>5</sup>

71. The history of Kumārapāla is narrated by Somaprabhācārya in his Prakrit poem Kumārapāla-pratibodha.-Mahikāvya.<sup>6</sup> Somaprabha was a pupil of Vijayasimha and was fifth in descent from Municandra and Munadeva in the pontifical line. His father Śripāla,<sup>7</sup> was a poet and friend of Siddhipāla, a colleague of Hemacandra at the Anhilvid Court. The poem gives an account of Kumārapāla's conversion into the faith of Jina<sup>8</sup> at the teaching of Hemacandra and was composed at Patan in Sam 1241 (1195 A D). It ends with a prāstīti in Sanskrit. His other works are Hemakumāracarita,<sup>9</sup> and Sumatiñāthacarita,<sup>10</sup> and Salāntakāvya.

72. Mankha known also as Mankhaka or Mankhuka was born in Kaśmīr.<sup>11</sup> His father was Viśvāvartha. His brother Alankīra,<sup>12</sup> also a

1 PR, IV 127, III app 206 Weber, 1st II 940

2 Bhau Daji's *Lat* (*op. cit.*) xviii. A commentary on it is dated 1292 A D PR, V, 110

3 Called also Śiddha Hemacandra Ed by Pischel, Halle. For an account of the work and literature that grew around it, see Peterson, PR, I 14, Weber, ISI II 208 251 Pischel *De Grammaticis Præcriticis*, Lassen's *Instituti Linguae Præcriticæ* (Bombay) Bhau Daji, *JBRAS*, IX 224

4 With a commentary by the author PR, II 65 Ed partly by E Windisch, *ZDMG*, XXVIII, (1874) 185 ff., Weber IL, 297 note So is his *Pramāṇamimāmaśa*, (PR, V 147)

5 Ed by Franke, Göttingen

Of the Culukya dynasty, the prāstīti gives the following kings, Mularāja (Sam 993–1038), Cāmundarāja (Sam 1058–1066), Durlabharāja (Sam 1066–1075), Bhimadeva (Sam 1075–1120), Karnadeva (Sam 1120–1150), Siddharāja alias Jayasimha (Sam 1150–1199), and Kumārapāla (Sam 1199–1230).

6 Ed by Muniraja Jina Vijaya (*Gaek Or, Series*) PR, IV, V, Index of authors The author gave it the name *Jina-dharma-praśnabodha*

7 The poet was honoured by Jayasimha with the title of Kavindra. He is quoted in Śārangadharma-Paddhati as Śripāla Kavirāja. See PR, V 38

8 The same story is given in the Śāntināthacaritam of Devasuri, in Sanskrit verses, PR, I 59

9 PR, V 24

10 It describes the life of Sumatiñātha, the 5th Tīrthankara and is written mainly in Prakrit. It is preserved in the Bhanḍas of Patan

11 On Mankha generally, see Durgaprasad's note in *Kavyanūtū*, BKR, 50 (where an account of the poem is given) and Peterson Subh 88 and 106. The poem has कर्णिकारक, says Jonarāja

12. Known also as Lankana and referred to in Rāj. VIII 2058

poet, was a minister of kings Susala and Jayasimha of Kañmir King Jayasimha<sup>1</sup> ruled from 1127 to 1159 A D Mankha went to Konkan as ambassador His other brother Śringāra held the office of Bṛhatṭāntrādhīpaṭi Ruyyaka was his guru<sup>2</sup> Mankha wrote his poem SRIKANTHACARITA about 1140 A D<sup>3</sup> In 25 cantos it describes the destruction of the Three Cities by Śiva The last canto is particularly interesting and it gives the names of some poets, predecessors or contemporaries<sup>4</sup> The whole of the 1st canto is devoted to benediction and every deity has a salutation Many of the verses have a double meaning and in spite of his wonderful mastery of language he lacks lucidity of expression and is a hard author for the scholar A commentary on the poem by Jonaraja<sup>5</sup> helps however towards an appreciation There is a dictionary called Mankha Kośa current in Kashmir.

Alankārasarvasva is a gloss on Ruyyaka's Alankāra aphorisms and is his work<sup>6</sup> Besides commenting on the Kārikās of Ruyyaka, Mankha appears to have himself written some Alankāra Sūtras In Mankhusuṭrodāharāṇa these Sūtras have been illustrated by a pupil of his, probably Samudrabandha, who also commented on Alankārasarvasva In these illustrations King Ravivarmabhūpa is praised<sup>7</sup>

**73 Sriharsa**<sup>8</sup> was the son of Srihira and Māmalladevi His father was a poet of the court of King Vijayacandra of Kanouj Disappointed in a poetic competition there with Udayana, Hira retired from public

1 See *Rūḍi*

2 *Śrīkāntacarita*, XXV—90

3 Ed *Kāvyamūlū*, Bombay In the colophon he is called Rājānaka Śri Menkha

4. Murāri, Rājaśekhara, Jalhana, Kalhana, Bilhana, Alakadatta, Ānanda (son of Śambhu), Padmarāja Jalhana referred to here is the author of the poem Somapāla-vilāsa and is different from the author of Suktīmukṭivali of the same name (JBRAS, XVII 57) The latter is called Ācārya Bhagadatta Jalhana See Durgaprasad's note in Śrīkāntacarita, page 847 Śambhu, the father of Ānanda, is the author of Anyokti-mukṭīlaṭā and Rājendrakarpura [Kāvyamūlū, Bombay] See *Ibid*, note at page 851.

5 He was a contemporary of king Jainulabdūn (1417 to 1467 A D) During this reign he composed the second Rājataranginī, the continuation of Kalhana's work He has also written commentaries on Kūrātārjunīya and other poems

6 See Trivandrum Sanskrit Series with Introduction by T Ganapathi Sastri. In this book the name of the poet is given as Mankhuka

7 He also refers in this work to Vidyācakravarṭi's commentary on Kāvya-prakāśa, TO, IV 4807.

8 The correct name is Śriharsa and not Hārṣa, see the last line of the poem श्रीशीहर्षकृष्ण. कृति.

gaze and with a request to his son to avenge the disgrace he soon passed away. Śrīharṣa at once set out to study and with the aid of the *Centimani-mantram*<sup>1</sup> kindly communicated to him by a venerable sage he attained the summit of his learning in a few years. He came again to the royal court and was received with distinction. There at the request of that king<sup>2</sup> he wrote his *Nāradhlyācarita*. The work met with wide approval in the various assemblies of Kāshmīr<sup>3</sup> and was honoured by the personal appreciation of Sarasvatī. He was dignified with the title of *Nārabhāraṭī*. The jealous queen, who called herself Kalābhāraṭī, would not tolerate this presumption. Unable to bear her persecutions, Śrīharṣa spent the rest of his life in ascetic serenity on the banks of the Ganges.

This is the account that Rājasekhara gives in his *Prabandhaloka*<sup>4</sup>. Jayantacandra, son of Vijyacandra ruled over Kanouj in the latter half of the 12th century A D.<sup>5</sup> It is elsewhere said by Rājasekhara himself casually that the first manuscript of the *Nāradha* was brought into Gujarat by Harihara during the reign of Viradhabalā and his minister Vāstuपāla made copies of it and gave it a deserved publicity.<sup>6</sup> Candu Pandita in his commentary *Dīpikā* composed in Sam 1353 (1296 A D) calls the poem new and refers to the existence of the only commentary of Vidyādhara before him.<sup>7</sup> Śrīharṣa must therefore have flourished in the latter half of the 12th century A D.<sup>8</sup>

1 Nāradha, Canto I, concluding verse

2 Rājasekhara gives the date of composition as about 1174 A D

3 Canto XVI, concluding verse

4 Composed in 1348 A D,

5 IA XV, 11 12 Grant dated Samvat 1225 (A D 1160). Various details given as his surname Panjula, contemporary of Kumārapāla, his dynasty destroyed by the Musalmans &c show that Jayantacantra was the same as Jayacandra, who reigned at Kānyakubja and Benares between 1165-1194 A D.

6 See the lives of Somesvara and Vāstuपāla, *post* Int to *Nāradhlyācarita* (Gaek Or Series), vii

7 काश्य नवम्. See Sivadatta's Int. to Nāradha (Bombay) 15

8 Buhler (*JBRAS* X 38, XI 279 ff., I 4 I 80), Ram Das Sen (I 1, III 81), P N Puraniya (I 1, III 29) and Sivadatta (*op cit* 1-15) adopt this view. F R Hall and K T, Telang (I 4, 297, 353 and II, 71) and Bhandarkar (I 4, XLII, 83 note) assign him to the 9th or the 10th century on the ground that verses from Nāradha are quoted by Bhoja in the *Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa* and that Vīcaspaṭimisā of the 11th century has written a criticism of Śrīharṣa's *Khandanakhandakhālyā*. Sivadatta assures us that there are no such quotations from Nāradha in the *Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa* (see Index of authors quoted Auf OC.) and that the Vīcaspaṭimisā referred to must be some late author. Aufrecht gives four persons of that name and eight of the names of

**74** NAISADHIYACARITA, OR NAISADHA shortly is a Mahākāvya of great repute in India. It describes the story of Nala, king of Nīradha, his love to Damayanti, princess of Vidarbha, his message through the swan, the intrusion of the Dikpālas, the marriage after Swayamvara and the sojourn of the lovers at the royal abode. The extant work contains twenty-two cantos but tradition carries it further to the length of sixty or one hundred and twenty.<sup>1</sup>

The poem as it is now available and has been commented upon stops with the marriage of Nala and Damayanti. The rest of Nala's history, as the name should indicate, is not in it. Nilkamal Bhattacharya shows how the last four verses are spurious and says that Śrīhara finished his poem but the rest of it is lost to us. "If a continuation of the Naisadha is admitted, we must either say that the sequel is lost, or that the poet could not finish the book. But when we look into two facts it is well nigh clear that the book was finished, one, the mention of the Naisadha in the Khandanakhandakhādya<sup>2</sup> and the other, the appreciation of the Naisadha by scholars in Kashmir (*Vide* the concluding verse of Canto 16). For, by the first, though the priority of the Naisadha up only to the end of the 21st Canto (which forms the subject of the poem referred to there) is conclusively proved, yet it would be too much to suppose that the author could think of leaving

---

Vāchśpaṭī (See Sivadatta *op. cit.* 11.12) F. S. Growse relies on the order of poets enumerated in Canda's Prījhvirajasau composed in the 12th century, in which Śrīhara is mentioned before Kālidāsa (I<sup>A</sup>, II. 218) and argues that Rājaśekhara's story is incorrect. He places Śrīhara in the 10th century A.D. But Telang remarks (I<sup>A</sup>, III. 81) that Śrīhara alludes to Kālidāsa's works in his Khandanakhandakhādya. All the particulars necessary to show that Rājaśekhara's account must be true are collected by Śivadatta. Ram Prasad Chanda (I<sup>A</sup>, XLII, 88, 186) says that Rājaśekhara mentions the name as Jayacandra and not Jayacandra and calls him the son and not the grandson of Govindacandra, King of Vāranāsi. M. Duff (*Chronology*) gives the date 1150 A.D. and makes him contemporary of King Jayacandra of Kanouj whose initial date falls between 1168 and 1177 A.D. and of the Chalukya King Kumārapāla of Guzerat (1148-1174 A.D.). Macdonell (*SL*, 380) and R. C. Dutt (*Cv*, II. 294) adopt this date.

1 In canto 17, Kali vows that he would separate Nala and Damayanti but the extant poem stops with the marriage and the pleasures of their conjugal life. Śrīhara says as usual that the 22nd canto was finished and there are four more verses added, in praise of his own work. The last verse appears to be an unnecessary repetition. The four verses must have been later interpolations, the real poem ceasing with the canto enumerating verse. It is therefore not improbable that the rest of the poem is lost to us, unless we imagine that Śrīhara left the work incomplete. In fact many manuscripts do not contain these four verses at all. See *DC*, XX. 7758.

2. तथा हमकथ्य नैषधनारितस्य परसपुरुषस्तुतौ सर्वे ॥

book unfinished at an advanced stage reaching up to the close of Canto 22 (up to which it is available) and beginning another so different in character and so stiff and bulky as the Khandanakhanda. As for the second, the appreciation of a Mahakavya is not possible when there is only a portion of it (viz 22 Cantos) there. For besides poesy, it requires character-sketch, correlation of the parts, and many others for consideration. This, therefore, is our final conclusion that the sequel also was written, but is now lost, and this is probable too, for, a good many of our poet's works whose names we find are lost to day. In connection with the above conclusion of mine, I may casually remark, that in my solicitude to learn whether tradition lent any support to my view I referred the matter to many of my friends and acquaintances, and, among them, to Pandit Ramagopal Smritihū-sana of Benares, whereupon the last gentlemen emphatically supported my view and said that many years back he had witnessed with his own eyes a manuscript of the sequel in Uriya character with an Uriya pupil of his named either Damodar or Rudranārayan (he did not recollect which). He also quoted two verses (one in full and the other in part) belonging, he said, to the same.

1 बदन्ति चेचन्द्रमसं सुधारसं न पीयते तै किमु नायिकाधरम् ।  
सुरापगाम्भं पिबता जनेन किं रसोत्तरं नीरधिनीरमुच्यते ॥

11. उत्तमस्तनपर्वतादवत्त्रेव हारावली रोमालि प्रतिपद्यते

The late revered Mahāmahopadhyāya Rākhaladāsa Nyāyaratna too is reported to have used to quote a half verse which, he said, belonged to the Nāsadha, but is not found in the twenty-two cantos current of the poem

स्स्मार न स्मरमना यियदूतभूत तशामरालयमरालमरालकेशी ।<sup>1</sup>

It is hoped that it is still lurking in some corner of Bengal and may one day be restored to us.

The ideas though at times far-fetched, are yet fine and true. In fancy and imagery, his descriptions see no limit.<sup>2</sup> His vocabulary is

1 Essays in Sarasvati Bhavana series, Benares, III 150. There he argues that Sriharṣa was a Bengali.

2 नैषध विद्वदौषधम् is a proverbial expression. Sriharṣa seems to have wantonly made his composition hard. अन्यग्रथिरह... . This however is one of the four concluding verses which might be an interpolation.

extensive but the language lacks lucidity and the reader can rarely approach the poem with confidence Śriharṣa inaugurated a new model of poetic composition<sup>1</sup> He was a logician, and philosopher and the ideas of those sciences are often imported into his descriptions<sup>2</sup> He has no particular regard for the artificial precepts of poetics and in many instances rhetoricians discover faults of composition<sup>3</sup>

**75** Śriharṣa mentions several works of his authorship, but his poems have not come down to us His Vijayapraśasti was a panegyric of king Vijayacandra, father of Jayantacandra<sup>4</sup> and Chindaprasasti, of King Chandas, the Chinda Chief of Gaya<sup>5</sup> Gaudorviśakulapraśasti and Sāhasāṅkacariṭa were probably of similar import<sup>6</sup> Arnavavarṇana is obviously a description of the beauties and traditions of the ocean<sup>7</sup> His Khandanakhandakhādya is a destructive critique of the views of Udayana, Sivabhaktisiddhi, a religious work devoted to the worship of Siva and Sthairyavicārnaprakarana, a disquisition on philosophy<sup>8</sup> Amarakhandana, a critique on Nāmalingānusāsana, is also attributed to Śriharṣa A number of lexicographers are mentioned in it

1 See Cantos VIII, IX, XIX and concluding verses

2 See canto I, concluding verse, XI, 129, III, 64

3 These are noticed in proper places in Nārāyaṇa's commentary There is a tradition that when Śriharṣa was at Kasmir, the poem was shown to Mammata and he humorously remarked that he was then writing his Kāvyaprakāśa and thus poem saved him the trouble of finding illustrations for his chapter of Kāvyadosa (or faults of poetry) See also article entitled Naīḍhaśacariṭa acūtīyacarē by Sivakamesvara Rao, in *Māmānsū*, I 5 (Tenali, 1923) and *Jl of Sam Sah Bar*, Vol XIII

4 Vijayacandra ruled 1155-9 AD Ram Prasad Chanda says that this refers to King Vijayapāla of the Prajāḥāra dynasty of Kanouj (Inscription dated 960 AD) Bhandarkar (*BR*, 1907) mentions that in an old catalogue of Jayasalmur Bhandara a poem named Vijayaprasasti is referred to But it is not found in the published catalogue in Gaek Or Series

5 In some editions, the name of the work is given as *Chandas prasasti* Rama Prasad Chanda says that this refers to Lalla of the Chinda family, whose Dewal Prasasti is dated 992 AD

6 Rama Prasad Chanda says that the latter refers to the paramount king Śinḍhu rāja of Malwa and that the former to King Mahipāla I of Gauda

7 Bhandarkar says that this was not a description of the ocean, but of King Arnorāja of the Chahamana dynasty of Sambhar, contemporary of king Kumārapāla (AD 1189) There is a stuti describing the vanquishment of Arnorāja by Kumārapāla (see *Jes Cat* 64)

8 See concluding verses, Cantos V, VI, XVIII Dvīrupakośa also goes under the name of Śriharṣa (Ed Arsha Press, Vizagapatam)

76 There are many commentaries on the poem by Ānanda Rājā-naka,<sup>1</sup> Īśānadeva, Udayanācārya,<sup>2</sup> Gopinātha,<sup>3</sup> Jinārāja,<sup>4</sup> Narahari,<sup>5</sup> Candupandita,<sup>6</sup> Cāñtravardhana, Nārāyana,<sup>7</sup> Bhagiratha,<sup>8</sup> Bharatamalika or Bharatasena,<sup>9</sup> Bhavadatt,<sup>10</sup> Mūthurānātha,<sup>11</sup> Mallinātha,<sup>12</sup> Mahā-deva,<sup>13</sup> Vidyāvāgiśa, Sesa Rāmacandra,<sup>14</sup> Śrinātha,<sup>15</sup> Vamsivīđana, Vidyādhara,<sup>16</sup> Vidyāranya Yogi, Viśvesvara,<sup>17</sup> Śridatta, Sadānanda,

1 Author of Kāvyaprakṛtiśāradarsana see PR, I 21, II 15 IV Index of authors, BKR, 10, De, 181

2 Distinct from Udiyana, the author of Kirṇivali, etc

3 Commentator on Kāvyaprakṛti, Dasākumāracarita and Raghuvamsa

4 Also called Jināraja Hari (CBRI, Kathawate's collection, No 452)

5 Ibid, No 488 Narahari says he was born in Śaka 1298 (1376 A D) and was son of Mallinātha different from the well known commentator. He became an ascetic and assumed the name of Sarasvatitirtha. His father was a native of Tribhuvanagiri in the Cuḍḍapah district, in Madras Presidency. See Nandurgikar, Int to Rag, 3

6 A E Gough's *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 180 Candupandita was the son of Aliga, a Nagar Brahmin of Dholka near Ahmedabad. He wrote a commentary on Rigveda. He composed his commentary in Sam 1513 or 1486 A D, during the time of Sanga, Chief of Dholka

7 Ed Nirayayagara Press, Bombay. He was the son of Narasimhabhatta, who bore a title Vedākara

8 Commentator on other poems and Kāvyādarśa

9 CSC, VII 39

10 OSC, X 396 Commentator on Śisupālavadha

11 Commentator on I uvalayānanda, Sāhiyatārvana, Hūrlāli, Prabodha-candrodaya and author of Subhāṣitamukṭivali

12 Printed everywhere "Vaisyavamsa sudharmanava is one of the most interesting works written by Mallināthaśurī under the orders of Rājādhirāja Rāja Palamcēvara Virapratāpa Prudhadevaraya of Vijayanagar to determine whether or not the words such as Vaisya, Nagaravank, Vanī, Vani, Vyāpā, Uruja, Tritiyajati, Svajatiyabheda, Uttarapatha, Nagaresvara, Devatopasaka, found in an inscription in Rauchi (Conjeevaram) mean a Vaisya, as distinguished from one who is called Komati. From this it follows that Mallināthaśurī lived at the court of Praudha Pratapa Devamaya 1410—1446 A D and that he was one of the judicial officers in the empire of Vijayanagar" [Mys Arch Rep (1927), 26]

13 Commentator on Ānandalahari

14 PR, II 16, 81, IV 27 Tāṇḍ Cat 2550 Cat Bod, 206 He belonged to the Sesa family of Benares and was probably the same as the son of Lakṣmīdhara. See under Seshakr̥ṣṇa post

15 Tāṇḍ Cat VI 2556 Probably the same as the Telugu poet Śrinātha who translated Naisadha into Telugu in the 15th century A D

16 CBRI, Kathawate's Colln No 454, Jess Cat (GOS), 18, 16

17 TO, III 390, Tāṇḍ Cat, 2556

Gadādhara,<sup>3</sup> Lakshmanabhatta,<sup>4</sup> Govindamisra,<sup>5</sup> Premacandra,<sup>6</sup> Śrīdhara,<sup>7</sup> Paramānanda Cakravarṭī,<sup>8</sup> Sarvagna Māḍhava,<sup>9</sup> Vidyā Śri-dharadevasūrī,<sup>10</sup> Peḍḍubhatta,<sup>11</sup> Venkata Rangānātha<sup>12</sup> Some of these have been mentioned by Aufrecht in his catalogue

**77. Story of Nala**—The name of Nala, king of Nisadha, goes back to Vedic antiquity<sup>13</sup> The Nalopākhyāna, or the episode of Nala, is related by Bṛhadāsva to Yudhiṣṭhīra in the Mahābhārata<sup>14</sup> King Bhīma or Kundīna announced the svayamvara of his daughter Damayantī Several princes assembled and the Gods themselves were not indifferent It was however a foregone fact that Damayantī was enamoured of Nala, king of Niśadha Indra and other guardians of the quarters were anxious to press their suit and they prevailed upon Nala to carry their message of love to Damayantī, but the errand was in vain The bridal of Nala and Damayantī was a joyous affair They spent some years of pleasant company and the disappointed Gods would not forget the slight They induced Kali to get hold of Nala and bring him to ruin Possessed by the evil genius, Nala played at dice and lost his all He wandered out in the woods with his bride, ill-clad and ill-fed and at last unable to suffer the sight of her suffering, he abandoned her while asleep and went his own way She lamented in vain and after much distress reached the court of her father at Kundīna In trying to rescue a serpent from a wild conflagration, the serpent, no other than Kali himself in that form, bit Nala and he became deformed He entered the service of the king of Oudh as a charioteer,

1 This commentary is noticed by Bhandarkar Gadaḍhara gives an account of Śrīhārṣī and says that he wrote his Nālīqādī in the Court of Govindacandra at Benares and not as Rajasekhara says, in the Court of Jayantacandra Gadaḍhara's account would therefore place Śrīhārṣī half a century earlier

2 PR, IV 27 Kash. Cat 69 He also wrote a poem Padyaracanā

3 Kash. Cat 70

4 TC, IV 4588 He was called Nyāyavāgīśa

5 TC, V 4720

6 DC, 175.

7 He was the son of Nārāyaṇīcārya of Vasisthagotra He seems to be the daughter's son of Keśava, the author of Kāmaprābhṛta, TC, III 2897, 5900

8 He was the son of Sāvīrī and Keśava of Vasishthagotra of Warkobhatta family. He and his brother Govinda were poets of the Court of Sālyamalla TC, III, 2948.

9. He was the son of Kapardūn and grandson of Mallinītha of Kolachala family. See DC, XXI 8212

10. The manuscript is with the Proprietor, Argha Press, Vizagapatam.

11. It is mentioned in the Vājasaneyī Samhitā. See Weber's IL, 182

12. Vana Parvan, chapters 49-70.

and from the story of his skill in his art, Damayanti recognised in him her lost lover. Soon they were united. His deformity disappeared. He played at dice again and regained his kingdom. For the rest all was well.<sup>3</sup> The story is very popular in India and there is not a household where its narration does not serve as a real solace in many a grievous calamity. Tradition has likewise accorded to it a religious sanctity and a recapitulation of Nala's tale destroys sin and ill luck.<sup>4</sup>

**78** Nalodaya of Kālidāsa, Nalābhuyudaya<sup>5</sup> of Vīmanabhutta Bīna, Dāmayantī-kāthā of Tṛivikrama, Damayantīparinaya of Cakrakavi, Raghavanānādhiya of Haradatta, Ābodhakara of Ghāṇḍyāma, Kalividambana of Nārāyanasāstri, Nalacaritanātaka of Nilakantha and Nala-Hariścandrīya of unknown authorship are noticed elsewhere.

**79** SAHRDAYANANDA is a poem of 15 cantos and covers the whole story of Nala.<sup>6</sup> The author Kṛṣṇananda was a Kayastha of Pun of Kapinjala family and was a Mahapatra or minister probably to the local king. His poetry is very charming and in this respect contrasts very favourably with the work of Śriharṣa, on which tradition says he wrote also a commentary. He calls himself the master of Vaidarbharī and is not far wrong in his own estimate. He is mentioned in the Sāhityadarpana<sup>7</sup> and must therefore have flourished about the 13th century A.D.

**80** UTTARA-NAISADHA,<sup>8</sup> a poem of 16 cantos by Vandārubhatta (or Arur Bhattachari), describes the later life of Nala, it replaces in a measure the lost portion of Śriharṣa's poem and must be regarded as a sequel to it. Vandārubhatta or Vandārudvija Mādhava lived about in the Kollam year 1010 (1825 A.D.) He was the son of Nilakantha and Śrīdevi and a brahmin of the aduthiruppadi sect, of the family of Arur in the village of Peruvana. He was educated by the queen Subhadrā and was tutor to the then prince of Kotilinga or Cranganore. He was

1. See Macdonell's *SL*, 296 Nalopākhyāna, ed. with translation by M. Williams

2. कर्तृटकस्य नागस्य दमयन्त्या नलस्य च ।

कर्तुपर्णस्य राजर्णे कीर्तनं कलिनाशनम् ॥

3. There is a drama of this name, (*DO*, XX 7848; XXI. 8879) referred to as the work of King Raghunātha of Tanjore, in the prologues to the drama of Rajasudāmanī Dikṣīta. There is a manuscript *TC*, VI. 4787 of a drama of this name complete in 8 acts but the name of the author is not given. It remains to connect it with either Raghunātha or some other author.

4. Printed, *Kāvya-māla*, Bombay, and Vani Vilas Press, Srīrangam (6 cantos only).

5. Nirnaya Sagara Press Edn page 429.

6. *DC*, XX, 7692. See *JRAS*, (1901), 163.

patronised by queen Manoramā. He had an initiation into the Bälā-mantra, a charm, probably as effective in promoting the power of poesy as the Chintāmani-mantra of Śriharṣa. He came to Cochm and at the court of the king composed his work. As a mark of appreciation, the king bestowed on him a munificent pension. For this composition Śriharṣa's poem was the model. The closing verses of each canto take a similar form and indicate the number of the canto that ends there. There are many instances, where he has adopted the style of Śriharṣa, but it must be said to his credit that his poem is more lucid than the original he sought to follow.

Kalyāṇa-Naiṣadha celebrates the marriage of Nala and Damayantī in 7 cantos for the delectation of King Ravivarman. The author's name is not known.<sup>1</sup>

**81** An excellent poetic summary of the Naiṣadha<sup>2</sup> is contained in the Sāraśataka of Kṛṣṇa Rāma. There is another summary called Āryāṇaiṣadha by Pandit A V Narasimha Chari, Triplicane, Madras. Pratīnaīṣadha is a poem by Vidyādhara and Lakṣmana, composed in Samvat 1708, during the reign of the Moghul emperor Shah Jahan.<sup>3</sup>

**82** The story of Nala has also been dramatised. MANJULA NAISADHA<sup>4</sup> is a drama in seven Acts by Venkata Ranganātha. The author was an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Vizagapatam and bore the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. He lived between 1822 and 1900 A.D. He was an exponent of the rational basis of the tales in Indian mythology. Among his several works,<sup>5</sup> must be mentioned a gigantic Encyclopaedia of the Sanskrit Language and Literature which has not yet found an editor. In a particular scene of this drama, a charmer is introduced and by the merit of his magic was he presented before Nala the condition of Damayantī's pining love in the company of her friends.

**83. BHAIMIPARINAYA** is a drama in ten Acts by Rāmaśāstri of Mandikal. He is the chief Pandit of the court of Mysore. His father

1. TO, IV 4810

2. Naiṣadha-carita Sara is prefixed to Siyadatta's Edition. Kṛṣṇārāma was a Pandit of the court of Jaipur, of great merit. He was the writer of other poems, Āryālankāraśataka Chandascharitamandana, Kacchayamā, Jayapuravilāsam.

3. BR II (1907)

4. Ed Arsha Press, Vizagapatam, 1896.

5. Among his other works is a small poem, Angalādhurājya Svāgata, Kumbha-karpavijaya, two grammatical treatises, a philosophical work, and two incomplete commentaries on the Naiṣadha and Anaraghārāghava.

Sri Rāma occupied a similar position during the days of Kṛṣṇāraja II. The plot of the drama covers the whole story of Nala and in depicting the succession of events, the arrangement of the scenes, displays an original talent. To describe the wanderings of Nala after the desertion of Damayanti, the author introduces an *Antar-Nātikā*, and its effect is very impressive.<sup>1</sup>

**84.** Nalānanda Nataka<sup>2</sup> of Jīvabuḍha in seven acts relates the story of Nala. Jīva was the son of Koneri, who, though a brahmin, became a ruler. He belonged to the Upadrastṛ Vamsa, the family to which Panditarāya Jagannātha belonged and lived about the end of the 17th century A.D. Nalavilāsa<sup>3</sup> is a similar drama in seven acts by Rāmacandra a pupil of Hemacandra. Nalacaritānātaka of Nilakanta,<sup>4</sup> Nala Damayantīya, of Kalipada Larkācārya of Calcutta,<sup>5</sup> Anarghanala caritramahānātaka of Suḍarsanācārya of Panchādā,<sup>6</sup> and Nalabhūmipālarūpaka of unknown authorship embrace the same theme.<sup>7</sup>

**85.** Damayantikalyāṇa is a drama probably in five acts by Ranganātha of which only a fragmentary manuscript is available. It was enacted during the festival of Sri Paramesvara in the town of Sucindram in Travancore on the bank of the Īmrapurṇī.<sup>8</sup> Another drama of this name in 5 acts by Nallan Cakravartī Sathagopācārya was to be staged at the festival of Padmāśahāya, probably of Srīrangam.<sup>9</sup> Sathagopācārya traces his descent from Uruputhuri Achun, one of the seven disciples of Nādaṇamuni, the great Vaishṇava Ācārya. He was of Vaṭṭagoṭra and flourished about the end of the 18th century A.D. and among his descendants are men of repute and scholarship. Among his other works now extant are Kalyāṇagirīmāhātmya, Śrinivāsatīva, and a musical poem in praise of God Śrinivāsa of Kalyāṇagiri.<sup>10</sup>

1. Ed. Government Press, Mysore. His other works are Meghāpratisandeha (a sequel to Kaliḍāsa's Meghasandeha) and Kumbhābhīṣṭakacampu (*Sah* LXI).

2. BTC, 168, nos. 10685, 5284.

3. Ed. Gask Or Series, Baroda. On this author, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama Post.

4. Printed, Balamanorama Press, Madras.

5. Printed, by Samskr̥ta Sāhiṇya Panashat, Calcutta.

6. Printed, Choukamba Office, Benares.

7. CC, III 60.

8. TC, IV 4202.

9. Ed. Srikrāngam with the commentary and preface of Vadhulam Tattai Śrinivasachariar and an English introduction by A. V. Gopalachariar. It is not known whether the drama referred to in CO, I 416 is the same.

10. These works are now with the author's descendants N. G. Narasimhacharan, High Court Vakil, Karur and K. T. Parthasarathi Ayyangar, Miteswar, Velur.

**86 Kavirāja** was the son of Kirtinārāyana and Candramukhi and a brahmin of Gauṭama Gotra Kirtinārāyana was the generalissimo of the forces of Kādamba kings of Vānavasi,<sup>1</sup> and Kavirāja himself was a poet of the court of king Kāmadeva of the Kādamba dynasty<sup>2</sup> This king was a Mahāmandaleśvara and ruled over the provinces of Hangal, Banavāsi and Puligere or Lakshmesvara He was a feudatory of the Western Calukya king Someśvara IV,<sup>3</sup> and began to rule about the year 1104 Saka<sup>4</sup> The city of Hangal was besieged by the Hoysala king Vira Ballala II and after some vicissitudes the Kadambas were completely subjugated and their territory annexed The later history is not traceable Tradition says<sup>5</sup> that the founder of the Kādamba dynasty, king Trinetra,<sup>6</sup> was a worshipper of the god Śiva installed at Jayantipura and brought with him 12000 brahmins of 32 gotras from Ahicchatra<sup>7</sup> whom he settled in the Agrahāra of Sthānugūḍhapura From the fact that Banavāsi in the North Canara District is still known as the Jayantikṣetra, and Kavirāja refers to this immigration of the

1 These details are given in his Parijātaharāṇa (R Ns 2960) where he gives his name as Kavirāja only This is also confirmed by the colophons of the Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya, where it is said कविराजकविराजकृतौ It is therefore seen that Kavirāja was not a cognomen Rājāśekhara in his Kāvyaśāmīśā uses the name Kavirāja to denote a class of poets, who are good in various languages or in several species of composition. But the term is also used as a proper name There was a Kavirāja among the ancestors of Rājāśekhara himself (See Bālārūmāyāpa, I. 18). There was another Kavirāja, friend of Jayadeva (author of Gitagovinda) who was probably Dhoyi, the author of Pavanaduta There was a Kavirāja, probably of the Ganjam District, who wrote Kavirājastupi in praise of Kṛṣṇa and Mṛgeyācampu describing the hunting expedition of a king named Vicitravikrama who ruled at Kalati in Ganjam, Madras Presidency. (TC, IV 4815, 4784)

2 This dynasty must be distinguished from the Kādamba dynasty, whose capital was Palasika Among those kings were Santivarman, Kakusphavarman etc The date of their first king is given by Rice as 588 A.D They were Jains in religion See *Mys Arch Rep* (1928), 26 7, *Ibid.* (1925), 16

3 He was also called Trībhuvanamalla etc. See V. Smith, EH. 487

4. J F Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency* p 84 ff Inscription No 90 in *The Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, compiled by J F Fleet (London) gives the same information Inscriptions No. 106 and 107 are also useful One of them is dated in the 18th year of king Kāmadeva, Nala samvatasa, Saka 1118 (1196-97 A.D.). This gives 1108 Saka (1181-82 A.D.) as his initial date. See *Gas. of Bom Presy*, I. ii 568.

5 *P S and O O Inscriptions* (op. cit.) No 221.

6 Mayuravarman I was probably another name

7. Cunningham identifies it with modern Ramnagar, and Lassen with Farokhabad, in the United Provinces.

Brahmanas from the Madhyadesa<sup>1</sup> we may safely conclude that the Kāmadeva of his eulogy must be of the line of Bānavāsi. Lastly in his introduction to the Canarese Pancatītra,<sup>2</sup> Durgasimha praises several Sānskrit poets, of whom all were brahmins, except Dhananjaya, the Jain author of another Rāghavapāndaviya. This naturally makes us presume that if Durgasimha had known Kavirāja and his work he would have substituted there his name for Dhananjaya. Durgasimha was the minister of war and peace at the court of the Calukya king Jagadekamalla II, who reigned between Śaka 1061 and 1072. It is therefore probable that Kavirāja flourished after Śaka 1072. All these considerations combine to assign Kavirāja around the year 1104 Śaka, that is, the latter part of the 12th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

1. See Rāghavapāndaviya

आनेता मध्यदेशात्प्रवचनविदुता सौमपा ब्राह्मणान्—I 25

though the reference there is to Kāmadeva himself, which may thither mean that the poet wantonly attributed the pious act to his protege or that Kāmadeva also imported a further set of brahmins from Madhyadesa.

2. Published in the *Karnataka Kavyamangala*, 6-7. Durgasimha says that he proposes to give to the world a Canarese translation of Vasubhīga Bhatta's Sanskrit Pancatantra, who extracted five stories from Guṇḍhyā's Bhaṭṭakāthā in Pāṇḍuṣa and translated them into Sanskrit. He mentions Guṇḍhyā, Vaiśuci, Kālidāsa, Bṛihi, Mayura, Vāmanā Udbhataḥbhim, Bhavibhūti, Bharavi, Bhatta, Mīgha, Edjaselhara, Kāmāndaki and Dandin. Durgasimha also mentions the Canarese poet Kannamayya of whom Abhinava Pampa was a contemporary (*adyatana*). See *Karnātaka Saiddhānuśāsana*, Int. 38. To Pampa's contemporaries, there was only one Rāghavapāndaviya and that the Jain work was known. It is seen to be so from the way in which the work is referred to in the Pampālīdaya, and the inscription at Sravina Belgola.

3. Macdonnel (*SL*, 881) gives the date 800 A.D. Bhandurkar (*BR*, 1894 20) mentions that Kavirāja and Dhananjaya must have flourished between 996 and 1141 A.D. and Dhananjaya imitated Kavirāja. Weber (*IL*, 196) places him in any case later than Kālidāsa (*IStr* I 871). K.B. Pathak in his discussion of Kavirāja's date (*JBR4S*, XXII) says that the real name of Kavirāja was Māñjavabhatta. In a Kadamba copper plate inscription (*BO* VII 214) there is a grant by King Soma, a grandson of Kāmadeva. This Kāmadeva must be identical with the one of that name mentioned above, and the names of the son, father and grand father are the same (See also *BC*, III 27 and IA, X 252). The grantee is one Kavirāja Māñjave bhatta. This grant gives only the cyclic year, Vilambi Āśadha Amāvāsyā, on which an eclipse of the sun occurred. Rice assigns this grant to 1118 A.D. Pathak thinks that the date must be incorrect, because Fleet, basing his opinion on a stone inscription, opines that between 1099 and 1120 A.D., the Banavasi province was governed by the Kadamba King Taliapa II and not Soma. If Rice has placed his reliance on the solar eclipse, I find from a calculation from South Indian Chronological Tables (Madras) that Monday, Āśadha Amāvāsyā of Vilambi answers the year 1118 A.D. as well as 1178 A.D. but not the next cycle 1238 A.D. Either Rice or Fleet must be wrong in their enumerations of the dates of Kāmadeva and Somesvara. Sewell and Dikshitar (*Indian Calendar*, 122) give the dates of eclipses as 22-3 1118, 18-9 1178 and 21-8 1179.

**87.** PARIJATAHARANA,<sup>1</sup> a fine poem in 10 cantos, describes the story as told in Bhāgavata of the forcible removal of the Pārijāta tree by Kṛṣṇa from Indra's garden. Free from the restrictions of double entendre, Kavirāja here shows himself in his best. He wrote it to please his father Kīrtinārāyaṇa and was probably his earliest work.

**88.** By far the work with which his name is gloriously connected is the poem RAGHAVAPANDAVIYA. It describes at once the stories of Rāmā�ana and Mahābhāraṭa by a resort to separable compounds and punning expressions. It bears Kāmadēvāṅka.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the limitations of the double entendre the language is lucid and melodious.<sup>3</sup> He ranks himself with Subandhu and Bāna in the style of vakrokti.<sup>4</sup>

There are commentaries<sup>5</sup> on it by Laksmaṇa,<sup>6</sup> Rāmabhadra,<sup>7</sup> Saśadharā,<sup>8</sup> Premacandra Tarkvāgīśa,<sup>9</sup> Cāntravardhana,<sup>10</sup> Padmanāndī,<sup>11</sup> Puṣpadanta,<sup>12</sup> Viśvanātha.<sup>13</sup>

This device of handling different tales in the same poem has been very fruitful in later imitations.

1. *TO*, IV 4295. Bhoja in his *Sragārāprakāśa* refers to Pārijātarāvana.

2. This colophon for instance is informing

इति श्रीहरधरणीप्रसूतकादम्बकुलतिलकचक्रवर्तीवीरकामदेवप्रोत्साहितकविराजपण्डित  
विरचिते राघवपाण्डवीये महाकाव्ये कामदेवाङ्गे रावणदुर्योगनवधोङ्गासितरामधर्माभिषेको  
नाम नयोदश सर्गं।

Some understand धर् under the word धरणी making it धरणीधर or Kailasa, but it seems to be a mistake for the origin given in inscriptions of the first Kadamba king refers to हर् धरणी and not धर.

3. For instance, a Sarvajobhaava

रस्याकल्पविलासिनी क्षितिपतिलोर्वण्यतेजसिनी

नित्याविष्टुतभण्डना स्थितिमती याभीष्टलोकान्तरा ।

लक्ष्मीराश्रयते स्म सा भवितमामाय सुसेव्य मुदा-

दातार रमतानुजेन च शतानीकेनराम तदा ॥

4. सुबन्धुर्बाणमद्वय कविराज इति त्रय । वकोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्रतुर्थो विद्यये न वा ॥

5. See *CC*, I 504.

6. Printed Bombay *Tanj Cat* VI 2654, K 66. Lalśmīraja was also the author of Suktāvali or Sukṭumukṭāvali (*PR*, III. Ap 54, IV 8v) and commentary on Vādi-rāja's Yosodharacarīja (*TO*, III 8824).

7. *Mātra*, X.

8. Printed, Bombay. It was written at the instance of King Amarasimha son of Budragumha. The poem is also called there Dvīsanḍhāna.

9. *CASB*, 161. Printed Calcutta. The author was professor of Sanskrit, Sanskrit College, Calcutta,

10. *Kh* 85

11. *Bas* 802

12. *Bas*, 804.

13. *B*, 108

**89** **Vidyamadhava** in his Pārvatī-Rukminīya,<sup>1</sup> describes the marriages of Śiva and Pārvatī and Kṛṣṇa and Rukmini. He was a poet of the court of the Culukya King Somadeva, very probably Someśvara IV of Kalyān who reigned about 1126-1138 A.D.<sup>2</sup> He was a native of Nilālaya near Gunavaṭī. He was proficient in all the sciences and the Vedas. He wrote commentaries on Kirātārjunīya<sup>3</sup> and other poems. Like Kavirāja who says that besides himself Bāna and Subandhu were the only poets skilled in Vakrokti, he says that he is the fourth of them besides Bāna, Subandhu and Kavirāja. He was probably a younger contemporary of Kavirāja.

**90.** **VENKATADHVARI** treated the stories of the Rāmā�ana and Bhāgavata together in Yādava-Rāghaviya.<sup>4</sup> He was the famous author of Viśvagunādarśa of the first half of 17th century. The language is rendered extremely hard<sup>5</sup> by the introduction of alliterations of an

1 *DO*, XX 7777

For a typical verse,

नास्नाकृतोमेशसमानधास्मा सा खिमणी रत्नकृतीर्द्धजेभ्यः ।

प्रयच्छता नाम गुणस्य वेता पित्रा खमित्राभिषृतेन तेन ॥

2 He also bore titles Bhulokamalla and Sarvaga (See V. Smith, *EH*, 481, 487). He wrote Mānasollāsa, a work on all arts in 100 cantos (Tanjore Library). See L. Rice Mysore, I 880.

There were four Someśvaras of the Culukya dynasty of Kalyān, whose epigraphical dates known are (I) Āhavamalla and Trilokyamalla 1040-1069 A.D. (*IA*, IX 98); (II) Bhuvanakamalla, 1074 (*IA*, IV 208), (III) Bhulokamalla, 1127, 1136, 1141 A.D. (*IA*, X 181), (IV) Trībhuvanamalla, 1162 A.D. (*IA*, I, 80). In *Mys. Arch Rep.* (1925) pages 581 there is a grant by a feudatory of Trībhuvanamalla whose date is given as 1097 A.D. who is Vikramāditya VI. See V. Smith, *EH*, 481, 487, *Mys. Arch Rep.* (1928) pp 1128, (1927), app E. The grants in *Mys. Arch. Rep.* are dated in the Culukya Vikrama era, which is said to have commenced in 1076 A.D. Vikramāditya, patron of Bilhapa (para 62 *supra*) was the brother of Someśvara II and ruled 1076-1127 A.D. The following is the geneology of the Western Culukyas of Kalyān. Taila or Tailapa I (973-997 A.D.)—son Satyāśraya (997-1008 A.D.)—nephew Vikramāditya—brother Jayasimha—Someśvara I (1040-1069 A.D.)—son Someśvara II (1076-1095 A.D.)—brother Vikramāditya (1076-1126 A.D.)—Someśvara III (1126-1138 A.D.)—Jayasimha Jagadekamalla (1188-1150 A.D.)—son Tailapa II—son Someśvara IV. He lost his throne by revolution in 1189 and with him Western Culukya dynasty came to an end. Descendants of Someśvara ruled as petty chiefs in Konkan till 16th century A.D.

3 *DO*, XX 7709

4 *DO*, XX 7966, *HR*, II. as the author see post *TC*, IV 6049.

5 For instance

सकेतास्या ज्यायामासीद्याविप्रादीसार्थधारा ।

पूराजीतादेवाद्याविश्वासाऽग्न्या सावाचारावा ॥

advanced type for which he is an adept and in this respect lacks the beauty of the work of Kavirāja which it seeks to imitate. There is a commentary on it, probably by the author himself<sup>1</sup>.

**91 Somesvara** was the son of Kr̄ṣṇasūri of Vinjumūri family of Gauṭama gotra. In Rāghavayādavīya, he narrates in 15 cantos the stories of Rāma and Kr̄ṣṇa. He proposes to use words adopted by Kālidāsa and Bhāravi and only those monosyllabic words used by Amara. The poem is at the same time a work on prosody. There is an anonymous commentary<sup>2</sup>. There are works of this name by Raghunāṭhacārya and Śrinivasācārya and by Vāsudeva<sup>3</sup>. Rasikaranjana of Rāmacandra is a collection of verses with Sāngāra and Vairāgya meanings. Rāmacandra was the son of Lakmanabhaṭṭa and wrote his work in 1524 A D<sup>4</sup>.

**92** A further development of the device was the use of a TREBLE ENTENDRE, relating three stories at a time. Rāghava-yādava-pāndaviya in three cantos describes the tales of Ramāyāpa, Mahābhāraṭa and Bhāgavata at a time<sup>5</sup>. The author CIDAMBARA was the son of Ananta-nārāyaṇa and Venkāṭa, grandson of Śrīyanārāyaṇa of Kausika gotra. Śrīnivāsa was his brother. Śivasūrya was his maternal uncle. His Bhāgavata Campū relates the story of Kr̄ṣṇa<sup>6</sup>. He appears to have been a resident of Mullandram, the place of Dindimas and to have been patronised by King Venkata I (1586-1614 A D) of Vijayanagar<sup>7</sup>. There is a commentary on it by his father Anantanārāyaṇa, which interprets every verse thrice to carry the meaning threefold<sup>8</sup>. In his Pancakalyāṇa Campū he shows further advance in the art and relates at once the story of the marriages of Rāma, Kr̄ṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Subrahmanyā with a commentary by himself<sup>9</sup>.

1 DC, XX 7957 See also TC, IV 6049

2 TC, IV 5489.

3 TC, IV 5524, Opp, II 728, 1148, 4118.

4 Ed. Bombay (Kavyamālis, Part 4). For similar interpretations on Amarka, Hamsasandēśa, Gītagovinḍa, see notes under those works.

5 DC, XX 7829 For a typical verse

अस्यचित्तायामधुरासमानैरनेकद्योमारतवासभूमि ।

परैर्वरालङ्घरणे प्रवीरै पूर्वस्तिनामास्पदभूरयोध्या ॥

There is another work of the same pattern by Rājaoudāmaṇi Dikṣīt, see Int. to Maṇidarpaṇa (TSS, No 84).

6 Tāti Cat VI 2706, 2707, DO, XXI 8259.

7 He composed an inscription of King Venkata I in Saka 1524. See IA, XLVII 94. See Vivekapāṭramāli under Dindimas, post

8 There is also an anonymous commentary, see DO, XX 7908

9 TC, IV 4257 8

Anantācārya of Udayendrapuram of Mysore wrote a poem Vādava-Rāghava-Pāndaviya. He was the father of Irivenī, the prolific poetess of whom the reader will hear in the coming pages. A similar work Ābodhākara by Ghanaśyāma relates the stories of Kṛṣṇa, Nala and Hariscandra,<sup>1</sup> with a commentary on it.

**93 Meghvijayagani** was a Jaina monk.<sup>2</sup> He was a pupil of Kṛpāvijaya and 5th in hierarchical descent from Hiravijaya. He was well-versed in grammar, astronomy and logic, and his writings on these branches of learning are now appreciated. As a poet, his greatness is sufficiently proved by his Saptasandhāna, a poem in which seven stories are at a time narrated, in very felicitous language all the same. In Devanandābhuyada, of seven cantos, he relates the life of Vijayadevaśūri. This was composed in Samvat 1727 (1671 AD).<sup>3</sup> In Śāntinātha-carita he narrates the life of Śāntinātha. In these two poems, he has taken the lines of Śisupālavadha and Naṇadha, as for *Samasyā*, and constructed his verses to complement them.<sup>4</sup>

In Saptasandhānamahākāvya, Meghvijayagani applies each verse to Vṛabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Pārvanātha, Neminiñtha, Mahāvirāswāmi, Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva, (known as Rāmacandra). Of these the first five are some of the 24 Jain Tīrthakaras. In nine cantos, the poet narrates these several stories in easy and flowing language and has thus illustrated the potency of expression in Sanskrit literature.<sup>5</sup> Hemacandra

1. *HR*, III x and 66.

2. Printed Bombay, with an Introduction by Hargovind Das. See also *I.A.*, VIII, 55.

3. Ed. in part in *Sāt Yatayā Jāmagranthamālā*.

4. For instance —

श्रियमभ्यक्तमनोऽतुरक्ता विशालसालक्षितया श्रिया स्फुटा ।

तयाबमासे सजगत्कथीविमुर्ज्वलप्रतापावलिकीर्तिमण्डल ॥

निपीय यस्य क्षितिरक्षिण कथा सुरा सुराज्यादिसुख बहिर्मुखम् ।

प्रपेदिरेऽन्त ख्यरतन्मयाशया सदा सदानन्दभूत प्रशसया ॥

वथा भुतस्येह निपीततकथास्तथाद्रियन्ते न बुधा सुधामापि ।

सुधामुजा जन्म न तन्मन प्रिय भवेद्वेय यत्कनततकथा प्रथा ॥

5. For a typical verse

अवानेपातिरहासीदिश्वसेना श्वेतेनाभिधदश्वथनाम्ना य. सनामि सुरेश ।

बलिविजयिसमुद्र ग्रीष्मसिद्धार्थसङ्ग प्रसुतमसुणतेजस्तस्य शूकच्छपस्य ॥ I. 56.

was known to have composed a poem *Saptasandhāna*, but as it was lost, Meghavijaya proposed to fill up the gap<sup>1</sup>

Based on *Meghasandesā* is his similar work *Meghadūta-Samasyā-lekha*, being a communication from the poet to the lord of his Gaccha, *Vijayaprabhasūri*<sup>2</sup>. In his *Dīgvijayamahākāvya* the life of *Vijayaprabhasūri* is described in 13 cantos<sup>3</sup>. His *Yuktiprabodha* is an allegorical drama intended to refute some rival philosophical theories<sup>4</sup>.

**94 Somaprabhacarya**<sup>5</sup> reached the highest degree of variable interpretation. In his *Satārthakāvya* he interpreted a single verse,<sup>6</sup> in a hundred ways. On account of this composition he got the name *Satārthika*. It was written about 1177 A.D. At the beginning of its commentary, he has written five verses, in which he has given an index to the hundred explanations intended by him. "In the beginning he has given the meanings of the 24 Tīrthankaras of the Jain religion, then in the middle he has given the explanations of the Vedic deities, like Brahma, Narada, Vishnu and others and at the end he has brought out references to his contemporaries, like Vādidevasūri and Hema-candrācārya, the great religious preceptors of Jainism, Jayasimha-deva, Kumārapāla, Ajayadeva, Milarāja, the four successive Cālukya kings of Guzerat, poet Siddhapāla, the best citizen of the time and Anita-deva and Vijayasimha, his two preceptors. After this, at the extreme end, he has elucidated references to himself and in the final conclusion he has quoted a short *prāśasti* in five verses written on himself by some disciple of his". His *Sṛngāravairāgyatāranginī* is a didactic poem<sup>7</sup>.

**95** These poems so far adopted the principle of differentiation in reading to denote the different stories, though the verse was kept in its

1. So he says

श्रीहेमचन्द्रसूरीवै सप्तसन्धानमादिम् ।  
रचित तदलामे तु स्यादिद तुष्ट्ये सताम् ॥

2. Ed. Bhavnagar. The last verse says.

माधकाड्य देवगुरोर्भेदूत प्रभप्रमौ ।  
समस्यार्थं समस्यार्थं निर्भमे मेषपण्डित ॥

3. It was composed in Sam. 1747 (1891 A.D.)

4. On *Somaprabhacarya*, see para 71 *supra*

5. कल्याणसारसवितानहरेकमोहकान्ताराणसमानजयायदेव ।

धर्मर्थकामदमहोदयवीरधीरसोभ्रप्रभावपरभागमासिद्दसूरे ॥

6. Muniraja Jinavijaya's Int to *Kumārapālaspratibodha* (*Gieh Or Series vii*)

7. OR, III 403. Printed with commentary *Kāvya-māla*, Bombay

natural order. A further complication was resorted to, which was not only a simultaneous narrative of two different stories, but a feat of verbal ingenuity.

**96 NALA-HARISCANDRA** was a work in this direction but with a slight modification. In its natural order, the verse relates the story of Nala and in the reverse order the story of Hariscandra. The author's name is not known and a commentary is added.<sup>1</sup>

**HARADATTA'S RAGHAVA-NAISADHIYA** describes the story of Rama and Nala. Haradatta was the son of Jayasunkha of Gīrgya gotra. In his commentary on the work, he quotes Bhattoji Dikṣita and a list of lexicographers, Bhattacharya, Kesava, Rāmākrṣna, Rabhaśa and Yādava.<sup>2</sup> It appears to have been composed about the beginning of the 18th century A.D.

**ANANTASURI'S HARISCANDRODĀYA** is a poem of 20 cantos on the story of Hariscandra and refers in double entendre to Hariscandra the mythical ruler and a poet's patron of the same name.<sup>3</sup>

**RAMAKRISNA-VILOMA-KĀVYA** is a short poem of 38 verses.<sup>4</sup> If the first half of each verse is read in the reverse order in the second, the former narrates the story of Rāma, the latter that of Krishnā.<sup>5</sup> The author Sūryakāvi or Sūryadāsa also called Daivagnapundit,<sup>6</sup> was the

1 *TO*, II, 1716.

For instance

निजमोऽतिप्रजानारीनलोऽच्छसदमोऽजनि ।

य श्रियश्चन्द्र इन्द्रश्च गोसागोस्तर्वपूरिष् ॥

refers to Nala and in the reverse order to Hariscandra

The last verse is all the more interesting in that each pṛ̥da remains the same though read in the reverse order

लीलाकलोमध्यमलोकलाली लागी सुखी मुग्धपुरुषी सुगीला ।

समाप्तयानक्षनयाप्रभास सहासया तत्र तथा सहास ॥

2 *KO*, xxx 290. The Ma is incomplete containing only 2 cantos.

3 *OMy*, 261

4 Printed, Calcutta (*Kāvya-saṅgraha*) and Bombay (*Kāvya-mālā*, VI) *DC*, XX, 7960 61, *Tanj Oar*, VI 2988. There is a commentary by the author himself printed there and another by Kṛṣṇādāsa (*B*, II 100, *CC*, I 508).

5 For instance,

त भूसुतामुक्तिमुदारहास वन्दे यतो भव्यमव दया श्री ।

श्रीयादव भव्यमतोयदेव सहारदामुक्तिमुतासु भूतम् ॥

6 Probably Suryapāṇi, the author of Āryā Rāmāyaṇa (*DC*, XX 7900) and Arya Surya, author of *Vijayavikrama Vyāyoga* (*TO*, II 1751) are different persons.

son of Jnānādhirāja of Bhāradvājagoṭra and lived at Pārṭhapura His seventh ancestor Rāma was in the Court of king Rama of Devagiri<sup>1</sup> As an astronomer he wrote Sūryaprakāsa in 1539 and commented on Lilāvaṭī in 1542 A D His Nr̄sīmhacampū in 5 chapters and Bālabodhikā commentary on Deveśvara's Kavikalpalatā, are available<sup>2</sup>

**97.** Another feat of poetic genius is KANKANABANDHA-RAMAYANA There is only one verse<sup>3</sup> of 32 letters arranged in a circular form (in the form of a bangle) and by reading them from left to right and right to left, starting from any letter we have 62 verses forming, if rewritten, a regular poem A commentary interprets these verses so as to describe the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa The author Krenamurti was the son of Gauri and Sarvagna of Vasisthagotra, probably of the Circars and lived in the 19th century A D<sup>4</sup>

This idea of Kankanabandha was improved by Charla Bhāshyakāra Sastrī in a similar composition He lives in the Agraharam of Kakarapāṭī in the Krishna District In his Kankanabandha Rāmāyaṇam he interprets each verse so formed in two ways, by splitting the compounds, so that, in effect, there results from one single verse a poem of 128 verses in all<sup>5</sup>

**98** Sripala, son of Lakṣmaṇa of Pragvata family, lived at Anhilvid between Sam 1151 and 1210 (1095-1154 A D) He was a poet of great renown and received the title Kavirāja and Kavicakravarṭī from King Śiddharāja Jayasimha of Gujarat He was blind In Sam 1181, there was a dispute between the Svetāmbara and Digambara Jain sects on some questions of liturgy and in an assembly presided over by the King Kumudacandra of Karnāṭaka represented Digambara view and Devācārya of Gujarat the Svetāmbara, and Sripāla took a prominent part in the discussion This dispute is described by Yaśasacandra in his

1. Devagiri (Doulatabad) was the capital of the Yādava kings. Ramaçandra was defeated by Allauddin in 1294 A D.

2 IOO, VII 1478, 1549, OO, I 87a, III. 19a

3. नेतादेवालीनामाचाधानाधीनेकालोकी ।

मास्यानमारव्यायोगीश पायादेत रामेराजा ॥

4 TC, III 2874

5. The verse is this

रामीनाथाभारासाराचारावारांगोपाधारा ।

भारधारामीमाकारा पारंविरा सीतारामा ॥

play *Muditakumudicandra*<sup>1</sup>. He wrote a poem *VAIROCĀNAPĀRAJAYA* and several *prāśātis* printed in Jain *Prācīnalekhamālā*.

Sripāla's son Siddhapāla, also a poet, lived till about Sam 1250 (1199 A.D.) Siddhapāla's son Vijayapāla has been much praised as a poet by Somaprabhasūri. King Kumārapālī was his friend. His patron, King Siddharāja Bhimadeva of Cālukya dynasty, flourished in 1109-1241 A.D. At his instance he wrote the play *Draupidīsvajamvara*<sup>2</sup> in two acts on the wedding of Draupadi. Vijayapāla seems to have lived till about 1244 A.D.

**99 Muniratnasuri** was the pupil of Samudraghoṣa of the Candra Gaccha<sup>3</sup>. Jivasiṃha, his pupil, wrote a *prāśāti* in praise of his master<sup>4</sup>. He wrote his *Amāmasvāmīcarita*, at the request of Jagaddeva son of Yasodhavala, treasurer of a Cālukya king of the Śrīmālakula at the city of Vārāhī<sup>5</sup>. He had already distinguished himself as an eminent poet at the court of King Naravarman at Dhāra<sup>6</sup>. The poem in 30 cantos describes the life of Amāmasvāmī, in melodious verse<sup>7</sup>. It was composed at Patan in Sam 1252 and read in the temple of Sāntinātha in praise of Pūrnapāla Yādahpāla, (1194 A.D.) Mana and Mahānanda. His other poem *Munisuvratācūta*, of 23 cantos, describes the lives of some of the sursis of his clan<sup>8</sup>.

**100 Vidyacakravartin**<sup>9</sup>. In the Court of the Hoysala Kings, flourished the lines of poets, three of whom bore the name of Vidyacakravartin. The poet known as Cakravartin was called as the royal priest to the Court of Viraballala II (1172-1219 A.D.). He was the author of the many poetic inscriptions engraved on stone during the days of his patron. His son Vaidyanātha was in the Court of Viranarasiṃha II (1220-1235 A.D.). Then came Vaidyanātha's son Vidyacakravartin II,

1 Printed, Bhavnagar. Sripala is quoted in Śāṭangadharapāṇḍitī, 94.

2 See PR, IV, xv.

3 See PR, III app 95. He was a pupil of Dharmaghoṣasūri and contemporary of Siddharāja, king of Gujarat.

4 Ibid.

5 Rāsimāla, 185. In the copperplate grants (Tr of RAS, I 230 29, Colebrooke's MS Es, 297 814, JAOS, VII, 14, XIX, 815) of the ruler of Malwa, genealogy is given as Bhoja-Udayaditya-Naravarman-Yasovarman. Yasovarman's grant (I4, XIX 857) is dated Sam 1191 (1186 A.D.)

6 PR, III app 95.

7 PR, III app 144.

8 Trivikrama or Vikramadeva, son of Rājdhārijadeva, who wrote the poem *Kadambānārasangraham*, in 10 cantos, calls himself the pupil of Śākalvidya dharmacakravarti, probably one of these three (TG, IV, 4222).

the author of the exquisite romance Gadyakarnāmṛta of which we shall know more in the chapter of Sanskrit prose. He calls himself by the titles, Sakala Vidyācakravarṭī, Kavirājarājā Abhinava-Bhatta-Bāna, Kalī-Kāla-Kālidāsa, Kāhala-Kāvi-Sārvabhauma and Kālakavikalabha. His son Vāsudeva was called Śrī Vallabha. His son was Vidyācakravarṭuṇ III. He wrote commentaries on Kāvyaprakāśa and Alankārasarvasva with illustrations here and there in praise of the Hoysala kings. King Ballala III (1291-1342 A.D.) was his patron. His RUKMINIKĀLYĀNA<sup>1</sup> is a poem in 16 cantos describing the marriage of Śrī Kr̥ṣṇa and Rukmini. In the 1st canto the poem gives the genealogy of the Hoysala Kings<sup>2</sup> and a short account of his own family. His melodious poetry justifies his claim to rank with the foremost of poets.

**101 Abhayadeva**<sup>3</sup> was a Jain monk. He was pupil of Vijaya-candra and son of Devabhadra, and was fourth in succession from Jina-śekharasuri who flourished in Sam 1204. For his eminence in learning, he was given the title of Vādisimha by the King of Kāśī. Under him the Rudrapati-jagaccha rose to greatness. His Jayantavijaya, a poem in 19 cantos, relates the birth and life of Jayanta,<sup>4</sup> and was composed in Sam 1278 (1222 A.D.). It contains elaborate descriptions of the seasons, sunrise, sunset, sports, and expeditions.

**102 Viranandi's Candraprabhacarita**<sup>5</sup> in 18 cantos, begins with a description of King Kanakaprabha and describes the life of

1 TC, IV 5425. The following poems embrace the same theme, (i) Rukminī-parinaya of Mahāpātra Paramānanda of Orissa (TC, IV 5682) in 11 cantos, (ii) Rukminīparapayam of Govindaratha contemporary of King Mukurda of Orissa, of more than 5 cantos (TC, IV 5687), (iii) Rukminikālyāna of Rajachudāmani Dikshīta.

2 Hoysala—Eriyāṅga—Viṣṇuvardhana [1104-1141 A.D.] He had two brothers Ballala I and Udayāditya]—Narasimha I (1186-1171)—Vira Ballala II (1172-1212)—Narasimha II (1220-1235)—Somāvara (1238-1254)—Narasimha III (1254-1291)—Vira Ballala III (1291-1342)—Ballala IV (1342-1346). The dynasty ends here. For inscriptions relating to Hoysala Kings, See *Mys Arch Rep* 1923-1928. See also S K Iyengar's *South India and her Muhammadan invasions*, 176 et seq and M R Kavi's *Kūlakalabhakavī*, in *Bharat*, Feb 1928.

3 Abhayadeva's pupil Devabhadra is mentioned in an inscription dated Sam 1296 IA, (1894), 173 4, EI, I 112. For other Abhayadevasurus, see U S Tank's *Dictionary of Jaina Biography*.

4 Ed. Bombay. It bears Śrīabdhāka, PR, I 98, I V 187 90 vii, Weber, IS 11 1089, Klatt, IA, XI 248.

5 Printed Bombay. There is a commentary on it of unknown authorship, TC, III, 8848. Yaśodova wrote another poem of the same name in Anhilwid in Sam 1178 (1122 A.D.). See *Jes Cat* 89. There is Cārdaprabhīkāvya by Dhananjaya (Opp. II 484) and Cārdaprabhāvijayakāvya by Ravigupta (CC, I, 181).

Caṇḍraprabha, a Jain Tūṭhankara In the last canto, tenets of Jainism are summarised and the poem ends with Indra's incarnation as Jina Vīrahanḍī must have lived not later than the 13th century A D

**103 Manikyacandra** or Māṇikyasūri of Rajagaccha was the pupil of Sāgarendu<sup>1</sup> He describes his geneology in his commentary Sanketa on Kāvya-prakāśa, which he completed in Sam 1216 (1160 A D) He wrote his poems Pārvanāthacarita and Śāntināthacarita in Sam 1276 (1220 A D)<sup>2</sup>

**104 Purnabhadra** was the pupil of Jinapati He lived at Prahlādanapura He wrote Daśaśrāvakacarita in Sam 1275 and Dhanya Śālibhadracaritra and Kṛtapunyacarita in Sam 1285 and Atimukta-caritra in Sam 1282

**105 Padmaprabha** was the pupil of Vibudhaprabha He wrote Kunṭhunāthacaritacaritra and Munisuvratacaritra in Sam 1294<sup>3</sup> These poets lived at the first half of the 13th century A D<sup>4</sup>

**106 Jinaratna** was the pupil of Jineśvara, who was the pupil of Jinapatiśūri He lived in the first half of the 13th century A D His NIRVANALILAVATI is a beautiful poem in 21 Utakasas bearing Jināṅka, being a sanskrit version of the prakṛti poem of the same name (not extant) written by Jineśvara in Sam 1095 Jinaratna's pupil Pūrṇa-kalaśa wrote a commentary on Hemacandra's Dvyaśrayakāvya<sup>5</sup>

1. Māṇikyasūri of Vatagaccha who wrote the poem Nalīyana or Kubera-purāṇa in 100 cantos of 10 Skandas, a play Setunātaka and a rhetorical work, Sūhiyasyāra is a different author [Jes Cat 49, PR, II 387] One manuscript of Nalīyana was put in the Jessalmere Bhandar in Sam. 1659

2. Yagneśvarapandita (in his Aryavādīśudhākara, 226) says that Māṇikya, pupil of Devasuri, is mentioned by Merutunga in his Prabandhachintāmaṇi as having lived at Śripattam, under King Jayasimha about Sam. 1150 and as having composed Sanketa This conflicts with the author's own statement in the work

रसवक्त्रप्रहृथीश्वत्सरे (१२१६) माणि माधवे ।

काव्ये काव्यप्रकाशसं सङ्केतोऽयं समर्थित ॥

See Vāmanācarya's Int to Kāvya-prakāśa 27, Jes Cat 5, 49.

3. Jes Cat 49.

4. Ibid., Padmaprabha, author of Pārvastava and Bhuvanādiṇī is a different author

5. Jes Cat 50 51 Lalāvatikāṭhā by Bhūṣanabhaṭṭatanaya in prakṛti poetry relates the story of the loves of King Śātavāhana and Lalāvati, daughter of King of Simhala (Ibid., 55) For this work see under Śātavāhanacarita post

**107** **Lakṣmitilaka** studied under Jīnarāṭna. In Pratyakabuddha-carīṭa, a poem of 17 cantos, he relates the lives of four saints Karakandu, Dvīmukha, Nami, Naggati. It was composed in Sam 1311 (1255 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

**108** **Munidevasuri**<sup>2</sup> and **Satyaraja** wrote the poems Sāntināṭhacarīṭa<sup>3</sup> and Pṛthvicandracarīṭa<sup>4</sup> in Sam 1439 (1383 A.D.) and Sam 1534 (1478 A.D.), being Sanskrit versions of the Prakṛt poems of these names by Devacandra and Sāntisūri<sup>5</sup> written about Sam 1200 and in Sam 1161.

**109** **Devaprabhasuri** surnamed Maladhārin was the pupil of Municandra,<sup>6</sup> and master of Devānanda of the Harāpuriya Gaccha. In his Pāndavacarīṭa,<sup>7</sup> a long poem of 18 cantos, he describes the story of the Pāndavas with the main object of conveying lessons of virtue.<sup>8</sup> He was a contemporary of Udayaprabha, and Naracandra,<sup>9</sup> and lived about the middle of the 13th century A.D.

**110** **Amarācandra**, also called Amara,<sup>10</sup> was a resident of the town of Vagata near Anhilvid. He belonged to a hierarchy of Jain priests. He was the disciple of Jinadatṭa Sūri.<sup>11</sup> Having been initiated with the Mantra of Siddha-Sarasvatī he attained eminence by penance and the Goddess Sarasvatī conferred on him the boon of poetry. Once Viśaladeva, the king of Gujarat, heard of his greatness and sent for him to his Court Dhavalakkaka. He was there examined by a number of Court

1 *Jes Cat* 51

2 Vādiṭevasuri, who wrote Nemināṭhacarīṭa in Sam. 1288 (*Jes Cat* No 1) is a different person.

3 *Jes Cat* 46, *PR*, I 50, *Ap* 6, III, 168, *Ap* 165, *IA*, XI 254

4 *Jes Cat* 52 Seeing this excellent poem Munibhadrasuri wrote another poem Sānticarīṭa in Sam. 1410 *PR*, III *Ap.* 157

5 *Ibid*, 53, 54.

6 He gave dīkṣha to Cakukya king Anala

7 There is Pāndavacarīṭakāvya by Lakṣmidattā, L 2004

8 He was the author, *PR*, I 98, III, app 181

9 See *PR* III app. 19, IV, lxvii. He wrote a commentary on Anaraghārāghava and Prākritadipikā. See Kielhorn's Collections (1390 1 Ms 288, 284) *PR* III, App 184

10 Amarācandra, author of Kavyāmnāya and Amarācandra author of Vanamālā Nāṭikā (*Jaina Granthāvali*) are different authors. On other Amarācanāras, see U S Tank's *Dictionary of Jaina Biography*.

11 Author of Vivekavulāsa and Srijinendracarīṭa. See *PR*, I *Ap* 2, IV xxxvi, 115, *BR* (1888-9), 6, 156 (where date 1265-86 Samvat is given). See the Kaviprafsṭi at the end of Bālabhāraṭa. He died at Ajmer in 1145 A.D. See Klatt's paper on *Historical Records of the Jains*, I A (1889, *supra*)

poets, Someśvara and Nānākā<sup>1</sup> among them, and pleased with his greatness, the king honoured him well<sup>2</sup>. King Viśaladeva, son of Viśradhavalā, ruled between 1243-1262 A D<sup>3</sup> and Amaracandra must therefore have flourished about the middle of the 13th century. His description of sunrise brought him the title Venikṛpāṇa<sup>4</sup>.

Among his works BALABHĀRATA<sup>5</sup> is the most known. It narrates the story of the Mahābhārata in the order of the Parvans and is therefore a poetic epitome of it<sup>6</sup>. His poetry is of a high order and placed by the side of the Raghuvamśa, it may not be possible to discern disparity in literary merit.

He wrote treatises on poetics, Kāvyakalpalatī and Kavīśikā,<sup>7</sup> on metrics, Chandorāṭnāvalī and Muktāvalī and in technical subjects, Kalākalapa and the poem Padmānandakāvya, otherwise known as Śrī Jinendracarīta which describes the life of Jina<sup>8</sup>.

Amaracandra completed the Kāvyakalpalatī of his friend Arisimha and wrote a gloss on it Kavīśikāvṛitti<sup>9</sup>.

**111 Vastupala**<sup>10</sup> was the son of Aśarāja (Aśvīraju) and Kumāradevi of an illustrious family of Pattans. His great grand-father (hundapa

1 IA, XI 206-207 (dated Sam 1228), Ibid 102-3. This prāśasti was composed by Kṛṣṇa, son of Raṭna, said to be the author of Kuvalayavacanī.

2 This account is taken from Rājāśekhara's Prabhāndhakośī and Merutunga's Prabandhacontāmanī (Tawneys Tr p 167).

3 Sam 1200-1218 See E Dosabhai's *History of Gujarat* (Ahmedabad), 45-47; Mahipatram's *Short History of Gujarat* 19 IA, VI 210-212, IA, XI 98-108, BR, (1888-84), 318, 457. Also Someśvara's Surathotsava, Canto 1 V

4 दधिमथनविलोलस्तोलहृवेणिदम्भादयमदयमनङ्गो विश्वविश्वेकजेता ।

मवपरिमवकोपलक्तवाण कृपाणथमभिव दिवसादौ व्यक्तशक्तिर्थनक्ति ॥ —

Bilabharata, I i 6

5 Printed Kāvyamāla, Bombay. The poem is called Viśāṅka.

6 It may be useful to compare critically this abridgement with the original text of the Bhāraṭa, and that will give us an idea of the actual recension then used by Amaracandra.

7 PR, II 17

8 Composed in Sam 1227 (1241 A D ), PR, I 2, 58, IV vii

9 PR, IV. viii. Rājāśekhara in his Prabhāndhakośī says that Arisimha and Amaracandra were fellow students and lived in the time of Viśaladeva, before he came to the throne of Pattan, about the middle of the 13th century. See BR, II 6.

10 "Once upon a time, in the august city of Pattana, on the occasion of an exposition, a certain very beautiful widow named Kumāradeva, was looked at again and again by the Reverend Doctor Haribhadra and so attracted the attention of the minister Aśarāja, who was present at the ceremony. After the congregation had been dismissed,

was the "sun of assembly of councillors" He had four sons Canda-prasāda, Sūra, Soma and Aśvarāja The eldest always had the ministerial seal The other sons also held high positions in the state His wife was the daughter of Ābhu, a Dandapaṭi or commander-in-chief He was the prime minister of Viradhabala, Ruler of Dholka As a warrior his prowess was great and he defended with his army the kingdom against the attacks of the allied forces of the Kings of the Deccan, the Lata and the Godraha. In Samvat 1277 (1221 AD) he made his memorable pilgrimage to Mount Abu and the temples of that place with the inscriptions in his praise are monuments of his glory and philanthropy<sup>1</sup> He died in 1242 AD<sup>2</sup> In his Kīrtikāumudi, Someśvara, describes the life of Vasṭupāla in all detail He says "Sri Someśvaradeva delineates the character of Vastupāla seeing that that master's devotion to himself is extreme, that his family is illustrious, his personal appearance splendid, his conduct excellent, his charity accompanied by courtesy, his elevated position such as humbles his foes, his talents such as defy those of the Brihaspaṭi, his mercy such as crushes all germ of fear, his fame an ornament of the earth, his administration regulated by justice"

Himself a poet, he appreciated poetic merit in others<sup>3</sup> He received Harihara at the Court of Dholka in spite of the jealousy of Someśvara He established three great libraries, where he collected valuable manuscripts He encouraged good writing and the Kāṭhā-raṭnasāgara (15 tarangas) of Naracandra Sūri and Alankāramahodadhi (8 chapters) of Narendraprabha were the result of his incentive His learning is of a high order He is called "the God-son of Sarasvatī,"<sup>4</sup> besides the titles Kavikunjara and Kavicakravarṭin By his

the teacher being questioned by the minister said by a revelation of my favourite deity I foresee that the sun and moon will descend and be conceived in her and therefore I looked at the marks on her body again and again" The minister, having thus ascertained the truth from the holy man, carried her off and made her his wife In course of time, those two heavenly bodies descended and were conceived in her, as the two ministers of Vastupala and Tujahpāla"—Merutung's Prabandhaśāntamāṇi (Tawney's Translation, 155-6)

He was named Vassanṭapāla by Someśvara and others See Narāñjayaḍīnanda, XVI 88 This name is adopted in Biliandra's Vassanṭavilasa

1 See Kathavatī's Int' to Kīrtikāumudi, viii, app A & B

2 BR, (1887-91), lxvi

3 Kīrtikāumudi, I 48 47.

4 Kīrtikāumudi, I 29, Narāñjayaḍīnanda, XVI 40, Dharmābhūdya, XV. 64.

patronage he earned the name of Laghu Bhojarāja. Several biographies describe his patronage.<sup>1</sup> Among the poets he patronised were, Someśvara, Arisimha, Harihara and Nanaka.

In his NARANARAYANANANDA,<sup>2</sup> a poem of 16 cantos, he describes the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa who are incarnations of Nara and Nārāyaṇa and their rambles in Mt Girnar and the abduction of Subhadrā by Arjuna.<sup>3</sup> The poem is full of descriptive imagery. It is on the model of Śiśupālavadha, but the language is more easy and melodious. Vasṭupāla was fond of stray poetry (*Sūklets*) and many of these are collected in his biographies and in Jalhana's Sūktimukṭīvalī. His Īśvaramanorāṭhamaya Stotra is devotional.<sup>4</sup>

**112 Udayaprabhasuri** was the religious preceptor of Vastupāla and Tejahpala. He was great as a poet, theologian and astronomer. His Ārambhāśidḍhi is an astronomical work and Upadesamāla Karmīla, a commentary on Upadeśamāla composed in Sam. 1299.<sup>5</sup> His Dharmābhūḍaya or Sanghādhīpaṭīcarītra is a Mahākāvya composed on the occasion of Vasṭupāla's pilgrimage to Jain shrines of Western India. Narendraprabha was a collaborator in the poem.<sup>6</sup> His Sukṛtakirṭikallolī is a panegyric in praise of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla composed on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Saṭrunjaya.<sup>7</sup> The latter is of great historical value in that it gives the genealogy of Vastupāla and describes the Capotkala and Cālukya kings.

**113 Jayasimbasuri<sup>8</sup>** was the pupil of Virasūri and the Ācarya of the shrine Munisuvrata at Broach. He was a Jain Svetāmbara. Once when Tejahpāla, the brother of Vasṭupāla, came to visit the shrine, he recited a poem containing a request for a donation for twenty-five

1 Other works that treat of Vastupāla's career are —Arisimha's Sukrtasankirtana, (See *JBRAS*, X 85), Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmāni, Rājākhara's Prabandhakośa, Jinavarṣa's Vastupālacarīta, Jinaprabha's Tīrthakalpa or Vastupālasankirtana is composed in Sam. 1885. Also App to *GOS*, No. II.

2 Ed by C. B. Dalal, in *Gæk. Or Series with an introduction*

3 Someśvara's Ullāgharāghava, Act VIII

4 Printed as app to Narendrapāṇḍita (*op. cit.*)

5. *PR*, I 88, III 81

6 He was the author of Alankāramahodādhi and Kakusthakeli (*PR*, III 28) and immediate successor of Dēvaprabha, author of Pāñdavāyana carītra

7 Printed as app to Hamīcīmaḍāmarīḍana (*Gæk Or Series*)

8 Jayasimbasuri of Kṛṣṇarāja Gachchha, pupil of Mahendra who wrote the commentary on Kumārapālacarīta in 1865 A.D. is a different person. He was the spiritual grand father of Nayacauāra, the author of Hammīramahākāvya and who composed his Kumārapālacarīta in Samv. 1422.

golden staffs in Sakur ka Vihara of Ambada<sup>1</sup> and as that request was granted, he composed a panegyric *Vastupālapraśasti* in praise of the brothers,<sup>2</sup> and with the same object of commemorating the gift he wrote the drama *Hammīramadamardana* at the instance of Jayantāsimha or Jaiṭrasimha,<sup>3</sup> son of *Vastupāla*, which was enacted at the festival of Bhīmeśa in Cambay. In five acts, it describes the alliances of *Viraḍhavala*, the greatness of *Vastupāla* as a politician and the repulsion of Mohammedan invasion of Gujarat. His poetry is charming and abounds in choice similes.<sup>4</sup> The earliest manuscript of the work is dated Sam 1286. *Vastupāla* became minister of *Viraḍhavala* in Sam 1276 and this drama must therefore have been composed between 1220 and 1230 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Jayasimha's *Vastupālapraśasti* gives an account of Calukya genealogy from Mūlarāja I and is of historical value.

**114 Naracandrasuri** wrote several *prasastis* in Sam 1288 (1232 A.D.) preserved in the Girnar inscription in praise of *Vastupāla*.<sup>6</sup> Naracandra was the pupil of Maladhārī Devaprabhasūri of Harahapuri-yagaccha. He commented on *Anargharāghava*. At *Vastupāla*'s request, he wrote *Kathāraṇasāgara* and his pupil Narendraprabha wrote *Alankāramahodadhi*. He revised the poems, Devaprabha's *Pāndavacarita*<sup>7</sup> and Udayaprabha's *Dharmābhuyudaya*.

1 This was turned into a mosque after the Muhammadan conquest.

2 This is printed as an appendix in Greek Or Series No X and summarised in the introduction.

3 He was patron of Būlacandra, author of *Vasantavilāsa*. He was Governor of Cambay for Samvat 1279 (See qvinaar inscriptions) and laterly Governor of Petlad (Petladrapura).

4 For instance

हसती वाप्रतस्सौधवचिसचयलीलया ।  
नृत्यतिव ध्वजभुजै पुरीय त्वयि वीक्षिते ॥  
देव त्वयेवसूर्येण सूर्जिनि प्रतपतामितः ।  
व्यालीव भूष्टाभायादूरभूषितभूरिव ॥

5 Printed Gaek Or Series, with a valuable introduction by C D Dalal.

Singhāna or Simhana, the Yādava king of Devagiri (1162–1247 A.D.) and Śāṅkha or Sangramasimha, king of Lāta, are referred to in the drama. This Singhāna was the patron of Vardhamāna who wrote the *Gajaraṇamahodadhi* at Devagiri in Śaka 1151 (1229 A.D.). Similar accounts of wars are referred to by contemporary poets in *Kirṭikāmuṇḍi* and *Vasantavilāsa*.

6. *Jas, Cat* 82

7. PB, I 98, III. 188. See further para 108 *supra*, note II.

**115** **Balacandrasuri** was the pupil of Haribhadrasuri of Candragaccha. He was an admirer of Vastupāla, the great minister of King Viradhabala of Dholka and after his death, at the instance of Vastupalas for Jaitrasiṁha he wrote *Vasantavilāsa* a poem of 14 cantos, describing the like history of the Vastupāla's ministry.<sup>1</sup> Vastupāla died in Samvat 1296, and this poem must have been composed sam 1300. In the 18 cantos, he gives a short account of his life. In the first canto, the poet has given the account of his early life "In the town of Modheraka (in Kadi District in H H the Gaekwad's territories), there was a famous Brahmana, named Dharađeva. He gave protection to the distressed from all sides and was acquainted with the doctrines of Jainism. The mendicants, coming to his house always returned with hands full of money given by him. He had a wife named Vidyut. They had a son named Munjala, who, though living in his father's house, looked on the world as an illusion. Having got from Haribhadra Suri religious enlightenment, he took the vow of the Jain mendicant with the permission of his parents. Thinking that he will be gradually full-orbed with all phases of knowledge, Haribhadra Suri made him his pupil with the name of Bālachandra, and at the time of his approaching death, put him in his place Padmāditya, whose feet were emblazoned by the light of the rubies of the crown of the Chaulukya king, and who was the real hereditary abode of learning was his tutor, while Udaya Suri of the Gaccha of Vādi Devasūri gave him the Sārasvata Charm. The Goddess of Learning once appeared to him in his Yoganidra (contemplation-sleep) and told him that she was pleased with his meditation and devotion to her from infancy, and that he was her legitimate child like Kālidāsa and other mighty poets of yore." The Prabandha Cintīmāni says that Vastupāla, pleased with the poem composed in his praise by Bālachandra, spent one thousand *drammas* for getting installed as an Ācārya.

**116** **Somesvara Deva**, or Somaśarman, as the poet at times called himself, was the son of Kumāra and Lakṣmi. His eighth ancestor Sola was enrolled as the State Purohit by King Mularāja the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilvid. This office of Purohit was held by the descendants of Sola<sup>2</sup> under the successors of Mularāja, Kumāra was in the Court of Kings Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla and Mularāja. Kumāra had three brothers Sarvadeva, Munja, and Āhada. Kumāra was made a

1 Ed by G D Dalal, Gaek Or Series with an introduction

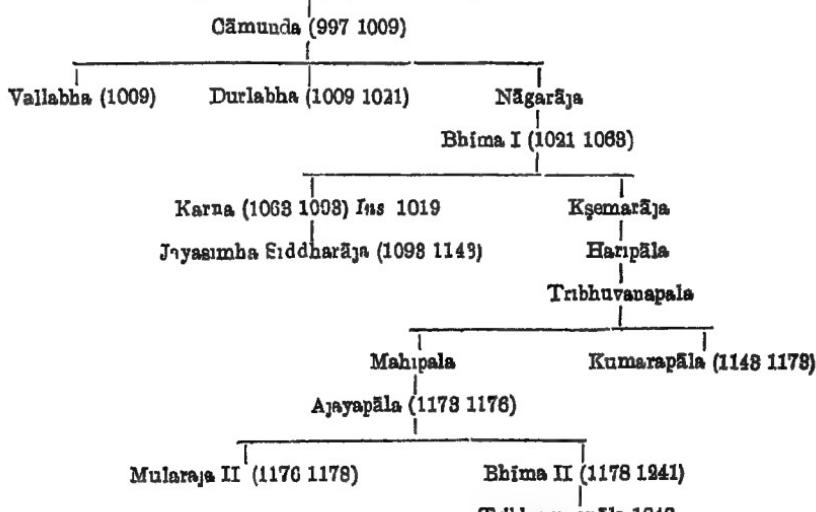
2 Sola, Lalla, Munja, Soma, Ama, Kumāra, Sarvadeva, Āmiga, Kumāra and

generalissimo of the forces by Mūlarāja II and he vanquished King Vindhavarmān of Dhār

Someśvara was a friend of Vastupāla. An account of Someśvara's sojourn in the courts of King Viradhabala (1219-1239 A.D.) and Visaladeva (1243-1271 A.D.) is given in Rājasekhara's Prabandha-kosa. Someśvara seems therefore to have flourished about 1179 A.D. and 1262 A.D. The poets Harihara,<sup>1</sup> and Subhata<sup>2</sup> were Someśvara's friends and they praised his poetry.<sup>3</sup> In his Kīrtkaumudi<sup>4</sup> and Surañchōṭ-

Someśvara were in order the Purohitas of the King Mūlarāja. Mūlarāja's genealogy is there given in C. V. Vaidya's *History of Medieval Hindu India* (III 209)

Mūlarāja, son of Raṇī (961-996 A.D.)



Tribhuvanapāla 1242

For Mularāja, see 14, VI 197, XI 219, For Jayasimha, see *JBRAS*, (1848), 319, 14, X 158, 14 253, For Kumārapāla, see 14, VIII, For Ajayapāla, see 14, XVIII 80, 344, For Bhīma II, see 14, XI 71, 220, VI 250, For Tribhuvanapāla, see 14, VI 209. For an account of their dynasty, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Part II Hemachandra's *Dvyaśasaya Kāvya* and Meruṭunga's *Vicārasāra*.

1 Harihara's works are not available. His father Mokshāditya is mentioned in prasasti of Mahakalēśvara, Forbundhor State dated Sam 1820. Vyāsa Mokshāditya, author of Bhūmaparākarma vyayoga composed in Sam 1885 [Bend Cat 278 and in Baroda Library] was pupil of Harihara and son of Bhīma. This Harihara is different from the author of Bhārtṛbhūmīrūpā who was a Myōhila.

2 Subhata was the author of the play Duṭṭāṅgaḍa (Printed, Bombay)

3 वादेवतावसन्तस्य कवेः श्रीसोमशर्मणं ।

थिनोति विदुधानसूक्ति सहित्यास्मोनिष्ठे सुधा ॥

*Surañchōṭasava*, I. 46

4 Printed, Calcutta

sava,<sup>1</sup> a campū and poem, he sang the glories of his patrons. In the latter in 15 cantos he narrates the life of Suratha of Candra race and description of the Himalayas is superb. In Ullāgharāghava<sup>2</sup> he dramatised the story of Rāma. In Surathostava he eulogised Yuvarāja Prahlādana author of the play Pārthaparākrama. His Rāmasaṭṭaka is devoted to Rāma.<sup>3</sup> He wrote Kavyādarśa,<sup>4</sup> and gloss of Kāvya-prakāṣa.<sup>5</sup>

**117 Arisimha** was son of Lavanasiṁha. He was a protege of Minister Vastupāla. He had the appellation Thakkura. Amaracandra was his friend and coworker in literature. It is said Amaracandra got Siḍḍhasarasavaṭī charm from Arisimha. They jointly composed Kavikalpalatā sutras. Arisimha wrote Kavīraḥasya. In his SUKRTASAN-KIRTANA, a poem in 11 cantos, he describes the glorious Life of Vastupāla.<sup>6</sup> In the first canto, he gives the geneology of Chāpoikata Kings beginning from Vanarāja who founded the City of Anahilla Pattana, in the same manner as is given in Udayaprabha's Sukṛtakallolī. In the second canto, the reigns of Calukya Kings from Mūlarāja to Bhīmadeva II are described, leading to the advent of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla. The remaining poem narrates the pilgrimages and charitable works of Vastupāla. At the end of every canto, Amarasiṁha added four verses of his own. The poem mentions the niche of Mallinātha built in Sam 1278 and as the inscriptions of Mt Abu are dated Sam 1287, the poem must have been written in the interval.

**118 Nayacandra**<sup>7</sup> was the spiritual grandson of Jayasiṁhaśūri who lived at the time of Vastupāla. He was a poet in six languages. He wrote a poem on Kumāranṛpaṭī, that is, Kumārapāla. His poem

1. Printed Bombay

2. The manuscript is in Baroda Library.

3. Kh 85, BP, 268.

4. Kh 85

5. Bṛ̥ti Akad (1874), 282

6. Jalhaqa in his Suktimuktāvalī quotes four verses under Arasi Thakkura, who is probably identical with Arisimha. Two of these are very fine

7. अतिविपुल कुचयुगल रहसि करैराम्यन्पृष्ठुर्लक्ष्म्या ।

तदपहृत निजहृदयं जयति हरिमृश्यमाण इव ॥

मध्येन तस्या विजित कृष्णाकृष्णा. पञ्चानन काननबद्धवास. ।

तस्या स्तनस्तम्भतटीथैव कुम्भौ गजानां कुपितो मिनति ॥

HAMMIRAMAHAKĀVYĀ<sup>1</sup> in 14 cantos is the result of a revelation imparted to him in a dream by King Hammira himself, of the Chohan race of Rapastambhapura. Born in the noble house, Hammira tried to uphold the independence of his race and was for a time well successful. In the 3rd year of his reign Allauddin demanded the extradition of a Mughal nobleman who had taken refuge with Hammira, but it was refused. The capital was besieged and in defending the capital the king fell and his women perished on the funeral pile.<sup>2</sup> The poem describes the heroic deeds of Hammira and the advice of King Jaiṭrasimha to his son Hammira on politics is very informing. Hammira was the last of the Chohans. He ascended the throne in Sam 1330 (1283 A.D.) and died in July 1301 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Nayacandra says he was incited to composition at the behest of King Toramā Virama's courtiers that no new poem could be as good as the old. King Torama Virama lived 70 years before Emperor Akbar.

**119 Merutanga's Prabandhaçintāmaṇī**<sup>4</sup> is a work of great historical importance. It was finished at a Wadwan on the Vaisakha full moon of Sam. 1362 (1306 A.D.). It is divided into five prakāśas, and each prakāśa into prabandhas. Each prabandha relates a story. It begins with the story of Vikramāḍitya, the traditional founder of the samvat-era. Then follows a short story of a previous birth of Sātavāhana. Then comes a long history of the Calukya kings of Anilvid and in their connection King Bhoja and Munja are noticed. Then comes a detailed account of the Vaghela king Lavanaprasāda and Viradhbala with their minister Vastupāla and Tejahpāla. The last chapter is miscellaneous of which the tales of Lakmanasena and Umāpaṭi and Bhartṛhari may be of interest. His Mahāpuruṣacarita gives an account of some Jain saints.<sup>5</sup>

1 Printed Bombay. For an abstract, see *IA* VIII 55.

2 For an account of death of Hammira, see *IA*, VIII 234.

Another work called Hammirāmarādhana is referred to by Buhler in his introduction to Bilhaṇa's Vikramāñkadevacarita. Tod in his Rajasthan mentions Hammirkavya and Hammira Rasa by Śārangadhara, who himself admits that his grandfather Raghunātha was that prince's guru. In his Paddhati he quotes some verses relating to Hammira not found in this book. So does Appayya Dikṣita in his Kuvalayānanda (e.g. Atisayuktā Alankara) not found in this work. These works may be different.

The colophon in a manuscript reads "The present copy was made for the purpose of reading by Nayahamsa, a pupil of Jayamuniḥsuri, at Firuzpur in Sam 1542", (1496 A.D.)

3 Ed. Bombay. See for an account, *PR*, II 87. Translated into English by Tawney. See *JBRAS* (1887), Extra No.

4 *PR*, III, Ap 266

**120 Venkatanatha** was the son of Anantāśūri and Tōtaramma He was born at Tūppal near Kanci in Kali 4371 (1268 A D) He is said to be an incarnation of the great bell (Ghantī) of God Venkatesa at Tirupati He studied under his maternal uncle Ātreya Rāmānuja His ability in composition and disputation brought him the name of Kavītārkikasumha His exposition of Vedānta, made him known as Vedāntadesika The versatility of his learning gave him the title Sarvatāntra-svatantra Many are the tales related about him and his supernatural powers He was born poor and he was pleased to be poor and when he was offered riches, he refused them quite poetically<sup>2</sup> He lived for some time at Tiruvahindrapuram near Cuddalur and at Srirangam He visited the Court of Sivaganga Singa During the invasions of Malikauer he escaped to Mysore and on the eve of his flight composed his Abhiṣṭava He passed away on Kartika-Pūrṇima in November 1369 A D Vedānta Desika is the founder of the Sri-vaiṣṇava sect of Vadagalais, by whom he is now worshipped as a Saint and his image is installed in almost every Viṣṇu temple in South India. His life was one of unceasing literary activity His collected works numbered 121, on various subjects, of which many are on Viśistādvaita philosophy To him goes the credit of preserving the commentary Srutaprakāshikā

**121** In vie with Meghasandesa, Raghuvamsa, Kumārasambhava, Bhāravi and Māgha, he is said to have composed Ilāñchandas, Yaduvamśa (or Yādavālhyudaya), Mārasambhava, Bhāravi and Phālguna, but only the first two are now available Yādavālhyudaya is a long poem in 21 cantos on the life of Śrīkr̥na and the history of Yadu race<sup>3</sup>

Pādukāsaḥasra is a thousand versos in praise of Rāma's sandals composed in a single night in a competitive literary duel<sup>4</sup>

Sankalpasūryodaya is an allegorical drama in the manner of Prabodhacandrodaya<sup>4</sup>

1. He said'

नास्ति पित्रार्जित किञ्चित् न मया किञ्चिदार्जितम् ।

अस्ति मे हस्तिशैलाम्रे वस्तु पैतामैंह धनम् ॥

2 DC, XXI 7807 Ed, partly in Nagari and partly in Grantha (Madras and Srirangam) There is a commentary on it by Appayadikṣita DC, XX 7808.

3 Ed Mysore and Bombay

4 Ed Madras, Srirangam, Bombay and Bobbili Translated into English by Narāyanācārya and Raghunathaswami (Srirangam) There is a commentary on it by Nārāyaṇa, son of Hastiguruṇātha of Śrivāsa family (OML, No. 14602) and others

Acyuṭaśāṭala is a Prakrit poem in praise of Viṣṇu<sup>1</sup>

Among his minor poems are Hayagrīvastotra, Devarājapancāśat, Gopālavimśati, Dehalliṣṭuti, Yathoktakārīstotra, Astabhujaṭaka, Paramārthastuti, Bhagavaddhyānasopāna, Daśāvatārastotra, Abhitūstava, Nyāsadasaka, Nyāsavimśati, Nyāsatilaka, Śrīṣṭuti, Bhūṣṭuti, Nilāṣṭuti, Godāṣṭuti, Sudarśanaśāṭaka, Sodasāyudhaṣṭuti, Garudapancaka, Yatirājasaṭṭati, Dhātiḍpancaka, Vairagyapancaka<sup>2</sup> His Raghuvīragadaya and Garudādandaka are prose pieces in praise of Rāma and Garuda<sup>3</sup>

Sulhāshīṭanīvi is a didactic poem of wise sayings like Bharṭṛhari's Niṭīsaṭṭaka<sup>4</sup>

**122** In Acāryavijayacampū, Kavītārkikāsimha Vedantācarya, son of Venkatācārya of Kausika Gotra describes in exquisite prose and verse the advent and life of Venkatanātha<sup>5</sup> There are other poems and works dealing with the life and work of Venkatanātha Nigamāntācāryacariṭa,<sup>6</sup> Vedāntadeśikagadya<sup>7</sup> Vedāntadeśikacariṭa<sup>8</sup> and Vedāntadesika Māngalāśāṣṭana<sup>9</sup>

His son Varada or NAYANACARYA was born in kali 4418 (1316 A D ) He was a great scholar and wrote two poems Kokilaśandeśa and Suḥilaśandeśa<sup>10</sup>

anonymous (*DC*, XXI 8546 49), one by a disciple of Śrinivāsa of Koulikgotra (*DC*, XX 7977) For a learned comparison between this and Meghasandesa by A V Gopalacārya see articles headed *Saṅdeśadvayasūrasūdin*; in *Udyānapaṭikā*, Tiruvadi and K Krishnamacarya, Hamsasandesa, a study, *JMys*, XVIII 246

1 Ed Madras

2 On Vedāntadesika, generally see Guruparamparāprabhāva, Mysore, 114 et seqs where all works are named T Rajagopalacārya, *Vaishnavite Reformers of India* (Madras) discusses on the date of his death See *Udyānapatika*, (Tiruvadi) II 8, 87

3 These Śloṭras are all collected in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and have been edited by R V Krishnamacarya at Kumbakonam and elsewhere There are commentaries on Śrīṣṭuti, Gopālavimśati, Daśāvatārastotra by A V Gopalācārya and on Yaṭirājasaṭṭi and Dayaśāṭaka by Rāmānuja, *TC*, I 814, 864

4 Printed Kāvyamāla, Part VIII Bombay There is an unfinished commentary by Śrinivāsa Tāṭācārya of Conjeevaram who lived in 1860-1904

5 Printed, Madras (in Telugu) This work shows exquisite composition in prose and poetry *DC*, XXI, 8290.

6 *DC*, XXI, 8129

7 *DC*, XXI 8409, *TC*, I, 922.

8 *TC*, III 8059

9 *TC*, I, 899. This is by his son Varadācārya

10 For his other works, see Guruparamparāprabhāva (Mysore) 199.



## CHAPTER IV

### Mahakavya (*contd.*)

**124** With the advent of the Empire of Vijayanagar came a revival of Sanskrit literature in South India. About the year 1330 A.D., the brothers Bukka and Harihara founded the City of Vijayanagar,<sup>1</sup> Madhava Vidyāranya was their minister. At the instance of Bukka, a commission of learned men was constituted under Mādhava and Śāyana to collect comment and preserve all works bearing on the Vedic religion. Harihara died in 1343 and Bukka continued the work of consolidation and within a decade his sovereigns extended to the eastern and western oceans and he became the acknowledged Emperor of Karnāṭa. Bukka I ruled till 1374 A.D. and was succeeded by Harihara II (1379-1404 A.D.). Harihara extended his sovereignty to Mysore and to the banks of the Kaverī to Trichinopoly. After Harihara II came his two sons Bukka II (1404-1406 A.D.) and Devarāya I<sup>2</sup> (1406-1419 A.D.) one after another. Then came his son Vijaya (1419-1421 A.D.) and Vijaya's son Devarāya II (1422-1448 A.D.). Devaraya had two sons Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa and their sons were Virupaksha and Praudhadevarāya. These ruled from 1448 to 1486 A.D. Here ended SANGAMA dynasty.

It was in the year 1486 A.D. that Saluva Narasimha, a feudatory ruler of Candragiri, deposed the last lingering ruler of Vijayanagar and proclaimed himself the Emperor. He died in 1392 A.D. His son and successor Immadi Narasimha was killed by his general Narasa Nayaka in 1505 A.D. This ended the short-lived SALUVA dynasty.

Narasa Nayaka assumed sovereignty and lived for a year. He had three wives and sons by them Viranarasimha, Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Acyuta. These ruled in order 1506-9, 1509-1529, and 1539-1542 A.D. Acyuta had a brother Ranga. Ranga's son Sadāśiva succeeded him and was the last of the TULUVA Dynasty.

1. Gangadevi writes तस्यासीद्विजया नाम विजयनितसपद ॥

Here the name of City is given as Vijayā. It is also called by poets Vidyānagara.

2. His brother Virupākṣa was the author of the play Nārāyanivilāsa (SVH, 58).

Aliya Rāma Rāya, who married Tirumalīmbī, daughter of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, was practically the ruler of the State during the days of Emperor Sadāśiva. During his time there was the war with the Muhamadan Sultans headed by the Sultan of Bijapur and at the battle of Talikola in 1565 A.D., Aliya Rāma Rāya was killed, Vijayanagar was pillaged and Sadāśiva fled away with Rāmarāya's brother Tirumala to Penugonda. Some time later Tirumala proclaimed himself the Emperor and started the ARAVINDU dynasty.

Tirumala ruled from 1570-1593 A.D. He was succeeded by his sons Srīranga I (1573-1583 A.D.) and then by Venkata I, whose name is remembered in religious and literary history. His successors lost that position and continued to be Rajas of Candragiri, from one of whom the East India Company received the grant of Madras in 1639 A.D.

These emperors were themselves poets or patrons of poets. Saluva Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadevarāya have composed poems and plays of merit and they will be noticed in the coming pages. In the courts of these emperors, flourished many men of lore and it is their works that adorn the field of Sanskrit literature for a period of four centuries.

For convenience of reference the dates of these emperors are given below.<sup>1</sup>

### FMPERI OF VIJAYANAGAR

#### I SANGAMA DYNASTY

	A.D.
1 Hariharā and his brothers	1336
2 Bukka I	1343-79
3 Hariharā II	1379-1404
4 Bukka II	1404-6
5 Deva Raya I	1406-19
6 Vira Vijaya	1419-21
7 Deva Raya II	1422-48
8-10 Mallikarjuna Virupaksha Praudhadeva Raya	1448-86

#### II SATUVA DYNASTY

11 Narsinga Saluva	1486-92
12 Immadi Narsinga	1492-1505

1 See History of India, Part 2 by Garrett and Sivaram, Chapter IX

## III TULUVA DYNASTY

13	Narsa Nayaka	1505-6
14	Vira Narsunga	1506-9
15	Krishnadeva Raya	1509-29
16	Achyuta Raya	1529-42
17	Sadasiva	1542-70

## IV ARAVIDU DYNASTY

18	Tirumala	1570-73
19	Ranga	1573-85
20	Venkata	1585

**125** **Vidyaranya** was the name assumed by Mādhava, when he became the head of Sringeri Mutt. He was almost the founder of the kingdom of Vidyānagar (Vijayanagar) Kings Bukka and Harihara were his favourite disciples whom he was helping with his counsel in the administration. So he was called Karnātaka-simhāsana-sthāpanācārya. He was the son of Sāyana and Śrimati of Bhāradvāja-gotra. His works on law and philosophy are too well-known for enumeration. His commentaries on the Vedas are a unique production<sup>1</sup>. His Devyaparāhasotra, a lyric in praise of Pārvatī, testifies to his poetic genius<sup>2</sup>. His Sankaravijaya relates the history of Sankara<sup>3</sup>. He lived 85 years and died about 1387 A D<sup>4</sup>.

His brother, Sāyana, was minister of Kings Bukka I and Harihara II of Vijayanagar. He had three sons, Kampana, a musician, Māyaṇa, a poet and Singana, a Vedic scholar. He died in 1378 A D. He commented on the Vedas. His Subhāitasudhānidhi is an anthology and Alankārasudhānidhi in 10 Unmesas is a work on poetics<sup>5</sup>.

His other brother Bhoganātha was a companion of King Sangama II. He was an excellent poet and among his works are Ramollāsa, Tripuravijaya, Śringāramanjarī, Udāharanamālā, Mahāganapatiṣṭotra and Gaurināthaṣṭotra<sup>6</sup>.

1 For an account of Vidyaranya by S Venkataadri, see Andhrapatrika, Annual Number (1921-22) 158 9. See Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (Madras), 92 IA, XLV 1 and *Sources of Vijayanagar History* 47 51.

2 SVH, 50

3 Printed Madras

4 CO 771

5 SR, II, 75 80

6 IA, XLV, 91. See for instance

शिशिरेषु शिलातलेषु रामं तरुमूलेषु तलोदर्दीं दरीषु ।

सरसीषु च विश्रमस्य मुग्धां पश्चि पाशाणिनि तां शनैरनैति ॥

**126 Agastya** was a poet of the court of King Pratāparudra Deva of Warangal (1294-1325 A D) and was probably patronised by King Sangama and Bukka I of Vijayanagar. His *BALABHĀRATA*, a poem in 20 cantos<sup>3</sup> relates the whole story of the Mahābhārata, beginning with the origin of the Kuru line of kings from the Moon. His poetry is highly musical and the felicity of expression is remarkable. His name was admired by Rajacūḍāmani Dikṣita.<sup>4</sup>

As the master of literary art Gangādevi mentions him as the author of 74 Kavyas,<sup>5</sup> and as a poet of great erudition. His learning brought him the name Vidyānātha and under that name he wrote his *Pratāparudrayaśobhusaṇa*.<sup>6</sup>

There is a commentary on this poem called *Manoharā* by Sāluva Timma Dandanātha, the famous minister of Kr̥ṣṇadeva Rāya,<sup>7</sup> king of Vijayanagar (1509-1530 A D).<sup>8</sup>

His *Kṛṣṇacarita* is a prose work on the life of Sri Kr̥ṣṇa.<sup>9</sup> His *Nalakīrtikaumudi* is a poem on Nala's story available only in 2 cantos.<sup>10</sup>

1 *TO*, II 2228, *DC*, XX 7784 *Tanq Cat.* VI 2589 It is not a Campu as said by Burnell (*Tanq Cat.*) or by S Krishnasami Iyengar (*SVH*, 143).

2 जडाशयाना हृदयं जगत्वा यसोदयाधातितमा प्रसादम् ।  
स पृष्ठं सारस्वतमर्मवेदी विभाति मौलीं विदुषामगस्त्वं ॥  
*Rukmīpikalyāṇi*, I, 18

3 चतुर्सप्ततिकाव्योत्तिव्यक्तवैदुष्यसपदे ।  
अगस्त्याय जगत्स्मिन् स्पृहयेत्को न कोविद ॥  
*Madhwāvayāya*, I 14

4 This identity is seen from the following verse

आश्रित्य यदि वर्ण्यते शिखरिण कुर्यान्ति नीचै कृता  
गाम्भीर्य यदि कीर्त्यते जलधय क्षम्यन्ति गाथीकृता ।  
तत्वां वर्णयितु विभेदि यादि वा जातोऽस्यगस्त्वस्थितं  
तत्पार्श्वे गुणरत्नरोहणगिरे भीवीरसद्भवो ॥ II 57

For this work, see chapter on *Alankara* post Pratāparudradevā wrote *Yayāticarita*, a play in seven Acts on the secret loves of Yayāti and Sarmistha and their ultimate union with the consent of Queen Devayāni. See chapter on Drama post

5 *DC*, XX 7784 5, *Tanq Cat.* VI 2606

6 *SVH*, 143 His sister's son Nādinidla Gopa Mantri was the author of the commentary on *Prabodhacandrodaya* (see *Ibd.*, 144). See S V Narasimha Rao *Krishnadevaraya and his times* (*Ind Rev* VII 888) and *Andhra Palasha*, Annas, numbers (1917), 205, (1914), 181, 195

7 *BTC*, No 10208

8 The manuscript is with Pandya Subramania Sastry.

Among his other works are Laksmitotra, Sivastava,<sup>1</sup> Lalitāsaḥasranāma, Maniparikṣā, Sivasamhitī and Sakalādhikāra.

**127 Gangadevi** was consort of Kampana or Kamparjya the second son of Bukka I<sup>2</sup> (1343-1379 A D) who predeceased his father by two years. In Madhurāvijaya or Virakamparāyacarita,<sup>3</sup> a poem, now extant only as a fragment, she narrates in melodious verses the exploits of her husband and narrates the history of his expedition to the south. The city of Vijayanagar with its temple and suburbs are described with all magnificence. Then comes the moving army and its relays on its way to Kāncī, where it is quartered for the winter. Inspired by the exhortation of a Goddess in his dream to exterminate the Musalmans and to restore the country to its ancient glory, he advances to the South, kills the Sultan of Madura and commemorates his victory by munificent grants to the temples of the country.<sup>4</sup>

**128. Vamanabhātta Bana** was the son of Komatiyajvan and grandson of Varadīgnicit of Vaṭsa Gotra. He was the pupil of Vidyāranya. In his early days he was at Vijayanagar and saw the glory of Harihara's reign. There he wrote Singārabhūana Bhāṣa enacted at the festival of Virūpākṣa. In narrating the amours of Vilāsabekhara, he describes the advanced state of civic life there in melodious verses and fanciful imagery.<sup>5</sup> When about thirty years old, he migrated to the court of Peda Komati Vemabhūpāla, ruler of Kondavidu (1403-1420 A D).<sup>6</sup>

Among his poems are Nalābhuyudaya,<sup>7</sup> in 8 cantos, Raghunātha-carita, in 30 cantos,<sup>8</sup> dealing with the lives of Nala and Rāma, and Hamsasandesa an imitation of Meghasandesa.

Pārvatīparipaya,<sup>9</sup> a drama in 5 acts, describing the marriage of Pārvati and Śiva is now believed by many to be his composition. In

1 OC, I 1, DC, XIX 7416

2 EG, Mysore, Dt No 46 and see also EI XII 162. But Sewell (*Forgotten Empires*, 19) gives to Bukka reign, 1343-1379 A D. See also TG III, 2985

3 Ed By Hariharasastri, Trivandrum, with a historical introduction by T. A. Gopinatha Row TG, III 2985

4 For an account of this poem see *Sources of Vijayanagar History*.

5 Ed Kāvyaṁalā, Bombay and Madras OC, III 187

6 The name of Vāmana is mentioned in a copper plate grant dated Śaka 1388 (1441 A D). On Vamanabhātta, see Prabhakara Sastri's Śringūra Śrīnātha, 78, R. V Krishnamacharya, *Introduction to Parvatīparipaya* (Srīrangam).

7 Ed by T Ganapati Sastri, T. S. Series. The manuscript breaks off with the 3rd verse of canto 9.

8 Tanj. Cat VI, 2684, CAL, II, 27

9 Ed Arsha press, Vizagapatam by K. T. Telang, Bombay; by Ratnam Iyer, Kumbakonam, by R. V Krishnamacharya, Srīrangam. For critical studies, see

his Kanakalekhā,<sup>1</sup> in 4 acts, he describes the marriage of Kanakalekhā, the daughter of Viravarman with Vyāsavarman, both of whom were Vidyādharaś, born in human world, on the curse of a sage

Of his Brhakāthamanjari,<sup>2</sup> only the portion of it, dealing with the story of Kādambarī, is now available.<sup>3</sup>

He also composed two lexicons Śabdacandrikā,<sup>4</sup> and Śabdaraṭṇākari.<sup>5</sup>

His learning was versatile and his poetry was admired. These brought him the titles sadbhāvavallabha and Kavivārvalbhauma. His ambition was to emulate Bāna of Kādambarī fame in the field of romance and as he says, his resolve was to remove the deep-rooted ill fame that after Bāna there was no poet capable of a fine writing in prose. Bāpa was of the Vaisa goira and in that same gotra, Vāmana was born. He thought he had a quasi hereditary claim to gain a name in the same field. He thought he was Bana incarnate and called himself Abhunava Bhatta Bāna. Bana glorified his patron Harsha in his Haracarita, and this suggested to Vama the theme, that is the life of his patron, Vemabhūpāla, known also as Viranarayana. Thus came Viranārādāpacṛita or Vemabhūpālacarita. Of this the reader will hear more in a later chapter.

**129 Lolambaraja** To Harihara's court belonged Lolambarāja, son of Divākara, a descendant of Sūryapandita. In Harivilāsa,<sup>6</sup> in 5 cantos, and in Sundara Dāmodara,<sup>7</sup> he describes the history of Kṛṣṇa, ending with the death of Kamsa. He was a great physician and his works on medicine,<sup>8</sup> written in excellent poetry, are much admired.

---

K T Telang, IA, III 219. See R V Krishnamacharya's *The Authorship of Parvaṭi Paripaya* (Kumbakonam), where views to the contrary are answered. In the English introduction a play Uṣaharaja is also given as Vamana's. But it is not known where the manuscript is available. See also Schuyler, Bibl 26.

1. See Kuppuswami Sastri's *Rep* (1919), 41-2.

2. The manuscript is in the Adyar Library, Madras. CAL, II 4. At the end it is said that it was this story that was expanded by Bāna in his romance of Kādambarī इयमेव कथाबाणेन बहुलीकृता कादम्बरीकथात्वेन. In the colophon it is stated that the work was written by Bāna. It is therefore inferred that this poetic version (Brhat-kāthamanjari) must have been written by a Bāna, not the author of Kādambarī, and likely our Vemabhūtibhatta Bāna. This story does not find a parallel in Kṣemendra's Brhakāthamanjari.

3. OM<sub>y</sub>, 809.

4. TC, III 8880, OM<sub>y</sub>, 809.

5. OAL, II, 16.

6. Printed *Kavyamala*, Bombay, *Tanj* Cat VI 2814, CC, I 760.

7. CAL, II 16.

8. CC, I 546.

**130 Virupaksa** known as Udayagiri Virupanna Udayar I was the grandson of Bukka and son of Harihar II<sup>1</sup> of the Sangama dynasty of Vidyanagar<sup>2</sup>. His mother was Mutladevi and mother's father Somabhūpa. He appears to have been Viceroy at Marakatipura about 1384 A.D. In his Nārāyaṇavilāsa,<sup>3</sup> a play in 5 acts, he calls himself the Governor of Karnata, Cola and Pandya mandalas and claimed to have planted a pillar of Victory in Simhala. In his play Unmatṭa Raghava,<sup>4</sup> in one act, he describes the lamentations of Rāma on the loss of Sita.

Mādhava<sup>5</sup> was poet of the Court of King Virupākṣa of Vijayanagar<sup>6</sup> and was patronised by his minister, also called Virupākṣa. His Narakāsuravijaya, the poem of which 9 cantos are now extant, describes the story of conquest of Narakāsura by Kṛṣṇa.<sup>7</sup> The language is terse and his appreciation of poets is a specimen of his melodious poetry.<sup>8</sup>

1 Harihara ruled between 1309-1401 A.D. Taylor, (*Or His Ms*, II, 98) places Harihara in 1385-1429 A.D. and Sewell (*Forg Emp* 404) says that Virupakṣa was son of Harihara and gives their dates 1470 and 1879 respectively. In *Mys. Arch Rep* (1927) Ms No 189, 155 Virupanna is called son of Bukka.

2 *EL*, III, 226, where he is called Virupākṣa I. For a list of his inscriptions, see *EL*, VI, 823 f n. His Ariyar grant (*IA*, XXXVIII, 12) is dated Saka 1812 (1890 A.D.). The other Virupākṣa, the last of the Sangama dynasty lived about 1480. See his inscription dated Saka 1892 (1471 A.D.) *IA*, XXI, 821. On the ancestry of Virupākṣa see *IA*, XXXIV, 19.

3. *SR*, I, 6, 90, *CC*, III, 68, *SVH*, 58 Schuyler (*Bbl*) gives date 1850 A.D.

4 *CAL*, II, 27. In the Tanjore Palace Library, the following books are found under the name of Virupākṣa, but his identity is not clear. Śāladāśāvarī (a commentary on Candrāloka), Oolacampu, Virupāksacampu. See *Tan*, *Cat* VII, 8291.

5 For his inscription dated 1470 A.D., see *IA*, XXI, 822, *SVH*, 6, 67

6 Mādhava and Mādhavapuri, poets quoted in Padyāvali, Mādhava of Taluknagara, author of Uddhavaduṣa (printed in Haberlin, 943), Mādhava author of Subhaḍrāharapa Śrigaṇḍī (printed, Bombay) and Praṇayumādhavacampu (*PR*, III, 895), Mādhava, son of Lakṣmana, author of Dānālilākāvya (printed, Bombay) and Mādhavasena, poets quoted in Skm are different persons.

7 *Tan*, *Cat* VI, 2772. Virupākṣa the minister wrote Cāturmāsyakalpalavalli in which he says he was the minister of king Virupākṣa.

8. जगदानन्दजननी जयलव्याजकोमला । कविता कालिदासस्य कलेवाचकलानिधे ॥  
कथं कविचकोराणामर्पितामिव पारणाम् । सुभं क्षेमेन्द्रचन्द्रस्य कविताकौमुदीमिभा ॥  
वकिमाणमनुज्ञन्तो बाणस्य भग्निक्रमा । कस्य न प्रीतये हृथा कान्तानां च दग्धश्चला ॥  
श्रीहर्षस्य कवेदोच्च शीतलामृतसोदरा । मञ्जयनित्रसोदन्वल्पपरेरसिक जनम् ॥  
मधुत्रैवक्षाण्ये मधुनिष्यन्दनिर्मराम् । भारवेस्मुरभि सूर्ते भाकन्दस्येव सुन्दरा ॥

**131 Saluva Narasimha** was a king of Vijayanagar of the second dynasty who ruled in 1456-1486 A.D. His father was Gunda, grandfather Gauta (Gautamara) and great-grandfather Saluva Mangi. His mother was Mallāmbikā. He married Srīrangambū. He died in 1493 A.D. Gauta was the chief of Kalyāna and his descent has been traced to the Moon. Mangi was a friend of prince Kampana, son of Emperor Bukka, and accompanied him in his expeditions to the south. He made extensive gifts to the shrine of Srīrangam. He was for a long time commander of the forces under king Mallikārjuna and his successors of the first (Singama) dynasty and appears to have proclaimed himself king late in his life. His mother Mallāmbikā had no issue for a long time. Gunda and Mallāmbikā retired to Abholilam for performing penance near God Narasimha of that place. "Pleased with their devotion the God appeared before the king in a dream, and expressing his satisfaction at their devotion, promised them a son possessed of all virtues and ordained to rule the whole world." The king awoke from his dream and communicated it to his wife. After a short time a son was born to them whom they called Narasimha after the God. The military genius and excellent qualities of Narasimha are then described at length. He is said to have ruled over the territory comprising the Kalyāna, Kanchi, Kātak, Kuntala, Chola and Pandraka. The poets and scholars of his court one day, after extolling his great qualities, requested him to display his scholarship by the composition of a poem (Kāvya) on the life of Rāma." Thus he came to compose his poem RAMABHYUDAYA in 24 cantos.<sup>1</sup> In the colophon to the 5th canto, however, it is said that the author was Sopādrinātha, son of Abhirāmā and Rājanātha and the work is called Mahanātaka-agrajītakāvya.

**132 Krishna Deva Raja** was the son of Narasa and Nāgāmbū and brother of Viranarasimha, of the Iuluva dynasty of Vijayanagar. He ascended the throne, in succession to his brother, in A.D. 1509 and after a glorious reign of 21 years passed away in 1529 A.D., leaving his name behind him in Indian History as 'the king'.<sup>2</sup> He was a fine sportsman, graceful artist and versatile scholar. All South India was

<sup>1</sup> Trav. Oct. III 12. For notes and extracts, see SVH, 7, 10, 32, 83, 86. See also Hultzsch SII, 131-2 Sewell's *Foreign Empires*, 106, Taylor's *Hist. Manas'cripte*, II, 98. There are Rāmabhyudayatilaka Kāvya (*Op.* 1556), anonymous, Rāmabhyudaya Kāvya in 30 cantos by Venkatesa (*BTC*, 161 with commentary) and Rāmabhyudayatilaka by Yasovarman, quoted in Dhvanyāloka and by Vyāsa Sri Rāmaçeva, (*CC*, I, 523).

<sup>2</sup> Taylor (*op. cit.*) gives the date 1509-1529. See also MZ, I, 362; IA, I, 78.

under his sway and under him were his feudatory chiefs, dispersed throughout his territories. Of his military exploits in wars against Adilshah, we have glorious accounts in contemporary chronicles<sup>1</sup>.

His father had two other wives Tippāmbā, and Obamamba. Viranarasiṁha was son of Tippāmbā and Acyuta son of Obamāmbā. His father's father Īvara was a companion of Saluva Narasiṁha in his expeditions<sup>2</sup>. He had a son Irumala and a daughter Irumalāmba who married Aliya Rāma Rāja<sup>3</sup>. He was an ideal king, a great poet and a generous patron of letters. The Telugu poet Namdi Gummayya called him Sri Kr̄ṣṇa incarnate<sup>4</sup>.

He had three queens of whom Tukkā was the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati of Orissa, but the marriage seems to have not been happy<sup>5</sup>. A virtuous lady that she was she resigned herself to her fate and sang a few verses on her forlorn, perhaps, undeserved condition<sup>6</sup>. Of the works of Kīraṇadeva Rāya, Uāparinaya is a drama on the marriage of Uā<sup>7</sup>, and Jāmbavatī Kalyāna is a drama in five acts, enacted at the Chaitra festival of Virūpākṣa, the tutelary deity of his Empire<sup>8</sup>. It describes the story of the recovery of Syamanṭaka jewel by Kr̄ṣṇa, his victory over Jambavanta and his marriage with his daughter Jāmbavatī<sup>9</sup>. Other works are mentioned in his Telugu poem Amuktamālyadā, are Madālasācaritra, Satyāvadhū-sāntvana, Sakalakāthāsārasangraha, Rasamanjari and Jñānacintāmani<sup>10</sup>. Rasamanjari, a work on poetics, contains illustrations in praise of Kīraṇadevarāya,

1. For an account of his reign, see Sewell's *Forgotten Empires* (London, 1900) 120-164 and the appendices containing the Chronicle of Paes and Nuniz Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque (Ed. Hakluyt), Bellary Dt. Manual and Madras Christian College Magazine (1886 Dec.) and articles in Andhra Patrika annual numbers V 181, 195, X 187, 285.

For his inscriptions, See *EI*, 1886, 898 IV 8, 266 IA, XXIV 205, *JBRAS*, XII 886, *Hultzsch, S/I*, 182.

2. *SVH*, 8 and extracts 88 to 40 from Telugu poems

3. He was practically ruler between 1543-1565 AD and he fell in the battle of Tallikota. His brother Tirumala became King and removed his capital to Penukonda and his son Venkatapati to Chandragiri.

4. See his Amuktamālyadā, *S7H*, 183

5. See the Introduction to Nādīndia Gopa's commentary on Prabodhacandrodaya, *SVH*, 144.

6. *SVH*, 148. But these verses do not seem to be her composition. One verse is found in Mukula's Abhidhāvṛtti-matṛka

7. The manuscript is said to be in the library of Vanapatti, Hyderabad State. There are other plays of the same name by Śrinivāsačārya (*Rcc*, 256), by Rudradeva, (*Tanj Cat*, VIII 8649), analysed in *Mitra Notices*, (III 192) and Uṣānarāja by Harsaśātha, (*OC*, I 71) and Poornas, Uṣāperinayacampu by Kr̄ṣṇa Kāvi (*DC*, XXI 8185, *Opp*, II 3004) and Uṣāharana by Trivikrama (*BTC*, 157) and Uṣāniruddha in *Prakrit* (*TC*, III 4045).

8. *SVH*, 142, *CC*, I 206

9. For the same theme, see Tāpuni's Jāmbavatīharapa *supra*

10. *SVH*, 184

it is therefore conjectured that it was not his own work but of a poet of his Court

**133** Tirumalamba's literary achievements were the subject of universal admiration She began under King Kr̄ṣṇa Devarāya and continued to the days of Acyūtarāya of the luluva dynasty of Vijayanagar

The only extant work of hers, Varadāmbikāparinaya,<sup>1</sup> is a pleasant prose-poetic composition It begins with a short genealogical history and describes the exploits of Narsa, his marriage of Obamīmba, and the birth of the son Acyūta<sup>2</sup> Then follows the marriage of Acyūta and Varadāmbā, a princess of Salaga and ends with the installation of their boy China Venkatādri, as the Yuvaraja<sup>3</sup>

**134 Dindimas** Connected with the Court of Vijayanagar are the poets of the Dindima family Their history is recorded in a work called Vibhāgaraṇamāla or Vivekapatramāla,<sup>4</sup> composed about 200 years ago The author's name is unknown The following account is given there Originally resident at Mandāra, a village on the Ganges, eight Brahmins of Śaiva sect of different Gotras were taken by a Cola king from Benares to his country, and were settled at the village of Mettāpadi (Talpagiri), in North Arcot District, Madras In that village was installed the deity Rājanāṭha after whom the image was named Rājanāṭhapuram They became divided into 21 families and gradually expanded into seventy at the date of that work Then the story follows how Aruṇagirinātha in whose time it appears this work was written was refused the grant of a garden ground by Praudhadevarāya or Devaraja II(1422-1448 A D ), how in displeasure he went to Delhi and having pleased the King there Suratrāṇa by his erudition, he brought a letter to Praudhadevarāya and as a result of it the garden ground was donated to him as an Agrahāram<sup>5</sup> From the family of Aruṇagirinātha came poets of the Court of Viśayānagar under successive kings and composed their edicts recorded in inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> *Tanj. Cat* VII 3244 For a full account, see paper by Lakshman Sarup in Proceedings of Fourth Oriental Conference II 181

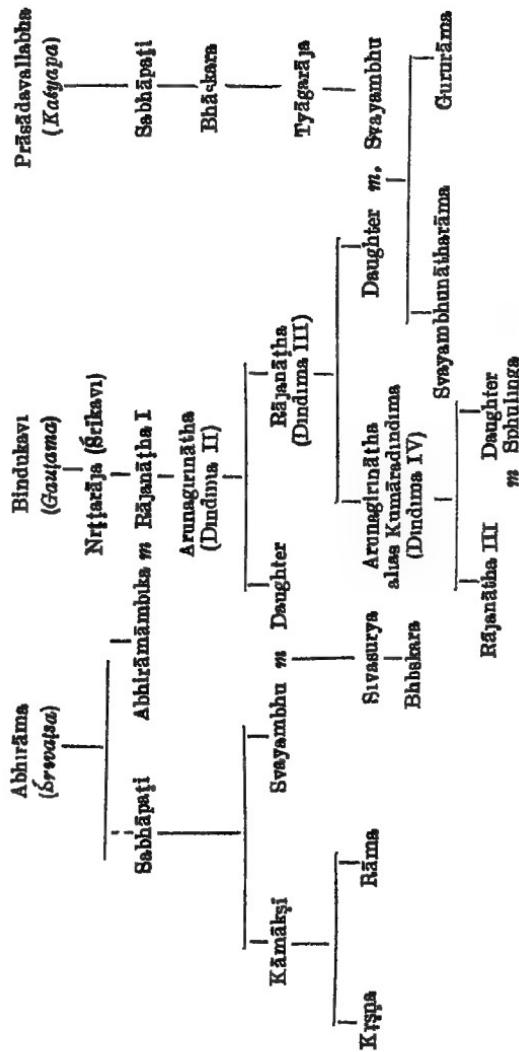
<sup>2</sup> Acyūta ascended the throne in 1580 A D.

<sup>3</sup> SVH, 170

<sup>4</sup> TO, II 2462 Edited with translation and notes by T Gopinatharow, 1A, XLVII 88, 83, 94 125. For a short account, see Vetus. Prabhākara Śāstri's Śringāra Naīṣadha, Chapter V

<sup>5</sup> Prīṣādāvallabha of Kāḍyapagoṭra, Bhāskara of Gaṇṭama gotra, Rājanāṭha of Śāvaranya gotra, Subrahmanyā of Śīḍilya gotra, Jatādharcā of Śrīvatsagotra; Nilakantha of Bhāladwāja gotra Somanāṭha of Goṭama (Samaga) gotra and Mallī karjuna of Śunkṛji gotra From the first family came Tyāgarāja

On a collation of the dates of inscriptions and of the prologue to the play of Sphulinga, this geneology is evolved



From the prologue to *Somavallyyoginanda*, it appears that Arunagirinātha was the daughter's son of Dandīnārābhu and sister's son of Śabhaśāṭī and son's son of Śrīkaṇṭha prabhu and from Śivābhūrudeya that thus Sritaviprabhu was Nattarāja. This shows Abhurāmāñibhākā mother of Arunagiri, was wrongly given in *Vibhageśa-krānta* as the daughter of Guruswāmi and Somanātha is also wrongly stated to be Arunagirinātha's mother's brother, because a statement by the poet himself is entitled to better credence than a work written three centuries later from memory and tradition.

**135 Arunagirinatha I** was the son of Rājanātha I and Abhirāmambikā of Gautanīgotra of Sāmasākha. His mother's father Abhirāma was a scholar in Śrikanthīgama and was known as Dindimiprabhu (Dindima I). Sabhāpati was his mother's brother, and Nṛttarāja, his father's father, known also Śrikāvi was the head of Purendra-agrahāram, a poet in eight languages and a victor of the poet Nāgāna.<sup>1</sup> He married Yagnāmbikā.<sup>2</sup> His fame was always proclaimed by beat of *dindima* and he was therefore called Dindimakavisārvabhauma (Dindima II). He graced the court of Parudhīdevarāya or Devarāya II of Vijayanagar (1422-1448 A.D.)<sup>3</sup>. He vanquished Kavimūlla in disputation. His Sommavalliyogānanda is a prihasana roplot with humour, ridiculing the amorous overtures of an ascetic to a fallen married woman.<sup>4</sup>

**136 Rajanatha II** was Arunagirinātha I's son. He was also known as Dindimakavisārvabhauma (Dindima II). His fame was even greater than that of his father and extended to the kingdoms of Sora, Cola and Pāndya when he received honours of precedence. He married Durgā. His proficiency in histrionics, languages and philosophy brought him new titles. He was a favourite of Śilva Narasimha, generalissimo of Kings of Vidyānagar, whose activities as such began in 1436 A.D. as the first of the Śilva dynasty.<sup>5</sup>

In grateful regard for his patron, he wrote *SAIUVABHIVUDAYA*,<sup>6</sup> a poem in 13 cantos, describing the achievements of his ancestors and himself. Salva invaded Kalinga and Dasara and conquered the Bhamini Sultan Mohammad. He then proceeded northward conquering the Gajapati kings and having visited Benares, he came back to Candragiri which he made his residence for the worship of Viṣṇu at

1 This information is taken from the prologue to Sommavalliyogānanda, where Nṛttarāja is also described as भट्टालरायकटककविकुलगवैपर्वतपदे ।

2 प्रचण्डतरकाह्लवण्टाडिष्टमादिरचित्विश्वदोषण ॥

3 See PSOC, I No 128, 227, *SII*, I; 79, 83, 162, 107 Sewell's *Forgotten Empires*, 404, Virabhadrarao's *Andhrulacaritam*, III 388, Andhrapatrika Annual Number VIII 153. In *Mys Arch Recs*, (1927), 26, dates for Praudha Praṭīpa Devaraya are given as 1419-1446 A.D. and Mallinatha is said to have lived in his court.

4 *TC*, II 2276

5 See *HI*, VII 74 (edited by J Ramayya Pantulu), Virabhadrarao's *Andhrulacaritam*, III, 410

6 Printed, Madras. For a short account, see *SVII*, xii, 80, 90. For extracts, see *DC*, XX, 7897

Tirūpati There he ruled in all glory and greatness and there is a benediction that he may rule the world for all time

The poem makes no mention of Narasimha's rule at Vijayanagar For many years he was only commander of the forces of Vijayanagar under Mallikārjuna and his successors and it was probably because the last of the Sangama dynasty died issueless or became powerless that he assumed the reigns of Government and proclaimed himself king It appears therefore that this poem was composed about 1480 A D , while yet Narasimha was only a viceroy with his seat of Government at Candragiri

**137. Sivasurya** Abhirāma's son Sabhāpati had a son Svayambhū and a daughter Kāmakoti or Abhirāmakāmākī<sup>1</sup> Svayambhū married the daughter of Dindima II and his descendant was Sivasūrya, of Śrivatsagoṭra He wrote Pāndavābhuyudaya,<sup>2</sup> a poem in 8 cantic, on the story of Mahābāraṭa His son BHASKARA was preceptor of King Halaghāti and wrote Vallipariṇaya,<sup>3</sup> a play in five acts, staged at Jambunātha's festival at Tiruvānakkāval near Srirangam Abhirāma-kāmākī had two sons Kṛṣṇa and Rāma In her Abhinava-Rāmābhuyudaya, a poem in 24 cantic, she relates in exquisite verse the story of Rāma<sup>4</sup>

**138 Arunagirinatha II**, Kumara Dindima or Dindima IV, was son of Rajanatha II He lived at Parendra-agraharam and was patronised by Viranarasimha of Vidyānagar (1505-1509 A D ) and Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-1530 A D )<sup>5</sup> He was versed in many languages and bore the title Dindimakavisārvabhauma and Kavirājarāja His Virabhadravijaya,<sup>6</sup> a drama, describes the creation of Virabhadra and the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice and was enacted at the festival of Rājanātha at Bhūpatirāyapuram

**139 Rajanatha III** was Kumāradindima's son His Bhāgavata-campu<sup>7</sup> was composed at the instance of king Acyutarāya of Vijayanagar

1 These particulars are furnished by Vibhāgarāṭnasmālā *supra*

2 *TC* IV 5818

3 *DC* XXI 8589 Bhāskara, author of *Unmaṭṭa Raghava*, was a contemporary of Vidyāranya

4. *TC*, IV 5202

5. *TC*, III 2832

6 Kṛṣṇadevarāya's conquests were recited by Kumāradindima in the presence of the king and Dhurjati embodied the recital in his Telugu poem *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayam*.

7 *DC*, XXI 8256 For extracts, see *SVH*, 176.

(1530-1542 A D.)<sup>1</sup> and describes the life of Kṛṣṇa His ACYUTARAVABHYUDAYA<sup>2</sup> is a poem in twelve cantos It begins with a short sketch of the reign of the earlier kings of the Tuluva (third) dynasty of Vijayanagar tracing their descent from the Moon and rapidly traces the lives of Narasa and his sons Virānarāsimha and Krūradevarāya On the death of the latter in 1530 A D Acyūtarāya, his step-brother and son of Narasa, by his third wife Obalāmba became king The main theme of the poem is a description of Acyūtarāya's South Indian expedition, the object of which was the restoration of the Pāṇḍya ruler to his dominions whence he was driven away to the King of Cera The king visited several places of pilgrimage, Tirupati, Kalahasti, Kanchi and Madura and made a tour through Travancore and the West Coast The poem closes with the siege of Bijapur and the victory over the Sultan and the king's triumphal entry into his capital.

**140** Kumāradindima's daughter was married to Mallikārjuna or SPHULINGA KAVI He was the son of Lakṣmaṇa and Sāvitrī of Bhāraḍvājagotra His father's father was Somanātha and was the disciple of Sabhapatiśeṣika His SATYABHAMAPARINAYA in five acts describes the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Satyabhāma and was enacted at the festival at Mulanda<sup>3</sup>

**141.** Besides the son Kumāradindima, Rājanātha II had a daughter who married Swayambhū, daughter's son of Rājanātha I and son of Tyāgarāja of Kāsyapagotra Swayambhū had two sons Swayambhūnātha and Gururāma SWAYAMBHUNĀTHA or Guru Swayambhūnātha wrote Sankarānandacampū on the fight between Śiva and Arjuna as described by Bhāraṭav<sup>4</sup> and a poem Krūnavilāsa<sup>5</sup> in 14 cantos on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Among his distinguished ancestors, Gururāma mentions Aghorāśvadeśika, Prāśādavallabha, Dhakkāsabhbāpaṭi and Bhāskara

1 IA IV, 828, 830, V, 19, XXIII, 129, PSOC, I No 180, 182, EI, I, 898, IV, 8, III, 147, 151 EC, Part I, 176, As Res XX, 26 For an account of his reign see Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, Ch XI

2 For a full summary of its contents, see SVH, 103, 158. For the extant Inscription, see DC, XX 7687 Hī (the first six canto) Srirangam with an Introduction by K. Bīlāsubrahmāṇya Iyer and a commentary by R V Krishnamārcaya See IA, XXXVI, 862

3 TO, III 2958, where the poet's genealogy is also given There is another play of the same name by Kṛṣṇa of Garbhapurā (TO, III 2987) Aufrecht (GOL, I, 689) mentions a play of that name by Krūnakavīndra

4 DC, XXI 8808

5 TO, III 2826

who wrote a *Prasannakāvya*. His *Subhadra-Dhananjaya*<sup>1</sup> in five acts relates the story of Subhadra's marriage and *Ratneśvaraprasādāna*,<sup>2</sup> play in five acts celebrates the marriage of Ratnacūḍa, with Raṭnavālī, daughter of Gandharva Vasubhūti, brought about by the good graces of God Ratnesvara of Benares, whom the maiden propitiated by her devotion. *Madanagopālavilāsa* is a *bbhana* on the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.<sup>3</sup> *Hariscandracarita-campu* narrates the story of Hariscandra. This work was written as he says on Monday in Tula of Nala of the Cycle after Kali 4709.<sup>4</sup>

**142 Appayya Dikṣita** was born at Adayapalam near Kāncī in the Kanyā month of Kali 4654 (1554 A.D.)<sup>5</sup>. He was the son of Rangarāja of Bhāradvāja Goṭra.<sup>6</sup> For many years he lived at Vellore under the patronage of Chinna Bomma Bhupāla<sup>7</sup> by whom he was honoured with a shower of gold.<sup>8</sup> Later on he was invited to the Court of Penukonda by Emperor Venkatadeva of Vijayanagar (1586-1613 A.D.). In the last year of his life he visited the Pandya country at the invitation of Tirumala Naik to settle some sectarian disputes at

1. *DC*, XXI. 8556

2. *DC*, XXI. 8482

3. *DC*, XXI. 8440

4. *TC*, III. 2818.

5. See T. S Kuppusami Sastrī's Introduction to *Gandāvatarapa* (*Kavyamala*, No. 76, Bombay), Śivānanda Yogī's *Dikṣītacarita* and P. S. S. Sastrī's Life of Appayya Dikṣita (Madras).

6. In the introduction to *Alankāra Candukā* (Venkatesvar Press, Bombay) it is said that Appayya Dikṣita was the grandfather of Venkataḍhvāri, the author of *Viśvaguruñāḍera*. This mistake originated in the similarity of the names. Venkataḍhvāri's grandfather was also called Appayya. This error received an apparent support from the circumstance that Venkataḍhvāri was the nephew of Tatārya, who was a contemporary of Appayya Dikṣita. Venkataḍhvāri was of Āṭreyā Goṭra and Appayya Dikṣita was of Bhāradvāja Goṭra. In the same introduction (i.e.) the colophon says श्रीरङ्गराजावरीन्द्रवरदसूनो meaning thereby that the father's name was Varada. This is a wrong reading for श्रीरङ्गराजावरिवरसूनो: (See *DC*, XXII. 8642).

7. See grants dated Saka 1488, 1471 (A.D. 1566, 1549). Hultzsch *SIT*, I. 69, 84 and grant dated Saka 1528 [IA XIII. 127 (notes, 17)]. This Chinna Bomma was the son of Chinna Vira and father of Langa Langamanayaka. This Chinna Bomma of Velur must be distinguished from another of the same name, who was the son of Nalabomma, the minister of Chokkanātha and the author of the *Prakriyāmaṇḍipikā* and *Saṅgītāśīghava* (*BTO* 61a).

8. On the valuable presents made by that king to Appayya Dikṣita, see Samarapungaya's *Tīrthayātrāprabandha Campu* (*DC*, XXI. 8226) and *SVB*, 250.

Madura.<sup>1</sup> He was the tutor in Vedanta to the famous Bhottoji Dikṣita.<sup>2</sup> He was the first scholar that placed the Śiλkantha school of philosophy on a firm basis.<sup>3</sup> He was best in the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāmsa. With his eleven sons well read and alive at his death, he passed away with pleasure at Cidambaram in 1626 A.D. at the age of seventy-two.<sup>4</sup> He is the reputed author of 104 works the range of which covers poetry, poetics, dialectics, philosophy etc.<sup>5</sup>

**143** Among his poetical works are Ātmārpanaṭuṭi or Sivapancasikā,<sup>6</sup> Āryāsaṭaka,<sup>7</sup> Dasakumāracariṭasangraha,<sup>8</sup> Pancarātnastava,<sup>9</sup> Sivakarnāmṛta,<sup>10</sup> Vairāgysaṭaka,<sup>11</sup> Bhaktāmarastava,<sup>12</sup> Ṣāṇṭiṭava,<sup>13</sup>

1. "In the year S S 1544, in Dunduthi year, the 17th of Masi month Muthu Tirumalai Naicker came to Madura in order to be anointed (or installed) to receive the sceptre and other ensigns of royal authority. Having thus arranged the plan, the work was thus begun to be carried into execution at once on the 10th of Vyāsi month, of Akshaya year during the increase of the moon. From that time forward as the master came duly to inspect the work, it was carried on with great care. As they were proceeding first in excavating the Teppakkulam they dug up from the middle a Ganespathi (or image of Ganesa) and caused the same to condescend to dwell in a temple built for the purpose. As they were placing the sculptured pillar of the Vasanta-mandapam and were about to fix the one which bore the representation of Yekapada murthi they were opposed by the Vyshnavas. Hence a dispute arose between them and the Saivas, which lasted for six months and was carried in the presence of the Sovereign. Two arbitrators were appointed Appa Dikshitar on the part of Saivas, and Ayya Dikshitar or Ayyan on the part of the Vaishnavas. They consulted Sanskrit authorities and made the Sastras agree, after which the pillar of Yekapada murthi was fixed in its place" [Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, II, 149, 153].

2. See his Siddhanṭaḍipaka.

3. His commentary Śivākamaniḍipika has a place equal to the Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja or Śankara.

4. It is said he uttered this last verse on his deathbed.

विद्यमारभिदं पुर प्रथितेवपुण्यस्थले सुताश विनश्चोज्जवला सुकृतयश्च काश्चित्कृतो ।  
वर्यासि मम सस्तेषुपरि नैव भोगे स्मृहा न किञ्चिदहमर्थये शिवपद दिहस्ते परम् ॥

5. So says Nilakantha in his Śivalīlāpravā (I. 6). For his works, see *OC*, I. 22, II. 5, *SKC*, 865, *HR* II xii.

6. *ETC* 168.

7. *OC*, II, 5

8. Printed Kavyamala I, Bombay, 91

9. *Opp*, II 7182, *HR*, II 1089.

10. *HR*, III 1724.

11. Printed Kavyamala I, Bombay.

12. *TC*, III 2808, *HR*, III, 1728, 1924. There is a Bhaktāmarastava of Māṇḍūṅga [*PR*, VI List of authors] Printed, Kāvyaṁla, Bombay.

13. *Opp*, II 7295.

Rāmāyanatitparānirnaya,<sup>1</sup> Rāmāyanatatparyasangraha,<sup>2</sup> Bharatastava,<sup>3</sup> Rāmāyaṇasāraṇamgraha,<sup>4</sup> Rāmāyanasāratava,<sup>5</sup> Varadarājatava or Varadarājātaka, Ādityatotraratna,<sup>6</sup> Sivalāmīstavaratna,<sup>7</sup> Sivamahimākalikāstava<sup>8</sup>

He has written commentaries on Vedāntadeśika's poems, on Govinda Dikṣiṭa's Harivamsasāracarita,<sup>9</sup> on Kṛṣṇamīśra's Prabodhacandrodaya<sup>10</sup> and a play Vasumatīcitra sena vilāsa.<sup>11</sup>

His Cīramimāmsa is a disquisition on the nature of Alankāras and runs to the end of Atisayokti.<sup>12</sup> His Vṛttivārtika is a treatise on the three modes of signification.<sup>13</sup> His Kuvalayānanda is a standard work on the subject of the figures of speech<sup>14</sup> and is designed as a commentary

1 Opp, II 4884, HR, II 1019

2 Opp, II 5411 9879, 10955, HR, II 1009

3 HR, II 1040

4 Opp, II. 7266, HR, II 1982

5 OC, II 23

6 HR, III 1788

7 HR, II 3087, III 2815

8. HR, II 1025

9 OC, I 22

10 Taylor, I, 222, Opp, II 2070, 8712

11 Mys 1

12 Ed Bombay, Kavyamala No 88. This was criticised by Jagannātha, in his Cīramimāmsākhandana. There is a commentary on the Cīramimāmsa called Sudhā by Dharananda son of Ramabala of Vasista gotra, born at Bharatpur probably of the 18th century. He also wrote a commentary on the Mṛīcakatika. See DC, XXII, 8668

13 Ed Bombay, Kavyamala.

14 Ed Bombay, Kavyamala. For translation into English, see Sah VIII 5 VII 67. The colophon says that the work was written at the direction of King Venkatapati of Penukonda. There are commentaries on it —

(i) *Alankāracandrokū* by *Vaṇḍyanātha*, son of Tatsat Ramabhatta (I c.) Bombay. He was a Deccana brahmin of Verula in the Maharashtra country—probably of the 18th century. DC, XXII, 8616. He wrote also a commentary on *Kāvyapradīpa* of Govinda, DC, XXII 8621.

(ii) *Rasikaranjanī* by *Gangādharādhwariṇī*. He says that Appaya Dikṣiṭa wrote more than a hundred works. This commentator is referred to by Appākavi, in his Śringāramanjanī Sāhajiyam, composed in the reign of the Tanjore King Shahji (1684-1711) and probably was his contemporary.

(iii) *Camaṇḍāra Candrakū* by *Chidākamari* Terumalādūrya, son of Rāmānuja cārya of Rāmaṭirīṭha village near Kotipalli in Godavari District (TG, II 2695). He has also composed a commentary on the *Pratāparudriya* (Ibid 2651).

(iv) *Alankārasuṭha* of Nagoji Bhatta (K, 98, 104)

(v) *Kāvyamanjanī* of Nyāyavāgīśa Bhattachārya, (NP, II 122, B, 842).



## [NOTE ON VIDYARANYA]

Alankārasudhānidhi<sup>1</sup> is attributed to Vidyāranya. On the identity of Vidyāranya with Mādhava, there appears a doubt, for there is an indication of a contrary view that Sāyana<sup>2</sup> and Mādhava composed Vedabhāṣya and other works at the behest of Vidyāranya. The following passage [*Mys Arch Rep* 1932], pp. 103-7] from Vidyāranyakāla-jñāna is instructive :

“(Praise of the sage Vyasa) I bow to Vidyatirtha, the Mahesvara whose breath is the Vedas and who created the whole Universe from the Vedas I, Vidyaranya by name, am telling briefly what happened to me while I was in the Vindhya mountain. May all people listen attentively O guru, lord of gods, my master, I am going to Benares to clear my doubts in the commentaries on the four Vedas May you be pleased

One morning, while dwelling in the Vindhya mountain, I met a Brahmarakshasa named Sringin of Prisni-gotra suffering from thirst and hunger and emaciated I asked him who he was and “here he was and why he was wandering in the forest alone and why he was so emaciated He explained that it was due to his having received a gift called Tulapurusha from Rama in the age of Treta and not having performed the requisite penance I however pleaded my inability to help him with food since I was an ascetic Sringin replied that he would enable me to meet the sage Vyasa from whom I could get all the necessary miraculous powers I followed the directions of Sringin and met Vyasa in the disguise of a hunter (kirata) leading four dogs (which were really the Vedas) and proceeding to

1 *Mys Arch Rep* (1908), 27.

2 See para 125 *supra*.

3 *Mys Arch Rep* (1932), 103-7 According to this the foundation of the City was in Saka 1158, Dhatri Vaṣākha Sudha Septami, Makha Nakshatra. Owing to faulty transcription, the readings differ here and there, but the following verse seems to be in order

दिक्षरद्धयस्त्वये शकान्दे सुसमाहिते ।  
धात्वन्दे सितसन्तम्या वैशाले मासि भास्करे ।  
सुलग्ने शुभनक्षत्रे मङ्गारये च विशेषत ॥

“In Guruvamākāvya, the same date is given, but the week day is added as Sunday. In an inscription quoted by Mr B Suryanarayana Rao in his History of Vijayanagar the week day is read by him as Saumyavāra (Wednesday). But in the year, month and tithi, all concur. On a collation of the constellation and tithi, it appears that Vaṣākha masi Bhāskare indicates that it was Vaṣākha (solar, not lunar), meaning Vṛṣabha month. This is equivalent to Friday, the 17th May 1386 A D”

Benares I told him that I knew who he was through Sringin Vyasa took me with Sringin to Badari and taught me how to acquire the *siddhus* like Anima (miraculous powers attributed to yogis in India) He also instructed me in the knowledge of all *srutis*, *smritis*, *puranas*, *mīhasas*, *arthasastras*, *kamasastras* (erotic science), and the 64 *samhitas* of Siva and enabled me to understand the events of the past, to know what is going on at present and to foretell what would happen in the future To enable Sringin to be fed to his heart's content the sage Vyasa directed me, after initiating me into the mystic lore of Srichakra, to construct a city as had been done by Maya and Visvakarma for the Devi after she killed Bhandasura and to set up a throne there<sup>1</sup>

After the sage disappeared I went in the company of Sringin to Kishkindha and worshipped god Virupaksha on the bank of the Tungabhadra The god bade me re-build in accordance with the *tantras* the city named Vijaya (Vijayanagar) which was once one of the eight great cities and measured two *yojanas* in circumference and in the middle of which lay the hill Matanga and which had disappeared in the course of time Hearing this, I stopped for a time in a cave of the Matanga hill

During this time, two persons named Sayana and Mayana came to me and begged me to bless them with offspring But I told them that they were not destined to get children At this they became sad and begged me to make use of the large sums of money earned by them for performing Dharma (charities) and enable them to attain on death the regions reserved for those who have sons Thus entreated I made them my disciples and I composed and got composed by them works named Sayaniya and Madhaviya dealing with various *sastras*

"Vidyaranya was a disciple of Vidyasankara called also Vidyabirtha He calls himself a follower of Sankaracharya He was the author of numerous works on various *sastras* which are attributed to the brothers Sayana and Madhava, including *Vedabhashya* He was given to much travelling and went to Benares to meet the sage Vyasa to get his *Vedabhashya* revised On the way, he met Sringin, a Brahmarakshasa in the Vindhya Mountain From Vyasa, Vidyaranya learnt all the mystic lore and on going to Hampe to pay his respects

<sup>1</sup> Details about Srichakra are given in pp 4-19 (*ibid*)

पीठेष्वष्टु सख्याता नगरी विजयाह्या । आयामविस्तारतया योजनद्यसम्मिता ॥

मतङ्गे हस्ति तन्मध्ये राजते सर्वकामदः । सा पुरी कालससर्गादिदार्शी क्षयमागता ॥

संशोध्य सर्वतन्त्राणि भूयोऽपि नगरीभिमाश् । हस्यकूनिर्मायता मे त्वमभद्रान् प्रदापय ॥

to god Virupaksha he was bidden to revive the ancient city of Vijayanagar which had disappeared and to set up a kingdom there. This would enable the god Virupaksha to receive proper worship and offerings and help Sriṅgenī to be fed to his heart's content. We find a temple for Sriṅgenī called Malayala-brahma set up near the Matt in Sriṅgerī and it is said that without propitiating him no entertainment or feast could be organised at Sriṅgerī.<sup>1</sup> Vidyaranya accordingly stopped at Hampe where he met later Harihara and Bukka, who had been defeated by the Ballala King. With his blessings they attained success. The spot for the construction of a capital city was indicated by a hare turning on hounds during a royal hunt south of the Tungabhadra. Vidyaranya after careful study and calculations built a city there and installed Harihara on the throne there. He also foretold the history of that city and kingdom, its rise, fall, and revival under Vira Vasanta to Harihara and this account was compiled under his orders by the ascetic Bharatikrishna. The first three Kings at Vijayanagar ruled with his favour. The first thirteen Kings were devotees of god Virupaksha and had deep reverence for Vidyaranya and his disciple Kriyāsakti.<sup>2</sup>

We may note here that the story of Vidyaranya's meeting with Vyasa is also found in a Sanskrit poem called Guruvamsa composed about 1740 A.D. giving a history of the Sriṅgerī Matt.<sup>3</sup> There Vyasa is said to have assumed the disguise of a Swapacha (low caste man). The story of Sriṅgenī and of Madhava and Sayana is also given in the same work. They are called ministers there.<sup>4</sup> But it has to be remembered that Sayana and Madhava only acknowledge Vidyatirtha and not Vidyaranya as their guru. Moreover, Sayana had several sons as stated in Alankarasudhanidhi.<sup>5</sup> That Madhava was different from

1. Mys. Arch Rep (1916), 16.

2. विद्यारण्यमुनीदस्य तच्छब्देण तथैव तु ।

क्रियाशक्त्याद्यनैव चतुर्तुग्रहशालिन ।

विरूपाक्षस्य भक्तास्ते त्रयोदशा नरेश्वरा ॥

"Kriyāsakti was a Salva teacher of the Kalamukha School. Madhava-mantri, Governor of Chandragutti, etc., speaks of him as his guru in 1847, Mys. Arch Rep, (1929), p. 172. Inscriptions down to Dandapalli plates of 1410, E I XIV speak of Kriyāsakti as the guru of Harihara II, Muddadandesa, Vitthana Vodeyar and Vijayabhpati, etc. Apparently there must have been two gurus of the same name at this period."

3. Mys. Arch Rep (1928), 15.

4. Guruvamsa, V 44.

5. Mys. Arch. Rep (1908), 27.

Vidyaranya and that Bharatikrishna was a disciple or junior of Vidyaranya and Vidyaranya was the disciple not of Bharatikrishna but of Vidyatirtha and that he was already an ascetic before the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom are facts of great interest to be gleaned from Vidyaranyakalajnana. The poem Guruvamsa makes Bharatikrishna, a younger brother of Vidyaranya before he became a sanyasi but he is said to have become a sanyasi earlier.<sup>1</sup> The journey of Vidyaranya to Benares and his sojourn there, not before 1336 but very much later is referred to in a Kadita inscription in the Sringeri Matt of 1380.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions recognising Vidyaranya as the head of the Sringeri Matt are dated between 1375 and 1386.

As regards Vidyatirtha or Vidyasankara he is called Vidyatirtha in inscriptions<sup>3</sup> and the works of Sayana and Madhava. Vidyasankara was the name of the linga set up over his tomb and hence that of the temple at Sringeri enshrining the linga. However in later literature, he is called Vidyasankara. Vidyatirtha seems to have been different from a Vidyasankara who died about 1388,<sup>4</sup> while Vidyatirtha must have died about 1356, long before the accession of Vidyaranya at Sringeri about 1375. What relation he had to Vidyasankara who was the guru of Naraharimantri, governor of Goa in 1391, cannot be determined.<sup>5</sup> Probably he was different.

Bharatikrishnatirtha is called Bharatitirtha in inscriptions and contemporary literature.<sup>6</sup> He seems to have set up the Vidyasankara temple at Sringeri in memory of his guru Vidyatirtha before 1380. He is said to have died in 1374.<sup>7</sup> The first inscription of his successor in the Sringeri Matt (Vidyaranya) so far discovered is that at Kudupa, South Canara District, dated 1375.<sup>8</sup> But though Vidyaranya succeeded him to the pontificate at Sringeri he seems to have been a junior to Vidyaranya as indicated in the Sringeri copper plate grant of 1386 A D and the Kadita of 1380.<sup>9</sup>

1. *Guruvamsa*, IV 22

2. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), 57.

3. *EC*, VI Sringeri I., *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), 57, *EC*, IV Yedatore, 46 etc.

4. *FC*, X Mulbagal 11

5. *Ep Ind.* XXI p 17 Chaudala grant

6. *EC*, VI Sringeri of 1346, Sringeri Kadita of 1380. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916)

57 Parasara-smṛti-vyākhyā, etc

7. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), No 460

8. *Madras Epigraphical Report* (1929), No. 460

9. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), pp. 57-58.

## CHAPTER V

### Mahakavyas—(*contd.*)

**145 The Naik Kings of Tanjore<sup>1</sup>** Chinna Cheva, son of Jemma, was a great warrior. He married Mürtiambā, younger sister of Tirumalāmbā, the queen of Emperor Acyutarāya of Vijanagar (1530-1542 A.D.) It is said that the province of Tanjore was granted free to Mürtiambā as a wedding gift by the Emperor. This Chinnacheva Naik became the first ruler of Tanjore. He ruled about 1549-1572 A.D. He built the big gopuram and tank at Tiruvannamalai, the Dhvaja-stambha at Vriddhācalam and compound wall and steps to the temple of Śrisailam.

Cinna Cevva's son was Acyuta or Acyutappa Naik. He ruled about 1572-1614 A.D. He married Mürtiambā and by her had a son Raghunātha. Raghunātha Naik was installed on the throne during the lifetime of his father about 1614 A.D. Raghunātha married Kalāvatī and his son Vijayarāghava succeeded him and ruled till 1662 A.D. Vijayarāghava describes his ancestors in his Telugu poem *Raghunāthā bhudaya*.<sup>2</sup>

Chokkanatha Naik, the ruler of Madura, applied to Vijayaraghava for the hand of one of the daughters and as the request was refused, Chokkanatha went to war and in that war Vijayaraghava and his elder son were killed. One of his queens managed to hand her little son Cengamaladas to a nurse with all her jewels and the young prince was removed and secretly brought up by a wealthy brahmin at Negapatam. The Sultan of Bijapur was requested for help and he sent Ekojee, the son of his minister Shahaji, to march against Tanjore, which was then under Alagiri. Alagiri was defeated and Chengamala Das was restored to the throne of his father. In the meantime the Sultan of Bijapur was killed in battle by Aurangazeb. By the enemies of Chengamala, Ekoji was induced to capture Tanjore and as Ekojee advanced Cheng-

1. See the Telugu work, *History of Tanjore Andhra Kings* extracted in *SVH*, 512, 896. For the genealogy, see *SVH*, 254. See also T S Kuppusami Sastrī's Tamil pamphlet *Naik Princes of Tanjore*, Tanjore District Manual, 260, *Naik Kingdom of Madura* (I, XLII XLVI); Danver's *Portuguese in India*, II Ch. viii. The genealogy is given in Rajacādāmaṇī's *Rukminiśālāya* (*DC*, XX 7848).

2. For extracts, see *SVH*, 254-266.

mala fled away and was no more heard of Thus came in the Maharatta Kingdom of Tanjore

**146 Raghunatha** was the greatest of the Naik Kings of Tanjore He ruled between 1614 to (') He was a great scholar and patron of letters<sup>3</sup> He constructed many temples and granted new Agraharas<sup>4</sup> His minister Govinda Dikṣit was a scholar and politician His preceptor was Kumāraṭāticārya of Kanci<sup>5</sup> His queen Rāmabhadrambā considered him Rāma incarnate and wrote a poem Raghunāthābhyyudaya in his glory<sup>6</sup>

He was a poet and musician and discovered a new type of Vina called after his name His Sangītasudhā is a comprehensive work on music, including instrumental music and dancing In the introductory verses, there is much useful historical information<sup>7</sup>

His Bhāratiśudhā embraced dancing Among his other works are Pāṇjātīharana, Valmiki-carita, Acyutendrīkṣubhāya, Gajendra-mokṣa, Nalābhyyudaya and Rukmini-Kṛṣṇa-vivāha, Yek agnā, Rāmāyaṇasārasangraha<sup>8</sup>

Kṛṣṇakavi who in his rhetorical work, Ragunāthabhūpāliya, in eight chapters has illustrations in praise of Raghunātha<sup>9</sup>

**147 Madhuravani**, whose real name is not known, flourished in the Court of the King Raghunātha Naik of Tanjore who came to the throne about 1614 A.D His son Vijaya Rāghava Naik ruled till 1662 A.D In 14 cantos she wrote a poem on the story of Rāmāyaṇa in measures as graceful as the author's extant name Her description

1 See SVH, 819 and Introduction Danver's Portuguese in India, II Ch VIII Tanjore District Manual, 750 SVH, 267

2 See Govinda Dikṣita's Sāhiyā Sudhā

3 He was the son of Venkatācārya, of the famous family of Kanci He wrote the Pāṇjātānakā a drama in five acts, the plot of which is based on the story of the bringing of the Pāṇjāta flower from Indra's garden, by Kṛṣṇa to please his beloved Satyabhāmā (TC, III 2374) His life is described in a poem by Rungasami Tāṭācārya (Printed, Kumbakonam)

4 Tanj Cat, IV, 2688

5 TC, IV 4568 There is a Sangītasudhā by Bhima Narendra, Oudh X 19

6 These are given in Govinda Dikṣita's Sāhiyā sudhā, see SVH, 287, BC, XXI, 8879.

7 Tan, Cat, VI 2684

8 TC, I 896 There is a commentary on it by Sudhindrayaṭi, pupil of Viṣṇudraṭṭi, written at the instance of King Raghunātha (TC, III, 4087)

of good poetry is lovely<sup>1</sup> In the 1st canto she thus describes the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed Once when the Prince Raghunatha-Bhupa was seated on his throne surrounded by the accomplished court-ladies, one of them sang verses from the beautiful Andhra-Rāmāyana composed by the Prince himself, while another complimented him for his untiring devotion to God Sri Rama This set the Prince thinking on Sri Rama, and he considered within himself as follows "Many are the stories of Vishnu, and amongst them, it is Rama's story that serves as nectar to me Though enjoyed thousands of times, it seems to me ever fresh and pleases me most Hundreds of ladies are assembled here, who are skilled in composing original Sanskrit and Telugu works Who amongst these could best render my Andhra Ramayana into Sanskrit verse With such thoughts, the Prince retired from the Court God Sri Rama appeared to him that night in a vision and said—"I understand what is now uppermost in your mind Give up all anxiety in the matter Know that the lady, whom you have honoured with the title Madhura Vani, is the ablest of all the Court-ladies" Next day when the Court assembled, he called Madhura Vani to his side and related to her the vision he had the previous night, and directed her to bring out an excellent work on Sri Rama, which shall be replete with beautiful alankaras (figures of speech) and rasas (emotions) in language that is charming and melodious" She replied—"With the aid of one (yourself) that always has Sri Rama at heart, I can say the work is achieved" About the end of the 1st canto, there is a lively description of her royal patron and his splendid court<sup>2</sup>

**148.** Govinda Dikṣita<sup>3</sup> was a brahmin of Vāsiṣṭha Gotra Nāgāmbā was his wife Yagnanārāyaṇa and Venkata makhin were his sons He lived mostly at Tirunagesvaram and Paitesvaram He was the prime minister of the Tanjore Kings, Chevvappa (1549-1572 A.D.) Acyuta (1577-1614 A.D.) and Raghunātha (1614 A.D.) At Paitesvaram

1 सङ्कल्पयता सर्वपथीनधीमिस्तथोषिता चेत्कविता कवीनाम् ।

कर्त्तृरिकाचन्दनकुङ्कुमाधैरद्वितीयी युक्तीव दीज्येत् ॥

मध्येमणीमित्यनुविजित स मत्वारमा यत्र विनन्तुकामा ।

करे तदीये कमल तदानीभनीक्षमाणा त्रपते नताङ्गी ॥

2 See *Mys. OML, Sup 10* There is a brief account of it, by Narasimbiengar in the Indian Review

3 For an elaborate account of his life, see N. K. Venkatesan on Govindā Dikṣita, *ABQ*, II 290-241

the images of his wife and himself in his state garb are seen still standing, to whom the ardent devotee pays his regard At home his life as a brahmin was pious and simple and in office his greatness as a statesman and administrator has become proverbial in South India The worthy friends Raghunatha and Govinda, King and Minister, have been well described thus.

त्रिनामाद्यन्तनामानौ महीक्षिद्विक्षितावृभौ ।  
शाले शाले च निपुण वाहवेषु हवेषु च ॥

He was proficient in Advaita and was known Advitīcārya Himself a scholar and author, he was a patron of letters He admired Appayya Dikṣita and requested him to write a commentary on Kalpaśāra Numberless are grants of agraharams made by his kings at his instance and the several mandapas and bathing ghats visible along the Kaveri banks are monuments of his administration

Govinda had eight sons and a daughter "There is a tradition that his daughter died of Rājadrsti (the look of the king) One day when the king paid a visit to the Great Minister at his residence, Govinda Dikṣita's accomplished daughter took the harathi to the king, as is the custom on such an occasion The king was naturally pleased with the accomplished lady, but unfortunately she died, it is said, afterwards by the evil effect of the look of the king It is said also that one of his sons was an expert player on Vina The king, it is stated, gave away all his royal ornaments to that young son, but a few hours afterwards he died of the effect of Rājadrsti Tradition says that it was then that Govinda Dikṣita pronounced a curse on his clan, that wealth and beauty should not adorn his children at any time and the members of the Dikṣita's clan still believe in the curse His religious devotion has left several institutions in the land which are bound to keep his fame and name green in our memories for ages to come One story is enough to show how Govinda Dikṣita was ever ready to help all to the best of his ability—one day while he was taking a walk he saw a young man uttering a sloka and ardently praying to the Sun for his grace The Dikṣita approached the young man and heard him uttering a sringara sloka (a piece of poetry containing sringara rasa or element of love) and not a song of devotion as he thought it was On asking the young man, the Dikṣita was told that the young man, desiring to be married and well established in life, had appraised a guru of his desire, that that Guru had given him that sloka for prayer to the sun, and that he has

since then been continually praying to the sun with that sloka, not knowing anything as to what it meant. The Dikshita heard him and was amused. Seeing the young man's ardent devotion and sincerity, the Dikshita took the young man with him and got him married and well established in life. In social matters Govinda Dikshita appears to have been a permanent court of arbitration. One description at Patteswaram shows how the class of weavers known as Patunulkara always went to him to settle all family disputes among them. Even now, when difficulties arise among this class of people they go to Patteswaram and in the presence of the image of Govinda Dikshita settle their differences. Govinda Dikshita was an authority in Dharma Sastra. He was a true Brahmin and performed all the sacrifices enjoined in the Vedas. He was a master of politics and he steered the ship of state very successfully and gloriously for nearly three quarters of a century. At the end he gave up all his estate, palace etc. to God and resigned all Karma-phala (the fruit of his actions) and had for his Vibhava or wealth only his Advaita Vidya and realised his Atma. He gave up all and in the last days of his life, he retired and spent his time in Thapas in the Sannadhi of Mangalambika at Kumbakonam as is popularly believed and left the mortal coil to evolve from the prison house of mortal life and join the great Rishis of Aryavarta in the regions of immortality. Thus passed out of sight this illustrious sage of the sixteenth century. Govinda Dikshita was a true hero while he lived and became a God after his death. As has been said at the out-set, Govinda Dikshita is now worshipped as a God in the form of Linga at Kumbakonam and at Tiruvadi and as an image at Patteswaram. He has beside him at Patteswaram his consort, his Dharma Patni Nagamba, the two standing there today as if to illustrate the famous line of Milton. 'He for god only, she for god in him' <sup>1</sup>

**149.** Among Govinda's works<sup>2</sup> are Sāhityasudhā<sup>3</sup> which describes in exquisite poetry the history of his masters Acyuta and Raghunātha. Venkatamakhī in his Caṭurdandiprakāśikā says that his father wrote a work on music Sangītasudhānīdhī and a commentary on Sundarākānda of Rāmāyaṇa.

1. N. K. Venkatesan, *loc. cit.* 240

2. Govindamātram of Sāṅḍilyagoṭra, who wrote the poem Harivamsā-Ātacarīṭa was in the Kondavidū court and was a different author. There is a commentary on it by Appayya Dikṣīṭa (*Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2686)

3. SVH, 267

**150.** Govinda has two sons Yagnanārāyana and Venkatesvara or Venkatamakhi<sup>1</sup>. Venkatamakhi was tutor to Nilakantha and author of Sāhityasāmrājyakāvya, Caṭurdandiprakāśikā<sup>2</sup> and Vārtikābharana.

The other son Yagnanārāyana<sup>3</sup> was an all round scholar and of special fame in poetry. He was patronised also by Raghunātha of Lanjore (under whom he also studied) and was presented with many jewels as a mark of his appreciation. His Sāhityaratnākara,<sup>4</sup> a poem of which 13 cantos are now recovered, and Raghunāthavilāsa<sup>5</sup> a play in 5 acts, and Raghunāthabhūpavijaya, a poem, describe the greatness of the Lanjore Nyak family and of the Raghunātha's conquest over an island near Ceylon.<sup>6</sup> He wrote a commentary on Venkatesvara's Citrabandharāmāyana<sup>7</sup>.

**151** **Srinivasa Dikṣita (Ratnakhetā)** was the son of Sri Bhavaswāmi<sup>8</sup> and grandson of Kṛṣṇa. He was sixth in descent from Sri Bhavaswāmi, the author of the Bhāṣya, and of Viśvāmitra Gotra. He had three sons Keśava, Arṭhanārīvara and Rājacudāmani. Pleased with his description of an evening horizon, the king of Chola (Naik of Gingi) called him Raṭnakhetā<sup>9</sup> and so he is known to this day. He was a contemporary of Appayya Dikṣita and Govinda Dikṣita. He bore the titles Sadbhāṣyacaṭura and Advaitavidyācārya, Abhinava-Bhavalbhūti, and Dantidyoṭidivāpradīpa. He was a prolific writer and of versatile learning. Besides his works on philosophy and other sciences, he is

1 See Int to Gangāvājrapa (I c)

2 On this work, see chapter of a Śingīta (music) post

3 The identification of this author with Yagnesvara, author of Alankārarāgava and Alankārasuryodaya (BTG, 54) is wrong.

4. SVH, 269 (where a summary is given) See Sāhityaratnākara of Dharmasudhi is a different work on rhetoric

5 Tanj Cat, VIII 8486 Printed Sah, XX

6 Rāghavendravijaya of Nārāyaṇa (a poem in 4 cantos) says that Venkata nātha alias Rāghavendrāṭīrṭha defeated Yagnanārāyana in disputation and made him undergo cakrāṅkāpa (SVH 252)

7 BTG, 188

8 Also known as Lakṣmi Bhavasvāmi. See DC, XXII, 8217. His name is also given as Lakṣmīdhara in DC, XXII, 8265

9 सन्ध्यासन्ध्यक्षिताम्भोधरनठिकगणादुद्रतान् सीसखण्डी-

स्ताराकाराक्षिरोदु शशिरविकपटादिभ्रतो रन्धेण्टौ ।

अन्योन्यं गुण्यमानादुदयचरमभूष्टप्रवीराविति ग्रा-

युक्त्यास्यातापराल्य क्षितिपतिवचसारलखेदाधर्मिति ॥

Balayagnesvara,

said to have composed 18 dramas and 60 poems<sup>1</sup> Sūkhanthavijaya is a poem describing the deeds of Siva Bhairāmparinaya is a drama describing the marriage of Damayanti<sup>2</sup> Bhairāmparinaya is a campu on the marriage of Rukmini<sup>3</sup> Sāhityasanjivini, Bhavodbheda and Rasārnava, Alankarakanstubha, Kāvyaadarpana Kāvyasārasangraha, Sāhityasūkṣmasaṇi are works on rhetoric<sup>4</sup> Bhāvanāpuruṣoḍita,<sup>5</sup> composed at the instance of Surappa, the Naik king of Gingi,<sup>6</sup> is an allegorical play

**152 Rajacudamani Dīksita** was the son of Ratnakhetā Śrīnivāsa and Kāmākṣī Arthanārīvara (Sevadrisekhara) and Kesava<sup>7</sup> were his step brothers He was patronised by King Raghunātha of Tanjore on whom he wrote a poem Raghunāthabhūpavijaya<sup>8</sup> He was the worthy son of his father in literary merit Besides works on Mīmāṃsa and other sciences, he wrote poems and plays and on poetics His Tanṭrasikhāmāni a commentary on Jaimini's aphorisms was composed in 1636 AD<sup>9</sup> His Rukmīpikalyāṇa is a poem in 10 cantos on the marriage of Rukmī<sup>10</sup> Sankarābhyyuḍaya, of which only 6 cantos are available, describes the life of Jagadguru Sankara<sup>11</sup> Among other poems are Bhāratacampū, Kamsavadha, Vṛttaraṭṇāvali, (in imitation of Sankara's Tārāvali), Sāhityasāmrājya and Cīṭramanjarī and Rāmakathā<sup>12</sup> He wrote a Yamaka poem Ratnakhetavijaya on the life

1 For a list of his works, Balayagnesvara's commentary on Rukmīpī Kalyāṇa of Rājneoudāmanī written in 1838 AD and quoted in introduction to Gangāvātarana (*Kavyamala*)

2 *Rice*, 234, 286 There is another play of the same name by Venkatāchārya, *Rice*, 286

3 *DC*, XXI 8264

4 *CC*, I 81, 102, *Rice* 282, 244 *Opp* 3104, *BTC*, 55

5 *Opp* 8429, *BTC* 170 CC, I 407 (The author's name is here wrongly given as Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha Ātiraṭrayajyan)

6 *SVH*, 272 Surappa was the son of Pota, who assisted King Tīrumala I and his successor Śriranga against Mohammadan invasions after the battle of Talikota in 1566 AD See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, 214 and South Arcot Dt Manual.

7 Kesava's son was Patanjali and Patanjali's son was Rāmacandra who wrote Rāmacandracampu (*HR*, II vii.)

8 For his works, see his Kāvyadarpaṇa (*DC* XXII, 8615) *HR* I ix CC

9 Ed *TSS*, with introduction by T. Ganapati Sastri

धीमान्मान्ये शकस्थान्देहायने चेष्ट्राभिष्ठे ।

श्रावणे भासि नवमे पूर्णस्तदविश्वामणि ॥

10 *DC*, XXI 7848 Printed, Adyar, Madras with a valuable introduction by T R Chintamani

11 Printed *Sah*, Vols. 17-18.

12 This is mentioned in Kāvyadarpaṇa

of his father, a poem with treble meaning on the stories of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Pāndava (Rāghava-Yādava-Pāndavīya) and a work (in prose?) Manjubhāṣī with pratyakvaraśleṣa, on the story of Rāma, and Yuddhakānda of Bhoja's Rāmāyacampū in a day<sup>1</sup>

Among his plays are Sṛngīrasarvasva, a bhāṇa,<sup>2</sup> Īnandarāghava<sup>3</sup> in 5 acts, on the whole story of Rāma from marriage to coronation, and Kamalīnikalahamsa, in 4 acts, on the marriage of Kalahamsa with Kamalī, daughter of Kamalākara, who was rescued from a stork.<sup>4</sup> These plays are stated to have been staged at the Court of Raghunātha at Tanjore and during his visit to Cidambara.

In his Kāvyadarpaṇa, a treatise on rhetoric, he cites his Alankāra-cudāmaṇi<sup>5</sup>

**153.** To the Court of Raghunātha belonged KRŚNADHĀVARIN or Kṛṣṇadikīṭa or Ayyādikīṭa. In his Nāradhapārijāṭa he related the stories of Nala and Pārijāṭharāpaṇa at a time<sup>6</sup> and in his Raghunātha-bhāṣpāliya, he wrote on poetics, with illustrations in praise of his patron<sup>7</sup>

MĀTYUNJAYA was the son of Ayya Dīkṣita and was daughter's son of Raṭnakhetā Śrinivāsa Dīksita. His son Rajacūḍāmanī Dīkṣita was his Guru. In his Pradyumnottaracaritā in 11 cantos he relates the story of Pradyumna's marriage with the daughter of demon King of Vajrapuri.<sup>8</sup> Mātyunjaya's son Anantanārāvana wrote Gītāsāṅkara, a musical poem like Gitagovinda.<sup>9</sup>

**154** NILAKANTHA was the son of Nārāyaṇa and Bhūmidevi and grandson of Accātikīṭa, brother of Appayya Dīkṣita. He was known as

1 Edited IHQ, VI No. 4 by T. R. Chintamanī

2 This is quoted in his Kāvyadarpaṇa. There is another Bhāṇa of this name by Svāmi Śāstri, brother of Subrahmanyā and son of Anantanārāvana, staged at the festival of Maiṭhūteśvara at Trichinopoly (DC, XXI 8542) and a third by Kaufika Nallabuḍha (BC 173 OC, I 661)

3 DC, XXI 8372, OC, I 48. The prologue gives the genealogy of the author and the names of Raghunātha's works Pārijāṭharāpaṇa, Nalābhuyuda etc.

4 Printed, Madras, DC, XXI 8392; HR, II, 1580.

5 DC, XXII, 8615, BTC 54, OC, I. 101. Printed Madras. There is a commentary on it by Ravipandīga

6 BTC.

7. OC I, 486, Rice, 264

8. Tanj Cat, VI, 2571

9 BTC, 61.

Ayyādikīta<sup>2</sup> He studied under Venkatesvaramakhi, son of Govinda Dikīta He commented on Kāiyata He was best in Śrīkantha philosophy and wrote Sivatattvarahasya<sup>3</sup> His four brothers were also poets His Nīlakanthavijaya, a popular campu on the story of the churning of the ocean, was composed in Kali 4738 (1637 A D )<sup>4</sup> His Sivalilārnava is a poem in 22 cantos, comprehending in it the legends of 64 līlās of Hālāsyānātha the form of Siva as worshipped at Madura<sup>5</sup> His Gangāvatarana, a poem in 8 cantos, describes the descent of the Ganges from regions celestial<sup>6</sup> Among his minor poems<sup>7</sup> are Kalividambana, Sabhāranjana, Anyāpadesaśatīka, Sāntivilāsa, Vairagyasaṭaka and Ānandasāgarastava

In his Citramimāmsādosadhikkāra he answered the criticisms such as those of Jagannātha Panditarāja and justifies the views of his grand-uncle Appaya Dikīta<sup>8</sup> Nalacaritānātaka in 7 acts describes the story of Nala<sup>9</sup>

As a poet Nīlakantha is much appreciated His fancies are imaginative, his sentiments lofty and his language natural

Nīlakantha's third son Girvapendra wrote Sṛngarakosabhāṇḍa<sup>10</sup> and Anyāpadesaśatāla<sup>11</sup> Nīlakantha had four brothers, all poets<sup>12</sup> Of

1 Nīlakantha, author of the play Kalyanasauganḍhika (TC III 8840) and Kavyollasa (TC, IV 8848) is a different author So is Nīlakantha author of Cimani-carita, B, II 182

2 HR, II 1011

3 Ed Madras with commentary For commentary Paṭīka, see HR III 1654 and by Ghāṇāyāma, see HR, III 2041

4 Id TSS Tanj Cat 2678 Śivacarita of Kavividhāśekhara is on the same theme (Mys OML Sup 12)

5 Ed Kavyamāla, Bombay, with a valuable introduction on South Indian poets by T S Kuppusami Sastri The same story is found in Bhāgirathicampu of Acoyūtāśrama, son of Nārāyaṇa, of the family of Modaka of Nagik It was composed in 1814 A D and is printed in Bombay

6 Printed, Sri Vanivilas Press, Srirangam and Kavyamala, Bombay

7 HR, II 1281

8 Printed, Bombay, TC, II. 1599 Opp II 8869 In the prologue it is said that he wrote a poem Mukundavilāsa and his father wrote Mahāviracarja and a commentary on Sāhiṭyarathnākara and his uncle Appayya Dikīta was the author of Rukmīpiṇḍiyā Gururāmakaṇi is said there to have been a contemporary of Accādikṣīṭa, grand father of Nīlakantha There is a Nalacaritākāvya (Opp 2865, 3799 )

9 Tanj Cat, VIII 8598 There is another bhāṇḍa of that name by Abhinava Kālidāsa, (Ibid VIII 8594) probably of Kānoi

10 DO, XX 8019 Accāndikṣīṭa, a member of the family of Appayyadikṣīṭa wrote Anyoktimāla (DO, XX 8020 )

11 BTC, 168,

these Atṛītrayajyoti wrote the play Kusakumadvatī<sup>1</sup> and Accādikṣita wrote a commentary on his Nīlācarit mātakī<sup>2</sup>

**155 Cakrakavi** was the son of Tokutītha and Ambā and brother of Rāmacandra and Patinjali. He appears to have been appreciated by Pandya and Chera Kings and he mentions Nīlakantha Adhvarin as one of his admirers. It is likely that this latter was the same as the famous Nīlakantha, grandson of Appaya Dikṣiti and he must have therefore lived in 17th century AD. He wrote flowing poetry on the marriage<sup>3</sup> of Rukmini,<sup>4</sup> Jñānākī, Gaurī,<sup>5</sup> Draupadi.<sup>6</sup> Of these Jānakiparīnaya<sup>7</sup> is a poem in 8 cantos describing the story of Bālakānda of Rāmāyana from the birth of Rāma to his marriage at Mithila. The other works are of the class of campus with mixed prose and poetry. His Citrarātānakara, in six parts, is a poem of humorous verses of enigmatical composition, the first half of the verses asking a question, the second half giving the answer.<sup>8</sup>

**156 Venkatesa** was the son of Śrinivāsa and grandson of Venkatesa of Atreya Gotra. He was born in Kali 4697 (1596 AD) at Arasanipalai near Kānci. In Rāmāyamakārnava<sup>9</sup> and Rāmacandrodaya<sup>10</sup> he relates the story of Rāma the former in the Yāmīka style.

Sūryanarāyana<sup>11</sup> was the son of Yagnesvara and Guṇāñubhā. He belonged to the Aluri family of brahmins who did varieties of sacrifices

1 *Tanj Cat*, VIII 8978

2 See prologue to same

3 इक्षिमणी-जानकी-गौरी-द्रौपदी परिणीतय ।

कृतयो यस्य तस्यैषा कृतिश्वककवं शुभा ॥

—*Cits. at alnākara*

See Introduction to T S Kuppusami Sastrī's Gangāvitaran

4 *DC*, XX, 7854. There are other works of this name by Venkaticīrya, son of Nāyanācārya of Praṭīvādībhayankara family (*TC*, III, 3599).

5 There are other works on the same theme by Ponninti Venkatesam (*TC*, III, 3081), by Kandukuri Rāmasvara (*PC*, III, 4193) of the Circars, and by Bhāttāndīrīya (*Mys OML Sup* II).

6 Printed *Sah* XXII *DC*, XXI 8285

7 *Ed Tr, Sans Series*

8 *TC*, II, 1468

9 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2631. Yamakārnava was composed in Saka 1578 (1656 AD)

10 This is long poem of about 30 cantos. *Ibid* VI 2658. There is commentary by this author himself. *Ibid* VI 2661. This work was composed in Kali 4786 (1685 AD).

11 Sūryanārāyani Sumati, son of Viśvanātha Sumati, who wrote Prāśnabhrāṭa is a different person [*Tanj Cat*, VI 2534]. His descendants are still living at Tipperelly,

In the court of Lingaya Prabhu<sup>1</sup> (1601 A D ), he swore to compose a poem in a day and that was Ekadīnaprabandha<sup>2</sup> in four cantos on the story of Mahābhārata

Malaya was the son of Rāmanātha of Bhāradvāja Gotra He lived in Madura District In Mīnākṣiparinaya in 18 cantos he describes the story of Sundaresa's marriage with Mīnākṣi, Goddess of Madura, as told in the Hālāsyamāhātmya<sup>3</sup>

In Pārvatīparinaya, in 8 cantos, Īśvarasumati celebrates the marriage of Pārvatī after the style of Kumārasambhava<sup>4</sup>

1 Linga or Veluri Linga was the son of Chinna Bomma the patron of Appayya Dikshita and was the donor of Vilāpākam Grant (*EJ*, IV No 39) of King Venkata II (1601 A D ) Linga was killed and his capital taken possession of by Damarla Chenna who granted Madras to East India Company "The capture of the place was possibly the immediate cause of the change of capital from Chaudragiri to Vellore by Venkata pati Raja" [SVH 21, 251, 805]

2 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2698

3 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2619

4 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2565

## CHAPTER VI

### **Mahakavya (*contd.*)**

**157 Mahratta Kings of Tanjore.** Ekoji, whose earlier name was Venkoji was the brother of the famous Sivaji. They were the sons of Shahaji. Ekoji's three sons Shahaji (1687-1711 AD) Sarabhoji (1712-1727 AD) and Tukkoji (1728-1735 AD) succeeded him one after another. Tukkoji had five sons (1) Baba Sahel, (2) Saryaji, (3) Anna Saheb, (4) Nana Saheb, and (5) Pratapsing and of these the first two were legitimate and the last three illegitimate. "Pratapsing died in 1763 and was succeeded by his son Tulzaji. He died in 1787 after a reign by no means peaceful or prosperous which excluding the two or three years during which he was kept a prisoner in his own palace, extended over a period of about twenty one years. He had no son, but adopted one before his death, and this was Rajasarabhoji. This prince, however, was at the time set aside, and Amarsing, half-brother of Tulzaji (being son of Pratapsing by a sword wife) succeeded him, with the sanction of the Honourable East India Company who had now the direction of the affairs of Southern India."<sup>1</sup>

Sarabhoji was a child nine years old at the time of his adoption. He remained under the protection of Raja Amarsing until 1792. On account of complaint of ill-treatment he and his adoptive mother were sent to Madras where in 1798 he was recognised as the rightful heir to the throne. "After he was placed on the muṇḍud, Raja Sarabhoji consented to resign the Government of the country wholly into the hands of the Company, provided they made a suitable provision for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, and the treaty dated 25th October 1799 was the result. Under this treaty Tanjore became a British province and the Raja had ensured to him a fixed annual allowance of one lakh of pagodas or three and a half lakh of Rupees with a fifth of the net revenues of the country. Raja Sarabhoji enjoyed his rank and dignity with the pecuniary benefits attached to it, for thirty-four years, and on his death in 1832 the same honours and privileges were continued to his son Sivaji until his death in 1855."<sup>2</sup>

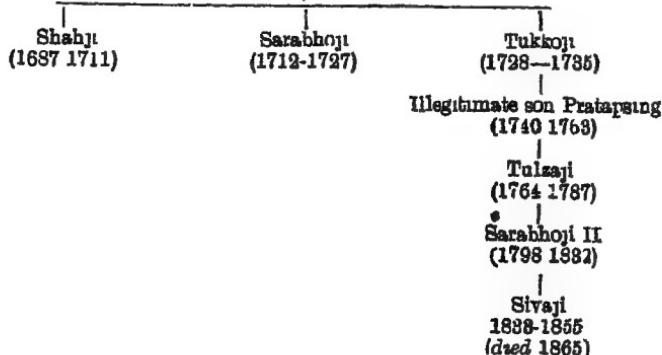
1. *Tanj Dt Manual*, 775.

2. *Ibid*, 818-4

3. *Ibid*, 894.

The following genealogy shows the line of King Ekoji of Tanjore

Venkōji or Ekoji (1675 1686 A D )



**158** The life of Sivājī, the founder of the Bhosala dynasty, is a matter of history. In 31 chapters Paramānanda describes his exploits in his Śivabhārata.<sup>1</sup> His expedition and capture of the fortress of Parnālaparvata is described by Jayarāma in 5 ullasas in Parnālaparvata-grahākhyāna.<sup>2</sup> The life of Śivājī's son Rājāram is sketched in Rājārāmacarita, a poem of 5 cantos,<sup>3</sup> by Keśavapandita where the struggle for Mahratta independence in the Carnatic is well depicted.

In the court of King Ekoji (1675-1686 A D ), Jagannātha, son of minister Bālakṛṣṇa, wrote the play Ratimanmaṭha<sup>4</sup> and Śrisaila, son of Ānandayayan, another minister, wrote Tripuravijayacampū.<sup>5</sup>

King Shahaji wrote the play Candrasekharavilāsa.<sup>6</sup> In Kumārasambhavacampū, King Sarabhoji narrates the story of the birth of the War God.<sup>7</sup> King Sarabhoji compiled an anthology.<sup>8</sup> King Tulzaji wrote Sangītasārāmṛta.<sup>9</sup>

**159** King Sarabhoji (Sarfoji), the second son of Ekoji, is remembered as a preserver of Sanskrit literature. To him belongs the glory of the collection and preservation of Sanskrit manuscripts in an

1. Printed, Poona *Tanj Cat*, VII 9254 See also Śivarājacakrīta (*BTC*, 162)

2. *Tanj Cat*, VII 8262

3. *Tanj Cat*, VII 8268

4. *HR*, III 1604, *Tanj Cat*, VIII 8490.

5. *HR*, III 1605; *Tanj Cat*, VIII, 8044

6. *Tanj Cat*, VIII, 8896.

7. *Tanj Cat*, VII, 8088.

8. See *JBRAS*, (n.s.) I. 262

9. *BTC*, 60.

organised library in the palace of Tanjore, rightly named Sarasvatī-mahal. The library bears the name Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library and is a monument of that benevolent King's reign<sup>1</sup>.

To King Sarabhoji is attributed the poem RAGHAVACARITA in 12 cantos on the story of Rāma, also called Sangraharāmāyana. In the colophon to the 2nd canto in one of the manuscripts it is said इति पञ्चरत्नात् राघवचरिते द्वितीय सर्गः This may indicate that the real author was Pancaratna and the work was put in the name of the poet's patron. Anantanāgayaṇa, a poet of the court of King Sarabhoji was called Pancaraṇa and Anantanārāyaṇa was the father of the poet Cidambara<sup>2</sup> and also wrote Anandavallī stotra<sup>3</sup>.

**160 Ramabhadra Dikṣita** was born in the family of Caturvediyajivans in the village of Kandramanikyam near Kumbhakonam. His father Yagnarāma Dikṣita was a specialist in grammar and his brother Rāmacandra was a humorous poet<sup>4</sup>. He studied literature and philosophy under the ascetic Bälakṛṣṇa and under Cokkanātha, whose daughter he married. He was an admirer of the poet Nilakantha and was invariably in his literary assemblage. It was Nilakantha's poetry that infused the poetic spirit in Rāmabhadra early in his years and his name reached the ears of King Shahaji of Tanjore (1684-1711 A.D.). The munificent king bestowed upon Rāmacandra and others the agraharam of Shahaji-rajapura (Tiruvannamallur) and there the poet settled in comfort and serenity. He was much loved by his disciples and was called Ayya or Ayya Dikṣita. His devotion to Rāma was unequalled. He passed away about the first decade of the 18th century<sup>5</sup>.

His Paṭanjalicarita,<sup>6</sup> a poem in 8 cantos describes the incarnation of Ādiśeṣa in the womb of Gonika as Patanjali, his lectures on the Mahābhāṣya from behind a screen, his curse on one of his pupils to be a Rākṣasa for transgression of his order, and the limitation of the curse

1 For an account of this library, see *Tanj Cat.*, VI Introduction by P. P Sastri

2 *Tanj Cat.*, VI 2641 Aufrecht (*OC*, I. 15) names the author as Anantanārāyaṇa

3 *BTO*, 200, *Opp.*, II 8716, *OC*, I. 15

4 He wrote Keralābhāraṇa, a canto on the lines of Visvagupādarśa (*Tanj Cat.*, VII 8035). Rāmacandra, son of Janardana and author of Rādhāvinodākāvya (*Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2848) is a different poet of the Ganjam District

5 For an account of his life, see V S Ramasami Sastri, *Sah* XXII, 180 and 24, XXXIII 126

6 Ed. Bombay and Madras

to the appearance of one Candragupta The demon meets Candragupta and teaches him the lecture The latter records them in the leaves of a banyan tree, but while out to drink water, a goat eats away some of the leaves These lost passages are still known as *ayabhabhsita* (goat-eaten) Candragupta went to Ujjain and there transcribed the lectures, which are extant today as a monument of literary merit Candragupta married three wives, of whom were born Vararuci Viśramārka and Bhartṛhari The poem closes with the advent of Śāṅkara and his final return to Kāñcī<sup>1</sup>

By the drama Jānakipariṇaya,<sup>2</sup> which will be noticed later, he is well-known Śringāratilaka or Ayyabhbāha describes the amorous adventures of Bhujangasekhara of Madhura,<sup>3</sup> written rival Vasantatilakabhāha or Ammālbhbāha of his friend Varadācārya known as Ammālācārya<sup>4</sup>

Among Ramabhadra's other works<sup>5</sup> the Rāmabhbāpastava, Rāma-cāpasṭava, and Rāma-taprasā, Prāsasthava Viśnugarbhaṭastava, Paryā-yuktūṇiyanda, lūnīraṭṭava, Rāmabhadrasaṭṭaka

**161 Cokkanatha**,<sup>6</sup> was the son of Tippādhvari and Narasāmbā of Bhāradwaja Gotra He had five brothers of whom one was Yagnesvara He was the teacher of Rāmabhadra and a friend of Nilakantha He lived in Tanjore under the patronage of King Shahaji He travelled to South Canara to the Court of King Basava<sup>7</sup> His Sevantikāparinaya,<sup>8</sup> a

1. For an account see *Sah* XXII 167-8

2. Ed. Bombay Madras See *Sah* XXII for a critical account

3. Ed Kavyamala, Bombay There is commentary by Rāmacandra (*CC*, I, 660). Keith, *SL*, 263

4. Ed Madras and Calcutta

Varadācārya known as Ghatikāsāṭa Ammal of Śrivatsagoṭra was the son of Sudarśana, fifth in descent from the Varāda or Varāḍadesika or Nadādūr Ammal, who was the guru's guru of Vedāṅgadeśika (See *DC*, XVIII 7262 & for verses in his praise) Besides this bhāna, he wrote Vedāṅgavilāsa a play on the incidents of Rāmānuja's history (*DC*, XXV 8530) There are other Varadācāryas who wrote Colabhbāha (*PR*, I 962), Anangabrahmavilāsabhāna (*CC*, I 549), Anangajivanabhāna (*BTC*, 167) and Eukmūnipariṇaya (*BTC*, 172)

5. Ed Bombay, Kāvyaṁala XII

6. It is stated in *Trav Arch Rep*, V 18, that this was different from the latter in law of Rāmabhadra, but no reasons are given. The dates appear to make them identical Chokkanātha, son of Sudarśana of Bhāradvaja Gotra who is the author of a commentary on Vāśudeva's Yudhiṣṭhīravijaya is a different person

7. He may be Basavappa Nayak of Ikkeri (1697-1714) or Basavarājendra of 1700 AD see *JMy*, X 257.

8. *TC*, III 4064

drama, describes the marriage of Basavarāja and Sevantīka, the daughter of Miṭravarman, a prince of Malabar, when the latter having fought with Godāvarman of Cochin and was defeated, was imprisoned in the temple of Mūkambā, north of Udipi. Then they were received kindly by Basava by the gift of a new palace and prevents His Kāntimati-parinaya,<sup>1</sup> a drama, describes the marriage of King Shahāji and Kāntimati. His Rasavilāsa<sup>2</sup> is a bhāna of an amorous nature.

His son Sadāśivamākhin wrote a rhetorical work, Rāmavarmayasobhūsana during the reign of King Rāmavarma of Travancore (1758-1798 AD).<sup>3</sup>

**162** Among the illustrious disciples of Rāmabhadra were Venkatesvara and Bhūminātha. Venkatesvara wrote a commentary on the Paṭanjalicarita. Bhūminātha known as Nallā Dikṣit composed Dharmavijayacampū on the life and history of King Shahāji whom he called the modern Bhoja.<sup>4</sup>

Among his worthy contemporaries were Venkatakr̄na, Śrīdhara Venkatesa, Appa Dikṣīta and Mahādeva.

Venkatakr̄na was the son of Venkatādri and Mangāmba of Vādhūla Goṭra. He wrote his Natesavijaya,<sup>5</sup> in 7 cantos, describing the story of Siva's vanquishment of Kāli at Cidambaram by his triumphant cosmic dance, under the patronage of Gopāla, a Governor of Śivaji's provinces, near Cidambaram. Uttaracampūrāmāṇya is said to be a sequel to the work of Bhoja and Lakṣmaṇa.<sup>6</sup> Rāmacandroditya relates the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa,<sup>7</sup> and Kuvalayavijayamātaka<sup>8</sup> describes the conflict of Rāma with his sons Kusa and Lava and the final restoration of Siṭa to Rāma.

Śrīdhara Venkatesa, known as Ayyāval, is celebrated in South India for his piety and devotion. Besides his religious lyrics,<sup>9</sup> Dayāsataka Māṭphūṭaśataka, Ārāvalisataka and Ārūḍharāṣṭra, he wrote Sāhendra-

1. *Tanj. Cat.* VIII. 8867

2. *CC*, II. 116

3. See *Tr. Arch. Series*, V. 18,

4. *Tanj. Cat.* VII. 8269

5. *DC*, XX. 7747.

6. *DC*, XXI. 8182

7. *CC*, II, 28

8. Probably the same work as is described in *DC*, XX, 7814 (where the author's name is doubtfully given as Kavivallabha). It breaks off in 26th Canto.

9. Ed. Sri Vidya Press, Kumbakonam

vilāsa, a poem in 8 cantos, describing the exploits of his patron, King Shahājī and is of great historical interest in the annals of Hindu dominion in Tanjore<sup>1</sup>

Appā Dikṣita or Appāsatrin or Peria Appā Sastrin was the son of Cidambara Dikṣita alias Annan Sastrī and brother of Viśvanātha of Srivatsa Gētra. He lived in Kilayur near Tanjore. His father vanquished Kāmadeva in a controversy at the court of King Venkatapati for which he was rewarded with a golden palanquin and an agraharam Frakaran. He was the pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda and received from him the title of Kavīrākikasarvabhauma, for proficiency in dialectics and poetics. He was a favourite of King Shahājī of Tanjore.<sup>2</sup> His Sṛngāramjarīsāhajīya,<sup>3</sup> is a drama describing the life and history of King Shahājī and staged at the Chatira festival at Tiruvaiyār (Tiruvadi). His other works are Madanabhū-anabhāna,<sup>4</sup> and Gaurīmāyūracampū.<sup>5</sup>

In his play Adbhutadarpana in 10 acts, Mahādeva, son of Kṛṣṇāsūri, says that the sentiment of Adbhuta reigns supreme and illustrates his theory by the incidents of the Rāmāyana.<sup>6</sup>

**163** In the Court of Kings Shahājī and Sarabhoji flourished other famous poets. Sumatīndra Biku was a poet of King Shahājī's court. He was the pupil of Venkatanārāyāpa and Surīndraṭīrtha.<sup>7</sup> He wrote a poem Sumatīndrajayaglokaan on his patron and a commentary on Jñānikrama's Uṣāharapa.<sup>8</sup> Besides Shāhavilāsa on music<sup>9</sup> and a poem Abhinavakādambarī.<sup>10</sup> Dhundīrāja Vyāsayajvan, son of Lakṣmana composed his commentary on Mudrārakṣasa in 1713 A.D., probably at the direction of King Sarabhoji who wrote his own gloss on the play.<sup>11</sup> To him goes the credit of preserving the allegorical poem of 8 cantos, Jānānavilāsa<sup>12</sup> of Jagannāṭha, son of Nārāyana and Alkā, who was probably the same as the author of Śarabharājavilāsa.

1. *Tanj. Cat.* VII 8266

2. See *JOR.* III

3. *TC*, III, 2575, *OC*, II 158

4. *Tanj. Cat.*, VIII 8592

5. *Tanj. Cat.* VII 4085

6. Md. Kavyamala, Bombay, *Tanj. Cat.* VIII, 8584 Mahādeva Kavīśacārya Sarasvatī, author of Dānakeli Kaumudi (bhāskā) (*OC*, I 248), Mahādeva or Maheśvara, author of Dhurṭavīdambansaprahassana (*OC* I, 272) and Mahādeva Śāstrī, author of Ummatiṭīrāghava (*OC*, I 66) are different poets.

7. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII 8282

8. *Ibid.*, VI 2695

9. *OC*, I 215.

10. *Opp.* II 3821

11. *Tanj. Cat.*, VIII 8474

12. *Ibid.*, VII, 2758

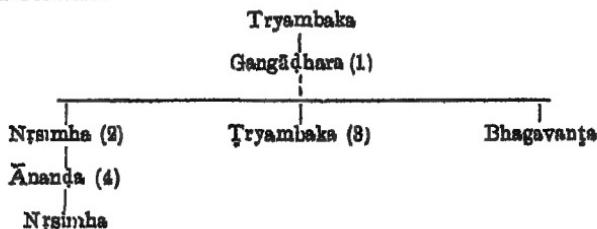
In Kosala-Bhosaliyam, Sesācalapati describes in 6 cantos the reign of King Shahāji along with the story of Rāmā�ana in double entendre<sup>1</sup>. In Bhosalavamsāvalli, a campū, Venkatesa of Naidruva-kāsyapa Gotra describes the ancestors of King Sarabhoji and particularly the glorious reign of that King<sup>2</sup>. Similar is the poem Sarabharājavilūsa composed in Kali 4822 (1722 A.D.) by Jagannātha, son of Srīnivasa of Kāvala family, a minister of that King's Court,<sup>3</sup> who also wrote Anangavijayabhana,<sup>4</sup> and Sringaratarangini.

Vanceśvara was a descendant of Govind'a Dikūṭa. He was of the family of Bhosala and was minister of King Iukkāji of Janjore (1728-1735 A.D.). His Mahāasātaka is a marvellous and pleasant poem, in which he mingled praise and censure, indicating by puns that the King was a buffalo<sup>5</sup>.

During the days of King Sarabhoji II (1798-1832 A.D.) the poet Sadāji composed the poetical work Sāhityamanjūta in 1823 A.D. in praise of the House of Sīvāji<sup>6</sup>.

In the time of King Sīvāji (1833-1853 A.D.) Virarāghava, son of Isvara, wrote the play Valliparīnaya<sup>7</sup>.

**164** To this house of Fkoji, belongs the credit of continuing the progress of Sanskrit literature in S. India, so well inaugurated by the Naik Kings. These kings were themselves poets and it was a happy chance that their ministers came successively from a family of illustrious Brahmins of learning descended from Tryambaka. The following list of the kings and the genealogy of Tryambaka given in Dhundhurāja's commentary on Mudrarāksasa and Appadikṣita's Ācāranavaniṭa will show their relation.



1 *Tang Cat.*, VII, 8275,

8 *Ibid.*, VII, 8291

2 *Ibid.* VII, 8287

4 *HR*, III, 1776.

5 Printed Bombay *HR* III 1579. In *Tang Cat.*, VII, 8156 there is a commentary by the author's great grandson Vanceśvara, son of Nṛsimha, son of Mādhava (*BTC*, 164, *HR*, II 1528).

6 *Tang Cat* VII, 8298

7 *DC*, XXI, 8491. Virarāghava son of Śrīsilla who wrote Indresparīpaya (*HR* III 1749) is a different author.

	KINGS	MINISTERS
Sons of Ekoji	I Ekoji (1674—1687)	Gangādhara (1) and Nr̄simha (2)
	II Shahaji (1697—1711)	Tryambaka (3)
	III Sararbhoji (1712—1727)	Tryambaka (3) and Ānanda (4)
	IV Tukkoji (1728—1735)	Ānarda (4) (and Ghanasayāma)

165 In Bhosalavamsāvalī, Gangādhara wrote the story of the Bhosalas.<sup>1</sup> Tryambaka (II) wrote Dharmākūta, commentary on Rāmāyana.<sup>2</sup> Bhagavantī wrote Mukundavilāsakāvya, a poem in 10 cantos, on the story of Sri Kṛṣṇa,<sup>3</sup> and a play Raghavābhuyudaya.<sup>4</sup>

Bhagavantī was the son of Gangādharañadhvarin and younger brother of Tryambaka. In his Mukundavilāsa, in 10 cantos, he relates the story of Kṛṣṇa,<sup>5</sup> and Utṭaracampū, the story of Utṭararāmāyaya.<sup>6</sup>

Ānanda or Ānandarāyamakhin wrote the plays<sup>7</sup> Vidyāparinaya and Jivānanda, allegorical like Prabodhacandrodaya. In the former, for instance, the plot is the marriage of Jivatman or individual soul and Vidyā or spiritual knowledge.

Ānanda's son Nr̄simha wrote Tripuravijayacampū.<sup>8</sup>

1 *Tanj. Cat* VII. 8272

Gangādhara a poet of the Court of Karṇa of Dāhala vanquished by Bilhana (*Vsk* xviii 96), Gangādhara quoted in *Skm* and *Subh* (*CC*, I. 187), Gangādhara (*Vājapeyin*), author of *Rasikaranjini* (*Opp* I 3348, 4805 II 2514, 3771, 5997). Gangādhara, author of *Ānandalaharitika* (*K* 204), Gangādhara (*Śāstṛ*), author of *Kṛṣṇarājacampū* (*Res* 248), Gangādhara, author of metras (*CC*, I. 188), Gangādhara author of *Vasumatītigrasena Kāvya* (*Opp*, 4714), Gangādhara, author of commentary on *Sangītarāṇīkara* (*BTC*, 59) and on *Suryaśāṭaka* (Hall's *Int* to *Vāsavadatta*, 7) are different persons [See *CC* I. 187-9]

2 See pages 28 & *supra*

3 *Tanj. Cat* VI. 2627

4 *BTC*, 172, *Opp* II 4872 (In the prologue his parentage is given)

5 *Tanj. Cat* VI. 2627

6 *Ibid* VII, 3082

7 Printed, *Kāvyaṁlā*, Bombay

8 *Tanj. Cat* VII. 3044, *HR*, III 1005

**166 Ghāṇasyāma**,<sup>1</sup> originally known as Āryaka, was the son of Kamalā and Kūci Mahādeva of Mauna Bhārgava family. He had a brother Īśa who became as ascetic and under the name of Cidambara-guru settled in Devipattanam. His father's father was Caundo Būlāji. His mother's father Timmāji Būlāji of Kaundinya-gotra was called Sakambhāri Paramahamsa. He had two wives Sundarī and Kamalā. They were equally learned and composed another commentary on the Viddhasālabhanjikā,<sup>2</sup> as he did one himself in three hours.<sup>3</sup> Besides his prolixity in literature, he was great in politics and was the minister of King Fakkoji of Tanjore (1728-1755 A.D.)<sup>4</sup>

In his 26th year he wrote the Bhaṇa Madanasanjīvana,<sup>5</sup> and in his twenty-second year Navagrahacarita<sup>6</sup> a Sāttaka in Prakrit. He composed in a single night of Śrīramanavāmī a commentary on the Uttararāmacarita and wrote also an allegorical drama Pracandarāhūdaya like Prabodhacandrodava.<sup>7</sup> He wrote 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prakrit and 25 in other dialects.<sup>8</sup> Among his poems, are Bhīgavatpūrṇacarita, Venkatesacarita, Prasangallīrṇava, Sanmanimandana and Anyāpadesasāttaka<sup>9</sup> and five Sthalamāhātmyas. Ābhodhākara is a poem with three meanings, namely, the story of Nala, Kṛṣṇa and Harināndana. Kalidūṣaṇa is a poem which is at once Sanskrit and Prakrit.

In his twelfth year he made up the Yuddhakānda for Bhoja-campū.<sup>10</sup> Among his dramas of many classes are Īśanacarita, Madanasanjīvana, Kumārvijaya,<sup>11</sup> Anubhava-cintāmaṇi and Ānandasundarī,<sup>12</sup> and last two acts for Mahāviracarita which apparently were then missing.

In rhetoric he wrote the Raśārnava. He wrote commentaries on Śākuntalā,<sup>13</sup> Uttararāmacarita,<sup>14</sup> Prabodhacandrodaya, Candakaubika, Mahāviracarita, Venisamhāra, Hālasaptaśati, Vikramorvaśi, Bhoja-

1. He himself made a pun on his name

ततुरुचि यो न श्याम कवीनां स यदि चनश्याम ।

कवने कमनश्याम किमस्याभिर्मुघैव नश्याम ॥

" If he is Ghāṇasyāma, he is not black in color, but he is a poet of poets because he is himself a cuckoo which sings beautiful poetry. Why kill ourselves in vain with jealousy?" ?

2. *HR*, III 1676

9. *Tan. Cat.*, VII 2900

3. *HR*, III, 1677

10. *HR*, III 1681

4. Tanjore District Manual, 764

11. *Ibid* 1682

5. *HR*, III 1679

12. *Ibid* 2142

6. *Ibid*. 1671.

13. *Ibid* 1656

7. *Ibid* 1675

14. *Ibid*. 1600, Printed Bombay.

8. See *HR*, III ix xi.



## CHAPTER VII

Mahakavyas (*contd.*)

**168 Manavikrama and Eighteen and Half Poets<sup>1</sup>** In the Court of Zamorin Mānavikrama flourished what has been known as eighteen and half poets in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. The Zamorin was a scholar and patron of literature. Eight brothers of Payyur Patteri family and a son, five brahmins of Tiruvapara and Iruvegapara, Mullapilli Patteri, Chennasu Narayana Nambudri, Kakasseri Nambudri and Uddanda were the eighteen poets and Punnattu Nambudri was the half poet, for his poetry was mixed Malayalam and Sanskrit. The eldest of the Payyur family was famous as Maharsi, versed in Mimāmsa, the fifth brother was Narayana Patteri. Two other brothers were Sankara and Bhāvadāsa. Maharsi's son Paramesvara is quoted by Uddanda in his Mallikāmaruta and Maharsi is mentioned with reverence by him in his Kokilasandesa as Mimāmsāṭrayakulaguru. Works on Mimāmsa written by the brothers are found everywhere in Malabar. One poet of Tiruvapara wrote Lakṣmi-Manaveḍācāmpū and another Narayana, son of Brahmadatta, wrote the poem Subhaḍrā-harāṇa kāvya.<sup>2</sup>

Chennasu Nārāyaṇa wrote Tanṭrasamuccaya, a work for artisans. Verses satirising kings composed by him and Kakasseri Nambudri are quoted in Malabar, for which it is said they were punished by the Zamorin by novel methods of religious degradation. Kekasseri Dūmodarān Patteri was Uddanda's rival and wrote the play Inḍumati-Kāghava.<sup>3</sup> Mānavikrama himself wrote a commentary on Anargharāṅghava.<sup>4</sup> Sūmbhava, son of Kanakasabhbāpati, of Śrīvaṭtagotra, resident of the village of Gopālasamudra, wrote Singāravilāsalihāṇa<sup>5</sup> to please Mānavikrama.

**169. Uddanda<sup>6</sup>** was the son of Ranganātha and Rangāmbā of

1 Sahityam (in Malayalam,) Tiruchur.

2 TC, IV. 8888 See para 46 *supra*.

3 TC, IV. 4778

4 TC, II. 2580, IV. 5618.

5 TC, IV. 4926

6 He was known as Uddanda Sastri. Jivānanda Vidyasagara (1820-1891 A.D.) in his Calcutta Ed. mistook Uddanda for Dandin and made the latter the author of Mallikāmaruta. Schuyler (Bibl, 90) calls him Uddandim (wrongly).

Vadhūlagotra He lived in the village of Lātapura near Kāncī<sup>1</sup> Passing his literary career at the various seats of learning in South India, he went to Malabar in search of fame and there in the courts of kings overcame his opponents Mānavikrama, the strong Zamorin, was his patron His success evoked much jealousy, and tradition says<sup>2</sup> that a pandit's wife vowed to beget an adversary and that she did with the help of prayers and enchaniments of the many learned men of Malabar The son was Kakkaseri Bhattātūri As a boy of twelve he vanquished Uddanda in open competition and composed a Malayalam drama Vasumati-Vikrama and a Sanskrit drama Indumati-Rāghava<sup>3</sup> His Kokilasandesa<sup>4</sup> is the message of a lover to his beloved at Calicut and is a very fine imitation of Meghasandesa of Kālidāsa This poem is said to have been written in response to a similar poem named Bhrangasandesa sent to the author by Vāsuḍeva, a poet in the Court of Ravivarma and Godāvarma, who ruled at Calicut<sup>5</sup> His Mallikā-Māruṭa, a prakarana in ten acts,<sup>6</sup> follows in all details the plot of the Malati-Madhava The plot relates the affections of two sets of lovers, Mallikā and Māruta, and Ramayantikā and Kalakantha Mandākīnī answers to Kamandakī and Kālīndī resembles Avalokīta Uddanda has sometimes improved on his original His language is attractive and verse melodious The speeches abound in apt illustration and proverbial generalisation

SĀKARA Marar was Uddanda's friend They met at the temple at Guruvayoor and Sankara completed a verse then begun by Uddanda. He wrote the poem Sri Kṛṣṇavijaya<sup>7</sup>

SŪKUMARA or Prabhākara was Uddanda's younger contemporary His Kṛṣṇavilāsa Kavya<sup>8</sup> is as good as his name

1 It is said in Nallākavi's Subhadrāparinaya (*TC*, I 1040) that Uddanda was a native of the village of Kandaramanikkā (Tanjore District) in Cola country, and Uddanda's father Ranganātha the native of that village was a great writer and among his works are Kraṭuvāganya Prayasoṭṭam (*DC*, II No 1169, *TC*, I 888) and commentaries on the Padamanjarī and Kaumudi It is therefore probable that Uddanda was born at Kandaramanikkam and later in his life settled at Lātapura near Kāncī

2 Travancore State Manual 488

3 *TC* IV 4778 Only two acts are available. Indumati-parinaya (*Opp.*, II 6882) is a different play

4 Ed. Trichur (with introduction)

5 *DC*, XX 7942 See para 170 post

6 Ed Calcutta and Mysore with commentary *DC*, XXI 8446.

7. Ed. Trichur

8 Ed (4 cantos only) at Palghat with the commentary of Rāmapāṇiyāda

**170** **Vasudeva** was the son of Maharsi and Gopālī. Maharsi was the famous scholar of the Payaur Bhāitta Mana of Malabar, which became famous as a centre of learning about the end of the 15th century. Maharsi had nine sons, well versed in various branches of Sanskrit learning and a daughter. The daughter's son was a grammarian Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva was the friend of the dramatist Uddanda and therefore lived about 1423 AD. The famous Mānavikrama, Zamorin of Calicut, was his patron. In reply to Kokilasandesa of Uddanda he wrote Bhṛngasandesa or Bhramaradūṭa<sup>1</sup>. Afterly he was in the court of Kings Ravi Varma and Godāvarma<sup>2</sup>. His Vāsudevavijaya<sup>3</sup> is a poem in illustration of the grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini. It was left unfinished and completed by Nārāyaṇa, very likely his sister's son, under the name Dhātu-kāvya<sup>4</sup>.

In Devicarita<sup>5</sup> a poem in Yamaka style in 6 ākāshas, describes the story of Goddess Gopālī Devi worshipped in Vedāranyam or Kunnamgolam, as the eighth child of Devakī and sister of Śri Kṛṣṇa<sup>6</sup>. In his Satyātapahkaṭṭha, he relates in three ākāshas the story of Satyatapas also called Maharsi one of the ancestors of the author who made penance at Vedāranya and on the banks of the Nilī river now called Bharatappola<sup>7</sup>. In Sivodaya the poet gives a history of himself and his eight brothers. In his Acyutallā, a poem in Yamaka form, he describes God Acyuta worshipped at Vedāranyam<sup>8</sup>. Rajenīramokṣa appears to be his work<sup>9</sup>.

**171** **PANDAVACARIYA**, a poem of which 13 cantos are available,<sup>10</sup> does not mention the name of the author, but the poet salutes a Vāsudevakāvī who wrote a Yamaka poem on "Pārthakāṭṭha," Arjuna's story<sup>11</sup>.

1. *DC*, XX, 7042; *CC*, 567. For the alternative names see also *JRAS*, (1884), 452.

2. Vāsudeva, pupil of Kerundkara alias Būhiyamala who commented on Viśeṣhasālabhanjikā is another author.

*TC*, III 3878

3. Printed Kāvyaṁala, Bombay *DC*, XX, 7745. The commentator called this Vāsudeva, a resident of Puruvana.

4. *Ibid DC*, XX 7745. In the colophon the whole poem is called Vāsudeva vijayam (*TC*, III 4056) इति नारायणकृतौ वासुदेवविजये कस्वधमग्ने प्रथमस्तर्गे।

5. *TC*, IV 4528

8. *TC*, IV 4581

6. *TC*, IV 4529

9. *TC*, IV 5385

7. *TC*, IV 4580

10. *TC*, IV 5082.

11. तस्मै नमोऽस्तु कवये वासुदेवाय धीमते ।

येन पार्थकथा रन्मा यमिता लांकपावनी ॥

It is not known what this Pārthakathā was. Similarly Arjuna-Rāvapriya,<sup>1</sup> is a poem in 17 cantos describing the fight between Rāvana and Kārttā-virva, in illustration of the Astidhyāvī of Panini. There is a commentary by Vāsudeva. The manuscript is again found in the same place in Malabar as Pāndavacarita. The author's name is not given there. It is probable that these two poems were composed by members of the Maharsi's family.

**172 Vasudeva**, the author of Rāmakatha<sup>2</sup> was the son of Umā and Nārāyana and wrote that prose work at the Court of King Āditya-varma, King Sri Vira Kodai Āditya Varma of Kilapperur, Jayasimhanad, about 1472 and 1484 A D. Under the patronage of King Ravivarma, he wrote Govindacarita,<sup>3</sup> Sanksepūbhūrūti<sup>4</sup> and Sankseparāmāyanam.<sup>5</sup> It is probable that this Nārāyana was the eighth son of Maharsi, or Nārāyana, daughter's son of Maharsi, more likely the latter.<sup>6</sup>

1 TC, IV 4281

2 Printed Madras

3 DC, XX 7918

4 DC XXI 8824 4 (with commentaries), TC, IV 4175. There it is said प्रकाशश्रीकरोरजा रविवर्मा विराजते K R Pisharoti identifies this King as King of Prakāśa or Vettat in South Malabar (*Bull Of., Studies*, V 797 9)

5 TC, III 4805

6 K R Pisharoti (*op. cit.*) identifies this Vāsudeva with Vāsudeva son of Maharsi. The Travancore State Manual (I 277 8) give the following account "There was on the 1st of Kumbhōm 647 M.E (1472 A D) a king by the name of Sri Kodai Aditya Varma of Kilapperur, Jayasimhanad, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siravoy according to the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy. But beyond this bare fact nothing could be ascertained except that he might have been one of the co regents at the time. There is another inscription to prove that Aditya Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad, as well as his younger brother named Rama Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siravoy, reigned on the 14th Kumbhōm 659 M E (1484 A D). This latter may be identical with Sri Vira Ko dai Aditya Varma who flourished in Venad in 1572 A D. But he is mentioned in the temple chronicles as the Senior Tiruvadi of Siravoy while Aditya Varma of 1484 A D is closely referred to in the inscription as the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad, Kilapperur. On this basis the reign of Sri Vira Ko dai Aditya Varma may be taken as having lasted up to the year 1484 A D. His younger brother Rama Varma was probably his co regent under the title of the Senior Tiruvadi of Siravoy. Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur, ruled over Venad for a period of thirty two years from 654 to 686 M E (1479 1512 A D), for the first five years of which he ruled probably as co regent. The temple chronicle records that on the 8th Karkadagam 673 M E (1498 A D) Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma made a gift of twelve silver pots and granite images as an atonement for sin committed in a fight which took place at the northern entrance of Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple, and that he granted some lands adjoining the tank of Viranarayananaseri to the aggrieved parties. It states also that on the 24th Medam 675 M E. (1500 A D) he gave 5,000 fanams as

**173 Narayana** Battāthiri (Bhattapādā) was a Nambudri brahmin born at Melputur near Chandanakkavu Deviksetra, which is Kurum-pattur desa of Ponnani taluk in Malabar. Of that Devi, Nārāyana was a devotee. His father Mātrādīta was a great scholar. His mother came from the Payyur Patteri family. He lived between 1560-1646 A D. He was until late in his life unlearned, and after his marriage in a Pisāroti family of Trikkantiyur, he studied under a Acyuta Pisāroti, a learned member of the family. Acyuta was not qualified to teach the veda, but as he did teach Nārāyana the vedas, he committed a sin and was attacked by a Vātaroga. Nārāyana got the disease transferred by his mesmeric power to himself and by the singing of the Nārāyaṇiya, a panegyric of Śrīkrṣṇa of Guruvāyoor the disease disappeared and he attained Ayurārogya-saukhyam, longevity, health and happiness.<sup>1</sup> This expression in arithmetical terminology denotes 1712210 days of Kali as the date of the completion of the work which indicates 760 Kollam, Vrichika 13th day or 1585 A D. This poem is one of the finest specimens of devotional poetry.

"The fame of Bhattachari travelled outside Kerala even in his own days, and the renowned Bhattoji Dikshita of Benares, the author of Siddhanta Kaumudi and the greatest grammarian of his age, was so much impressed with the profoundity of Bhattachari's learning in that branch of knowledge that he proceeded to South India to see Bhattachari and converse with him. I earning, however to his regret that Bhattachari had passed away in the meantime, the Dikshita is known to have gone back observing that he had no other men to see in Dakshinapatha. Bhattachari was also known to the great Pandits of the Court of Raghunatha Naik of Panjore, such as Yajnanarāyana Dikshita, his minister, and the author of Sahitya Ratnakara and other works, with whom he used to hold correspondence. Bhattachari appears to have visited the courts of the Zamorin of Calicut the Maharaja of

*garvakkati* together with a silver vessel to the temple of Sri PadmanabhaSwamy to expiate the sin of having destroyed several villages at that time. Ravi Varma having killed several people during the fights that took place in the year 682 M E (1507 A D) made another gift of twenty seven silver vessels to the same temple together with the grant of lands at Vembanur Kaladi and Kuppukal. It appears from these gifts that at this period several small battles were fought between the years 678 and 682 M E (1498-1507 A D) during which many people were killed. The inscription also makes mention of several princes at the time. Of these ADITYA VARMA and UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA were reigning sovereigns. Jayasimha Deva (afterwards Jayasimha II) and Sakalakalai (Sarvangantha) Martanda Varma were probably their co-regents."

1. See Travancore State Manual, II 483 8.

Cochin and the Rajas of Chempakasseri and Vatakunur, and numerous verses have now been discovered which are the composition of Bhattatiri in praise of Virakerala, the then ruler of Cochin, as also of Devanarayana of Ampalapuzha and Godavarma of Vatakunkur. Devanarayana is a common name for all the rulers of Chempakasseri and all that is known of the ruler of that country at that time was that he was born under the star Puratam. It may be stated in this connection that Virakerala of Cochin was a great patron of letters and that several poets flourished under him. The Raja of Chempakasseri was also a distinguished patron of learning and several works particularly on Vyakarana appear to have been composed under his special direction. Bhattatiri did not proceed to Travancore possibly because if Travancore and Chempakasseri were not then on friendly terms. There is a verse in the Matsyavatara Champu of Bhattatiri from which it may be inferred that Ravivarma the ruler of Travancore at that time, who was consolidating his position in the south after the reverses that the country had suffered as a result of its conquest by Achyuta Raja of Vijayanagar, had even incurred the envy of the Raja of Chempakasseri.<sup>1</sup>

Bhättatiri has written numerous works, on diverse subjects<sup>2</sup> Stotra Campū, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and Vyākhyāna.

**174** NARAYANIYAM is the greatest of his stotra kāvyas. "It contains more than a thousand verses, divided into a hundred parts of ten or more verses each and is a succinct and soul-stirring summary of Śrīmat Bhāgavaṭa. Every verse is addressed to the presiding Deity of Guruvayur direct, and easily reaches the high water mark of perfection in sound and sense. Almost every astika in Kerala recite some verses of this great poem every day, and there is no human heart which it cannot melt and mend. The merits of Krishna worship have been dilated upon by the poet in a masterly manner in more places than one. Bhattatiri points out than even Sanharacharya, the expounder of the Advaita Philosophy, found consolation in composing Bhashyas on Vishnusahasranama and Bhagavatgita and composing Vaishnavite hymns such as Vishnupadadikesa. He takes to task the Nambrudri

1 On Narayana and his works see *Malayala Rijyam*, Annual number. Many of these are still unprinted and manuscript copies are found in Travancore Maharaja's Library and throughout Malabar with the Śākhiyars. Article by Ullur S Parameswara Ayyar in Cochin Maharaja's College Magazine, Vol XII, No 8.

2 Printed, *Travancore Sanskrit Series*, and at Trichur with an introduction by K Vasudeva Moosad. The poet Unnayi Variyar at a later date imitated Bhattatiri in his Rāmapancasāṭi in praise of the Doly of Irujalakkuda.

Brahmins of his time who were proud of their birth, but who were not devoted to the worship of Krishna" The whole of Bhagavatgītā had been beautifully summarised in a single verse which runs as follows

जित्यो त्वं कृष्णस्तत् खलु समरमुखे बन्धुधाते दयालुम् ।  
 विश्व त वीक्ष्य वीर किसिदमयि हस्ते नित्यपुकोयभात्मा ॥  
 कोवध्य कोऽत्रहन्ता तदिह वधमय प्रोऽह्य मध्यपितात्मा ।  
 धर्म युद्ध चरेति प्रकृतिमनयथा दर्शयन् विश्वस्थम् ॥

**175** He wrote a number of prabhandhas, a variety of campū, on several themes Rājasūya, Dūṭavīkya, Pāncalīvayamvara, Draupadīparipaya, Subhadrāharana, Kirāta, Bhāratayuddha, Svargārohanna, Matyāvātāra, Nigamokṣa, Gajendramokṣa, Syamantaka, Kuchelavṛitta, Ahalyāmokṣa, Niranunāsika, Dakṣayaga, Parvatīvayamvara, Astamīcampū, Gosthinagaravarṇana, Kailasasailavarnana, Sūrpanakhāpralāpa, Nalāyanicarita and Rāmakatha Rājasūya reveals Bhāttatūri's profound knowledge of Veda and Mīmāṃsa. Those campūs were written by Bhāttatūri mainly for the use of Śākkiyars. Many well known previous works such as Bālābhārata of Agastya, Bharatacampū of Anantabhatta, Veṇisambhāra of Bhāttanārāyaṇa and Śikupālavadha of Māgha have been freely quoted from, though the best portions are Bhāttatūri's composition. Kotiviraha and Svāhāsudhākara are fine specimens of his poetry<sup>1</sup>

His son Kṛṣṇakavi wrote the poem Tārābhākāṅka<sup>2</sup>

**176** **Mānaveda** or Eralpatti Raja, a Zamorin of Calicut, was an admirer of Nārāyaṇa and he imbibed his devotion by ardent study of his works, and his language displays the similarity. He lived in the 17th century A.D. He wrote his Kṛṣṇagītī or Kṛṣṇanātaka on Kali day 1736612<sup>3</sup> and his Mānavedacampūbhārati on Kali day 1733111<sup>4</sup> besides a commentary on Campūrāmāyaṇa<sup>5</sup>. Rudradāna describes the marriage of Candraleka and Mānavedarājya in his Saitaka (andralekhā) or Mānavedacarita<sup>6</sup>.

1 Printed, Kavyamāla, Bombay

2 Printed, Kavyamāla, Bombay

3 Printed, Trichur, with an introduction TO, III 4082, the date given is प्राद्या स्तुतिर्गायके ।

4 TO, II 2580, DC, XXI, 8267 There is a commentary by Kṛṣṇa, TO, II 2595

5 TO, III, 4020 The date given is पाषेचङ्गालसोयम्

6 TO, IV 4762

**177 Ramapaninada** or Rāma whose popular name was Kun-junni Nambiyar was born of the Wariar caste near Kunnankulam, Cochin State, and lived about the middle of 18th century. He was a pupil of Nārayaṇabhatta. He is one of the best poets of Malabar in Sanskrit and Prakrit. For some time he was with the Zamorin of Calicut and latterly settled at Kotilinga (Cranganore) where he was performing service as drummer in the temple there. In Viṣṇuvilāsa,<sup>1</sup> a poem in 8 cantos, he describes the deeds of Viṣṇu in the nine incarnations. In Mukundasṭava, he sings the praise of Mukunda at the instance of King Rāmavarma of Srikantha family.<sup>2</sup> While he was living at Sendamangalam he wrote the poem Raghavīya in two parts *purva* and *uttara* in 20 cantos on the whole story of Rāmāvana.<sup>3</sup> Lalitārāghavīya<sup>4</sup> and Pādukā-patiṭṭabhiṣeka<sup>5</sup> are plays on the same theme. His Candrika is a Veethi said to have been enacted in Irivandrum in the time of King Vancimartanda and Madanakeṭucarita is a prahasana. Besides various works on other Sastras he composed in Prakrit the poems Uṣaniruddha, and Kamsavaho. He commented on Sukumra's Kṛṣṇavilāsa,<sup>6</sup> Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka's Govindabhiṣeka, and Nārāyaṇa's Dhātukāvya.<sup>7</sup>

RAMAVARMA of Cranganore was the junior prince, Yuvarāja. He lived about 1800. His Rāmacarita is a poem in 12 cantos<sup>8</sup> on the story of Rāma, and Rāsasadānabhāgā,<sup>9</sup> a fine play. Some of his ideas are very fanciful.<sup>10</sup>

**178 Sri (Swāmī) Ramavarma** Kulasekhara, Maharaja of Travancore lived in 1813-1897 A.D. He was the son of Lakṣmi Rāni and inherited the throne in the womb. His father was Rājarājavarman of Chengannaseri. He was a linguist and his proficiency in Sanskrit was

1. *TC* IV 5136

2. *TC*, IV 5077. There is a commentary by a fellow pupil.

3. *DC*, XX 7888, *TC*, IV, 5078, with commentary, *TC*, IV, 5095

4. *DC*, XXI 8542

5. The manuscript is in Kalakshetra Illom in Malabar.

6. Printed, Trichur

7. *DC*, XX 7745, *TC*, IV, 5411

8. Printed, Poona *DC*, XX 7845

9. Ed. Kāvymāla, Bombay

10. For instance

राका मुखेन दशमी च कपोलकान्त्या  
फालेन पञ्चमतिथि ग्रतिपचसाकै ।  
एषा कुहूरपि कन्दप्रकरेण धर्ते  
ग्रथस्मस्ततिथिसङ्गुहभाजनतवद् ॥

admirable. Besides his poems Padmanābhāsatāka, Ajāmilopākhyāna, Kucolopākhyāna and Bhaktimanjanī,<sup>1</sup> he wrote the prabandhas, Utsavavarnana and Śyānandūrapuravarṇana.<sup>2</sup> In the latter, he described the incarnation and stories relating to God Padmanābha of Trivandrum.

**179 Keralavarma** (Valia Kovil Lambiran) was the consort of Maharani Lakshmi Bavi of Travancore. He was one of the greatest of modern poets and was held in high esteem. He lived between 1845-1910.<sup>3</sup> He has been called Kerala Kālidāsa. Of his Sanskrit works, we have the Viśākhārājamañhākāvya, Kamavadhacampū, Singāramanjanī, Guruvayupureśasatītra, Vjagrālāyesaśasatīka, Sonadībāsataṭaka<sup>4</sup> and Kāmāprapāśasatī.<sup>5</sup>

**180 Manavikrama** Etian Lambiran, the Zamorin, died about 1920. He was an extempore poet and wrote several small poems. A R Rajaraja Varma (Koil Lambiran) was the superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in Travancore. Besides an original commentary on Pāṇini, he wrote Āngalasamṛāja Mahākāvya and a poem Vitavibhāvāri. He lived in 1863-1918 AD.

Jola Nambudri wrote mahakavya, Iolakāvya. Edayath of Candanpalī wrote Rāmacaritikāvya. Kunju Kuthan Tambiran wrote the poem Yādavavijaya. Nambudripad of Edavathikodmana wrote Rukmipiśvayamvaraprabandha. Kunhukuttan Lambiran of Cranganoor wrote Kirātavyāyoga and Babhruvāhanacampū. Kochunni Lambiran of Cranganur wrote the poem Gosricarita, Bānāyudhacampū, Viprasandesa and bhānas Anangavijaya and Vitarājavijaya. Ramawariar of Kaikolangara wrote Āryāśaptasatī. Unni Nambudripad of Muthukurisi and Mahiṣamangala Nambudri wrote bhānas Vakūthol Nārāyaṇamenon (born 1890) wrote Mahākāvya Iapatisamvaranā, Devīstīva and Kṣṇasatīka.

The poetess Manoramā died a hundred years ago. Lakshmi Rājñi, a princess of Kadathanad Edavalath palace wrote Saṅčāragopālakāvya and died about 12 years ago. Subhadrā, princess of Cochin, who died in 1921, wrote Saulhadrasatī.

1 Ed Tr Sans Series.

2 Ed Tr Sans Series, with commentary.

3 Trav State Manual, II. 488.

4 Printed, Travancore.

5 The manuscript is in Travancore.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *Mahakavyas (contd.)*

**181 Parvatiyamsavali<sup>1</sup>** gives a list of rulers of Nepal with the lengths of their reigns and an occasional reference to dates of accession. It dates back from 1768 A.D. to seven or eight centuries before Kaliyuga. It consists of several dynasties of kings, and Bhūmi-varman, the first king of the 5th of the Sūryavamśi dynasty, is distinctly described as having been crowned in Kali 1389 (1712 B.C.) and Śivadevarman the 27th king of this Sūryavamśi dynasty is placed about 338 B.C. For, it will be seen that Amsuvarman, the 1st king of the 6th or Thakuri dynasty, is stated to have been crowned in the year Kali 3000 (101 B.C.) and reigned 68 years from 101 B.C. to 30 B.C. and in his time, Vikramādiṭya came to Nepal and established his Era of 57 B.C. there. Amsuvarman is described as the son-in-law of Viśvadevarman, the 3rd and last king of the 5th or the Suryavamśi dynasty who reigned for 51 years from 152 B.C. to 101 B.C. whom he succeeded. Similarly, the 30th king Viṣṇudevarman, the predecessor of Viśvadevarman reigned for 47 years from 199 to 152 B.C. His predecessor Bhīmadevarman, the 29th king, reigned for 36 years from 235 to 299 B.C. the 28th king, Narendravarman reigned for 42 years from 277 to 235 B.C., and lastly the 27th king Śivadevarman abovenamed reigned for 61 years from 338 to 277 B.C.

"But a good deal of confusion has been introduced into the chronology of the dynasties of kings that ruled at Nepal by Dr. Fleet, and other orientalists by mistaking the Harṣa Era given in some of the copper plates as referring to an era supposed to have originated with Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of Kānyakubja (Kanouj) who is ascertained to have lived (or reigned) from 606 or 607 A.D. Thus in a Charter of Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhūrāja Śivadevarman, the 27th king of the 5th or the Suryavamśi dynasty of the Nepal kings above referred to (who according to Nepalese Chronology ruled from 338 B.C. to 277 B.C. for 61 years), the date of his accession to the throne is given as Harga Samvat 119. These orientalists at once assume the Harṣa Samvat to be an era founded by Harsavardhana, the patron of Bāna and contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller who travelled

1. Published by Bhagavanlal Indrajit, IA, XIII, 411-28.

in India from 629 to 645 A.D. On this assumption they take the Harsa Samvat 119 given in Sivadevavarman's charter as equivalent to 119+606 or 607 A.D. (the initial date of Harsabardhana Siladitya) or 725 or 726 A.D. and at once concluded that the Nepala Vamsavali which places Sivadevavarman's accession about 338 B.C. calculated according to the dates given in Kaliyuga, must be a mistake, and that accordingly he should be placed about 725 or 726 A.D.

Taking this wrong assumption as true the whole of the Vamsavali of the Nepal Kings has been mercilessly meddled with and altered according to this new theory, in disregard of all the specific dates given there. There is no tradition or record that Harsavardhana Siladitya of Kanouj inaugurated any era of his own. If Harsavardhana, or King Harṣa as he is usually called, had really founded any such era corresponding to 606 or 607 A.D., it must have been dated from the accession of that famous king, it is unlikely that if such an era had been founded by Harsavardhana, the contemporary admirers of the King Bāna Bhatta and Hiuen Tāsang, would have failed to notice it in their works.

How, then, is this difficulty to be solved? What does the Harsa Samvat in Sivadevavarman's charter denote? The answer is this. In the Harsa Era which dates 400 years before the Samvat or the Vikrama era, founded by Vikramāditya of Malava, the era of Sri Harṣa or the Harṣa Samvat may be taken to indicate the *luminus ad quem* of the suzerainty of Sri Harsa Vikramāditya of Ujjari, the contemporary of Hiranya Matṛgupta and Pravarasena II, the 3rd, 4th and 5th Kings of the Third Goanda Dynasty, described in Kalhana's Rajatarangini. It dates from 457 B.C. just 400 years before the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. Alberuni, the celebrated Muhamadan historian speaks of the existence of a Harsa era in Nepal and other Northern countries in his time and according to him, it falls exactly about 457 B.C. just 400 years before the Samvat or the Vikrama Era.

Now if we take the Harṣa Samvat as referring to the Harsa Era spoken to by Alberuni Sivadevavarman of the Nepalese Charter in question will have to be placed B.C. 457, 119 or 338 B.C. which exactly tallies with the original date assigned to the said king in the Nepal and the objection raised by these authenticity of the Vamsavali have no foundation.

---

1. Alberuni's India, translated and published by Dr. Edward C. Sachan, Vol. II, Ch XLIX, p.?

**182. Vardhamana** was pupil of Govindasuri, a Śvetāmbara Jain. He was in the Court of Siddharāja 1094-1143.<sup>1</sup> He composed his Gānarātnamahodadhi in Sam 1197,<sup>2</sup> in which His Kriyaguptaka (where the predicate is concealed in the verses) and his Siddharājavarnana describing the history of his royal patron are quoted.

**183. Sambhu<sup>3</sup>** was a devotee of Siva and a poet of the court of King Harṣa (1073-1101 A.D.) His son Ānanda,<sup>4</sup> also a poet, was one of the assembly of distinguished persons that heard the first reading of Śrīkanthacariṇa by Mankha at the house of Alankāra,<sup>5</sup> minister of King Jayasimha (1129-1159 A.D.). His verses are quoted in Subhāṣṭīvalī by Vallabhadeva. He appears to have travelled all over India and frequently refers to Malabar and South India. He admires fluency of diction.<sup>6</sup>

His Rājendrakarnapūra<sup>7</sup> is a eulogium of King Harṣa, his patron, in the form of an address and Ayoktimuktālatī<sup>8</sup> is a collection of ingenious verses on various topics indicating an indirect meaning.<sup>9</sup>

**184. Kalhana** was the son of Campaka. Campaka was minister of King Harṣa of Kāshmir (1089-1101 A.D.). When that king fell into trouble and was finally assassinated he was faithful to him and kept away from politics. Campaka had a brother Kanaka to whom King Harṣa taught music. Kalyāna or Alakadaṭṭa was his patron.<sup>10</sup> Kalhana was well-versed in all legendary lore and was by nature well-fitted for historical investigation. His ambition was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kāshmir. After Sussala's son Jayasimha (1127-1159 A.D.) came to the throne and he was in his Court. He began his work in 1149.

1. See para 70 *supra*.

2. Ed London.

3. *PR*, I 11-12. See para 72 *Supra* *CC*, I 638 *Raj*, VII 948.

4. Vallabhadeva in his *Subhāṣṭīvalī* quotes poets Tho Ānanda, Bhattānandaka, Rajanakānandaka and Rādananda and it is not possible to identify them. There is a poet Ānanda referred to in *Padyāvalī*.

5.

अशेषमिषगप्रणय शरण्य शास्त्रपद्धते ।  
वकन्देश्थीतमानन्द सुत शम्भुमहाकवे ॥ *Srekan* XXV 97

6. He says पुसामेकमखण्डन फुगरिद शम्भोर्मेते मण्डनम् ।  
यश्चिप्वीडितपार्बणे-दुश्कलसन्देपमास्सूक्तय ॥

7. Ed *Kāvyaṁāla*, Bombay. He refers to Munja (verse 17).

8. Ed *Kāvyaṁāla*, Bombay. See *PR*, I, 81.

9. See under Mankha, para 72 *supra*.

A D,<sup>1</sup> and completed his Rājataranginī in a year with the prevailing sentiment Sānta.

Kalhana was at once a poet and chronicler. He did not forget his poetry in the course of his narration. His was a Mahākāvya in every sense of the term, with sānta as the prevailing sentiment. The turbulent times of his boyhood and the pathetic story of King Harṣa to whom his father adhered must have made him pessimistic and there is a vein of satire everywhere. He was very god-fearing and his devotion to Siva was extreme and Him he praised in his Ardhanārisvara-stotra.<sup>2</sup> It appears as if his motive in writing the History of Kings was not merely to record a story of events mundane, to which he attached little importance, but to illustrate the unreality of human fortunes and the vicissitudes of pompous royalty. Just as Vālmīki did, Kalhana realised that the doctrine of fate was the sensible solution of life.<sup>3</sup>

Before proceeding to attempt the poem he rightly realised his duty and when he said

साध्यस्स एव गुणवान् रागदेष्वहिष्कृता ।  
भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्येयसेव सरस्ती ॥—I 7

and he kept up this ideal unaffected by the events of his chronicle

According to Kashmir tradition, he wrote a poem Jayasimhābhuyada, apparently a history of the achievements of King Jayasimha.<sup>4</sup>

**185.** Kalhana mentions previous writers — “Suvarata,” whose work, he says, was made difficult by misplaced learning, Kshemendra who drew up a list of kings, Nīpātrah,<sup>5</sup> of which, however, he says, no part

1 Ed by Durga Prasad and by Troyer Translated into English by Y C Datta and by M A Stein “Kalhana’s Chronicle of Kashmir” with a valuable introduction. For editions and translations and for notes on Kalhana, see I4, IV 107, VI 284, XVIII 65, 97, XL 97, XVII 801. See also JBRAS, Extra No 1877. On the close logical affinity between Harṣacarita and Rājataranginī, see VOJ, XII 88, JRAS, (1894), 485 and Stein’s Int I 188.

2 क्षणमाल्लिनिजन्तूला स्फुरितेपरिचिनिते ।  
मूर्धामिषेक शान्तस्य रसस्यात्र विचार्यताम् ॥—I 28

3 Printed, Kāvyāmālā, Bombay

4 A verse of this poem is quoted in Rajnakaṭha Śīrasāmukūcaya. For verses quoted in anthologies, see Peterson Int to Subh 18

5. There are poets Suvarṭa and Suvarṭadatta quoted in Śikṣa

6 Mentioned in Kāvyāmālā I, 85 Rājāvalī is a history of Kings of Hindustan from before of Kaliyuga up to Warren Hastings by Vijayagovinda Simha CC, I 508.

was free from mistakes , Nilamuni, who wrote the NILAMATAPURANA<sup>1</sup> Helaraja, who composed a list of kings in twelve thousand verses , and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author of the SRICHCHHAVILA His own work, he tells us, was based on eleven collections of RAJAKATHAS or stories about kings and on the works of Nilamuni " He verified the traditional dates by reference to grants, inscriptions, manuscripts etc

<sup>1</sup> Ed by Kanajitlal with preface and appendices See *Dhan Dayi*, 110, Stein, 202

In the introduction to Rājatarangini, Stein says "The oldest extant text, which deals in detail with Kashmirian Tirthas, is the *Nilamatapurana*. This work which Kalhana used as one of his sources of information, claims to give the sacred legends regarding the origin of the country, and the special ordinances which Nila, the lord of Kashmir Naga, had revealed for the worship and rites to be observed in it. It is unnecessary to refer here to the legends which are related at the commencement of the work, and to 'the rites proclaimed by Nila' which are next detailed, and with the former occupy about two thirds of the extant text. These parts have been fully discussed by Prof. Buhler in his lucid analysis of the *Nilamata*. The remaining portions, however, deserve special notice. For, to use Prof. Buhler's words, 'they form a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends.'

In the first place we find there a list of the principal Nagas or sacred springs of Kashmir (vv 900 975). This is followed by the interesting legend regarding the *Maha padma* lake, the present Volur, which is supposed to occupy the place of the submerged city of Candrapurna (vv 976 1008). The Purana then proceeds to an enumeration of miscellaneous Tirthas chiefly connected with Siva's worship (vv 1009-18). To this is attached a very detailed account, designated a *Bhutasvaramahatmya* of the legends connected with the numerous lakes and sites on Mount Haramukut, sacred to Siva and Parvati (vv 1019 1148). Of a similar Mahatmya relating to the Kapotesvara Tirtha, the present Kother, only a fragment is found in our extant text (vv 1149 68). The list of Vishnu Tirthas which succeeds it (vv 1169 1248), is comparatively short, as indeed the position of this god is a secondary one in the popular worship of Kashmir.

After a miscellaneous list of sacred Sangamis or river confluences, Nagas and lakes (vv 1249 78), we are treated to a somewhat more detailed synopsis of the chief Tirthas of Kashmir (vv 1271 1371). This is of special interest, because an attempt is made here to describe these Tirthas in something like topographical order, and to group with them such localities as are visited along with them on the same pilgrimage. It is thus possible to determine, with more certainty than in the case of other Tirtha lists, the particular holy sites really intended by the author. This synopsis starts in the east with the fountain of the Nilanaga (Vernaga), and follows with more or less accuracy the course of the Vitastā and its tributaries down to the gorge of Vatashamilā. A short *Vitastamahatmya*, describing the original and miraculous powers of this holiest of Kashmir rivers (vv 1371 1401) closes the text of the *Nilamata*, such as it is found in our manuscripts."

He used the Laukika era in his compilation "The 24th year of the Laukika corresponds with the year 1070 of Sakakala."<sup>1</sup>

**186** Book I treats of Gonanda dynasty Book II brings us to a new line of Kings and Book III mentions the restoration of Gonanda line under Meghavāhana Book IV begins in Karkota Dynasty The dynasty was overthrown by Avantivarman, grandson of Utpala Book V narrates the history of the Utpala dynasty The Lohara dynasty succeeds peacefully in Book VI and Book VII concludes with the assassination of King Hara In Book VIII there is a long account of the country of

1. लौकिकाव्ये चतुर्विंशे शककालसं साप्रतम् ।  
सप्तस्याभ्यधिक यात सहस्र परिवत्सरा ॥

"Laukika era is placed on Caitra Sudha I of Kali year 25 (expired) or the year 3076 75 B C Laukika year is counted at present in Kāsmīr from the first day of the bright half of the lunisolar month Caitra Kalhanī follows the identical reckoning. In Raj VII 841 Kalhanī says that Uccala was murdered on 6th Pausa Sudha of Laukika 4187 and the dethronement of his successor who 8 months and 27 days later, that is, 3rd Vaisakha Sudha of Laukika 4188. The months are reckoned by his Purnamāñjan as it is to day in Kāsmīr. For a full discussion of the Laukika era, see Buhler's *Rep.*, 59 *et seq* and Cunningham's *Indian Eras* 6-17. The omission of the centuries in giving Laukika dates is an ancient custom."

"The Lok-kal, or "common era," called also the Sapt Rishikal, or "era of the seven Rishis," is a cycle of 2700 years divided into twenty seven centenary periods, a new reckoning being started at the beginning of each century. The theory of the cycle is, that the seven Rishis, or stars of Ursa Major remain for one century in each of the twenty seven nakshatras, or lunar mansions. All authorities agree in making Aswini the first of the Nakshatras, and in stating that the Mahabharata took place when the Rishis were in the lunar constellation Magha, the tenth of the series. The Puranas, and the practice of all the people who still use this cycle, excepting only the Kashmiris, agree in making the era of Yudhishtira the same as the Kali yuga. All, however, agree in stating that, at the time of the Mahabharata, the seven Rishis had already passed 75 years in Magha. But as Varaha places the Great war 658 years after the beginning of the Kali yuga, or in 2449, B C, that year should have been the 76th of the tenth Nakshatra, and the 976th year of the cycle. This would fix the first year of each centenary period to the 25th year of each century B C, and to the 76th year of each century A D. But to prevent the confusion that would thus have arisen Varaha simply ignored the generally accepted belief that the Rishis had spent 75 years in Magha when the Mahabharata took place and retained the initial points of the Septennial centuries only bringing Magha down from B.C 8177 (or 8101 & 75) to B.C. 2477. Accordingly, Varaha's followers place the initial point of the Vṛhaspati Chakra in 8377 B C in Aswini so that each century begins in the 20th year of each century of the Kali yuga exactly as Dr. Buhler was informed! This also accords with the statement of my Kashmiri informant that the Rishis had completed three revolutions less 25 years in the Dwapara yuga before the Kali yuga began, that is, their Chakra preceded the Kali yuga by 275 years, equivalent to B C 3377, or 8104+275 years"—Cunningham.

forty years from the accession of Uccala the book mentions Jayasimha, son of Sussala, as the reigning sovereign,<sup>1</sup> and concludes by an apt simile comparing the seven parts of his chronicle with the seven branches of the Godāvari.<sup>2</sup>

**187** Kalhana criticises the view that Mahābhārata was fought about beginning of Kali Yuga and fixes it at 653 years later. He equates the 24th year of Lauhika era 1070 years of Saka era and places the first King Gonanda in the year 653 Kali. There he was in error and his attempt to go against the tradition landed him in a misapprehension.<sup>3</sup>

1 In all, the books treat of the dynasties of (i) Gonanda (1st and 2nd) (ii) Karkota (Durlabhavardhana to Avangāpida 601-855 A.D.) (iii) Utpala (Avantivarman to Sunkatavarman and Pāṛīha 855 to 989 A.D.) (iv) Viradeva (Yassakaradeva) and Sangramadeva 940 to 949 A.D. (v) Divīra (Parvagupta to Bhīma 950 to 1003 A.D., (vi) Lohara (Sangramanaja to Jayasimha 1004 to 1158 A.D. For genealogy, see C V Vaidya's *History of Med. India*, I 202-24.

2 गोदावरी सरिदिवोषु मुलैस्तरङ्गै  
वैकैस्कुट सपदि सप्तमिरपतन्ती ।  
श्रीकान्तराजविष्णुलाभिजनाभिमय  
विश्रान्तये विशितं राजतरङ्गिण्यम् ॥

3 In the Introduction to Rājatarangini, Stein says "Kalhana takes as the starting point of the chronological calculations the traditional date indicated by Varaha mihira's Brihatsaṃhitā for the coronation of Yudhishthira, the Pandava hero of the epics, viz. the year 653 of the Kali era. The date of this legendary event is accepted by him also for the accession of Gonanda I, the first of the 'lost' kings of Kashmir, whose name, as we are told, was recovered by the Chronicler (or his predecessors) from the Nilamata Purana. The exact reason for the equation of these dates is nowhere given. But it appears that the story as contained in the earlier version of the Nilamata which Kalhana had before him, represented Gonanda I in a general way as a contemporary of the 'Kauravas and Pandavas.'

Kalhana next assumes a period of 2269 years as the aggregate length of the reigns of Gonanda I and his successors as detailed in Book I. For this statement Kalhana does not adduce his authority, though it is one of the main basis of his chronology. But the importance which he attached to it, is evident from the trouble he takes to prove its correctness. He does this by showing that if to the figure of 2269 years are added the 653 years from the commencement of the Kali era to Gonanda I's accession, as well as the years (1328) representing the rough total of the reigns described in Books II-VIII, we arrive at an aggregate of 4249 years which corresponds exactly to the 4249 years of the Kali Yuga elapsed in Saka 1070, the date when Kalhana wrote his introduction.

Kalhana himself tells us that the calculation of a total of 2261 years for the regnal period of the first Gonanda dynasty had been "thought wrong by some authors". As the ground of their objection he indicates the belief (according to him, erroneous) which placed the 'Great War' of the Kurus and the Pandavas at the close of the Dvapara Yuga, i.e. at the commencement of the Kali era. From this remark it is evident that

**188** Kalhana's *Rājatarangini* was followed by Jonaraja and Srivara. Jonaraja wrote the history from King Jayasimha to Sultan

Kalhana was not the first to propose the above figure for the aggregate length of the reigns of Gonanda and his descendants, and, further, that the connection of Gonanda I's date with the legendary date of the Bharata war was generally assumed by writers on Kashmir history. Kalhana's reticence does not allow us to go beyond this. We know neither the source from which he obtained that base of his chronological system, nor by what figure the critics he alludes to were prepared to replace it.

Kalhana's Introduction furnishes us only with two more chronological statements of a general character. One is that at the time of Kalhana's writing or in Saka Samvat 1070, "on the whole 2380 years had passed since the accession of Gonanda III," and the other that 1266 years were "believed to be comprised in the sum of the reigns of the fifty two lost kings."

In explanation of the first statement it has to be noted that it is only from Gonanda III onwards that Kalhana is able to indicate the length of individual reigns. With this ruler begins in fact the continuous list of kings which Kalhana professedly obtained from the works of earlier chroniclers. We have already seen that a 'rough calculation,' as implied by Kalhana's expression (*vayah*, 'on the whole') of the aggregate duration of those reigns actually gives us the total of 2380 years. Kalhana does not tell us distinctly whether he took the figures for individual reigns summed up in this 'rough' total, also from the "works of former scholars" which supplied the dynastic names from Gonanda III onwards. It is hence a *possibility* not certain whether these earlier sources already knew the date of Gonanda III's accession as indicated by Kalhana's calculation, viz. 1919 Kali or 1182 B.C.

As regards the second statement, allotting 1266 years to the whole of the reigns of the 'lost' kings who preceded Gonanda III, it is evident that this figure could easily be computed either from the traditional sum of 2380 years for the whole period of the first Gonanda dynasty or from the rough total of 2380 years just discussed. Kalhana's words, in fact, seem to imply that this computation had been made by himself.

Period from the death of Ciprata Jayapida, Laukika Samvat 88 (iv. 703), to the date of Kalhana's Introduction, Laukika Samvat 42 (i. 52) — 385 0 0

The exact total of these figures would be 1820 years, 8 months and 28 days. But if we disregard the odd months and days found in the aggregate of Books II and III, the result will be again 1828 years. We are all the more justified in adopting this manner of calculation as Kalhana's words (i. 53) distinctly imply that he himself had arrived at the figure of 2380 years for the total from Gonanda III to his own time by a similar 'rough' reckoning.

Total of reigns of the first Gonanda dynasty	.	2268
Deduct for reigns from Gonanda dynasty, to Yulhishvara I	.	1002
Results a total for 'lost' kings' years	..	1266
The same result is obtained by deducting from	..	
the number of kali years elapsed in Saka Samvat 1070	—	4240
the aggregate number of years of known reigns,	.	2380
& the number of Kali years passed before Gonanda I,	..	658
		2088
		1266

Jainlabidin (1417-1467 A D) His pupil Srivara continued the history from 1419 to 1486 A D The story of a few more years till the annexation of Kasmir by Akbar was told by Prājyabhatta and his pupil Suka in Rājāvalipatāka<sup>1</sup>

The following calculation shows that the year in which Kalhana wrote his introduction, was Laukika samvat 4224 —

Distance between Kali 25 (initial date of Laukika era) and the initial date of the Saka era

3154

Distance between Salasamvat 1 and Kalhana's time

1070

Total of Septarsi years 4224

We are led by two calculations to the total of 1828 years as Kalhana's aggregate of the reigns from the close of the first Gonanda dynasty to Kalhana's time. Deducting from the total of 2368 years for the reigns comprised in Book I, these 1266 years which Kalhana allows "for the sum of the reigns of the fifty two lost kings" (i 54), there remain 1002 years for the aggregate rule of the kings the length of whose reigns is specified in Book I, (from Gonanda III. to Narendraadiitya I), and of Yudhisthira, the last king of Book I, the duration of whose reign Kalhana has omitted to indicate. If we deduct these 1002 years from the rough total of 2380 years which Kalhana mentions as having elapsed from the accession of Gonanda III. to his own time (i 58), we get result of 1328 years as the aggregate length of the reigns in Books II-VIII.

The other calculation we may follow is to add up the figures given in the seven later Books. These are, according to the text, adopted for our translation as follow —

	Years	Months	Days
Total of reigns of Book II	192	0	0
" III	589	10	1
" IV	212	5	27
from Durlabhavardhana to Cippata Jayapida			

P L Narasimhaswami says (I4, XL 162) "The fallacy of Kalhana's calculation will be evident on a little consideration. He says that 2380 years have elapsed between Gonanda III and himself, and 1266 years between Gonanda II and Gonanda III. Therefore (2380 - 266) 3596 years must have elapsed between Gonanda II and himself, who lived in 1070 Saka. This assigns a date (3596 - 1070) 2526 years before the Saka era to Gonanda II. But from older authorities, Kalhana learns the fact that king Gonanda II was too young at the time of the Great Battle to take part in it. According to the old view, the Battle of Mahabharata took place 8179 years before the Saka era (i.e., at the beginning of the Kaliyuga), while Kalhana's calculation makes the time of Gonanda II (a contemporary of Pandhavas) to 2526 years before Saka era. So to get over this difficulty, Kalhana brings down the Pandhavas to 685 (8179 - 2526) Kali. This is the explanation of Kalhana's calculation. The author's real mistake lies in the statement that 1206 years have elapsed between Gonanda II and Gonanda III. For he says in his own book पञ्चतिंशन्मृदीपाला मग्नाविस्पृतिसागरे Thirty five Kings were drowned in the ocean of forgetfulness. Such mistakes in his chronology led him to his wrong conclusion."

1. These are printed along with Kalhana's work in Bombay.

Jonarāja was son of Nonarāja and grandson of Iowlarāja.<sup>1</sup> He wrote commentaries on Kūratārjunīya,<sup>2</sup> Pīthvīrajivijaya,<sup>3</sup> and Siṅhantha-carita. Śivvara also wrote Subhā-vitavali, Jāndrājatirangīni, and Kathā-kautuka in verse, a history of Yusuf and Zuhka translated from the original Persian poem of Jami.<sup>4</sup>

**189** SANDHYAKARANANDIN, son of Prajāpatinandin, describes the history of King Ramapāla of Bengal, who regained his ancestral kingdom which had been usurped by Bhīma and ruled in 1104–1130 A.D., in the poem Rāmapālacarīta.<sup>5</sup>

**190** Jalhana<sup>6</sup> is mentioned by Mankha with admiration as a minister at the Court of Rājapuri the capital of King Somapāla, son of Sangramapāla. When Sussala was preferred to his eldest brother Uccala to the throne of Kashmir, he went away displeased to Rājapuri. On the history of that king he wrote a poem Somapālavilāsa<sup>7</sup> on which Rājānaka Rucaka commented.<sup>8</sup> His Mugdhopadeśa is also al.<sup>9</sup>

1 CO, I 208, see Peterson *Int* to *Subh* 43

2 Composed in 1449 A.D.

3 BKR, 101 x, xiii, CO, I 607, BR, (1883 4), 51

4 Printed (foreign) with a translation by Rich, Schmidt

5 Ed by Haraprasad Sastrī, *Mem ASB*, III. See *EL*, IX 821

6 He is different from Āchāka Bhagadatta Jalhana, author of Suktimalayall (*JBRAS*, XVII 57), on which see under *Suktaśitas post*

7 See para 72 *supra* Peterson, *Subh*, 41 2.

श्रीमद्भाजपुरीसन्दिधविग्रहस्य नियोगिनम् ।

अथानर्चं वचोमिस्त जल्हण विनग्याच्चिते ॥

8 सग्रामपाले नृपतौ तस्मिन्बवसरे मृते ।

तत्सूतुस्सोमपालाख्य पितृराज्य समादधे ॥

राज्यार्हमग्रज शुद्धा सोमिष्ठ्यत चाकिकेः ।

इति कोपान्नरम्भोऽभूस्कृष्ट्यत्राजपुरीं प्रति ॥

9 This is quoted by Raṭhakantha in Śūṭikusumāñjali. See CO, I. 209. There is a verse of the poem preserved in Kāvyaprānaśāsanamocaya

मार्गं निसर्गादवलम्ब्य वक्त सुधारसौच मधुरं वमन्ती ।

चान्द्री च मूर्ति कवितुश्च सूक्तिने धार्यते मूर्धनि नेश्वरेण ॥

10. Printed, Kavyamāla, Bombay.

**191 Jayadratha,**<sup>1</sup> (Rājānaka) was the son of Śringāraratha,<sup>2</sup> and brother of Jayaratna of Kashmir. He was a pupil of Subhadatatta and Sankhadhara. He says in his Tantrālokaviveka that his great grand-father's brother Sivaratha was minister of King Uccala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A D).<sup>3</sup> Jayadratha quotes from Pṛthvīrājavijaya composed in about 1190 A D and must therefore have lived about the beginning of 13th century A D.<sup>4</sup> In poetics he wrote Alankāravimarsini,<sup>5</sup> and Alankārodāharana.<sup>6</sup>

His poem HARACARITACINTAMANI<sup>7</sup> "relates in thirty-two cantos as many legends connected with Siva and his various Avatars. Eight of these legends are localized at well-known Kashmirian Tirthas, and give the author ample opportunity of mentioning sacred sites of Kashmir directly or indirectly connected with the former. Jayadratha's detailed exposition helps to fix clearly the form which the legends regarding some of the most popular of Kashmirian Tirthas had assumed in the time immediately following Kalhana. The local names as recorded by Jayadratha, agree closely with those of the Rajatarangini. They prove clearly that the forms employed by Kalhana must have been those generally current in the Sanskrit usage of the period. For the interpretation of the Nilamata's brief notices the Haracaritacintamani is of great value. Its plain and authentic narrative of the various local legends enables us often to trace the numerous modifications which the latter as well as the names of localities connected with them have undergone in the extant Mahatmyas. Jayadratha has well earned the honour unwittingly bestowed upon him by those who brought his fourteenth canto which deals with the story of Kapatesvara, into general circulation as the authoritative Mahatmva of that Tirtha at the present day."<sup>8</sup>

1 The published texts have the name Jayadratha. In Stein's Kashmir Catalogue, the name Jayaratna is given as author of Alankāravimśati and Jayaratna and Jayadratha are treated as identical. Aufrecht (OC, I, 200, 201, 754, II, 157, 754) treats them as brothers and makes Jayadratha author of these works given above and Jayaratna as author of Tantrālokaviveka and relies on Peterson's manuscript of Ratnakartha's Sarasamuccaya.

2 Śringāra's verses are quoted in *Skm*, V 25

3 *Raj*, VIII 111

4 Jacobi identifies Jayadratha's father's patron Rājarāja with Rājadeva who ruled at Saṭisarā in 1203-1226 A D (See Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini*, 79)

5 This is a commentary on Euuyaka's Alankārasarvasva Printed, Bombay

6 SKC, 59 (where the name is found as Jayaratna)

7 Ed by Sivadatta and Parab, Bombay OC, I, 754' BKR, XIV 61, PR, II 18

8 Steins *Int* to *Raj*

**192 Prthvirajavijaya**<sup>1</sup> is an epic by Chandakavi on the life of Prthviraja, the Chahaman King of Ajmeer. He deserted Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori in 1191 A.D., but was however overcome and killed later on. Soon after the victory the poem seems to have been begun and was left unfinished probably owing to his adversity. Jonarāja had commented on it.

**193 Vasudevaratha**, son of Govinda of Atreya-gotra, flourished in the court of Purusottama (Anangabhīma) of Kattak about 1423 A.D. His father's father Śrīmīvāsa wrote a poem in 20 cantos Lahtarāghava.

In his **GANGAVAMSĀNUCARITA**,<sup>2</sup> in prose and poetry, he describes the dynastic history of the Ganga princes who ruled over Kalinga.<sup>3</sup> It is mostly in the form of dialogue between Vidyārnava and his wife Līlāvatī who seem to have previously visited the Magadha and the Kārṇāṭa countries. "He at first goes to a miserly Andara King. He then visits Sri Kurma and thence proceeds to Puri. The car festival of the place is described and the history of Purusottama, the traveller's chief patron, is described at length. Anangabhīma, an early Ganga prince, is said to have founded Padmanabhapura as an agrahara for South Indian Brahmins. Bhimapura was likewise constructed and called after his name. Ananga's great-grandson bore his name and conquered the princes of Kattak in 1193 A.D. His twelfth descendant established Kapilendra of the throne. The Gangas left the Odriya country and settled at Gudarikata. In the eighth Pariccheda is given a detailed genealogy of the Gangas down to Purusotanadeva. His third ancestor Padmanabha, is said to have killed one Malik, a Muhammadan general sent by the Emperor of Delhi, at a place called Nindapuri. A more detailed examination of the work will furnish the historian with much useful material for his purpose."

<sup>1</sup> Ed. BI, by S. K. Balvalkar with Jonarāja's commentary CC, I 845. See Haribabu Sarada, JRAS, (1918), 259. There is a *Prthvirajavijaya* (printed, Bombay). One Prthvirāja has written a poem *Rukminikṛṣṇavallī* in prakrit, CC, I 527.

<sup>2</sup> TO, IV 4415

<sup>3</sup> For Ganga dynasty, see I 4, XII, III, XIII, I 87

For inscriptions of Devendravarman, see I 4, X 243, XVI, 204, XVIII 148, of Indravarman, I 4, X 243, XIII 119, 124, XVI 181, Satyavarman, I 4, X 243, XIV 10, Nandaprabhanjanavarman, I 4, X 243, XIII 48, Anantavarman, I 4, XVIII, 161, dated Saka 1008, 1040 and 1057.

For a short sketch of history of Kalungas by S. Krishnasami lyengar, see ANQ, I 11.

On Indravarman plates by R. Subbarao, see ANQ, III, 189.

VRAJASUNDARA was the son of Balabhadra of Caitīnya school. He was a poet of the Court of King Anangabhīma. In his poem Sulocanā-mādhava he describes the story of the marriage of prince Mādhava, son of Vikrama, king of Tāladharaja with Sulocana daughter of Gupākara, King of Divyanti in Plaksadvīpa.<sup>1</sup>

**194** *Virupakṣa's COLACAMPU* contains a fictitious account of the Cola King Kulottunga and his son Devacola. This is said to be contrary to epigraphical evidence. Siva came as a Brahmin to him and pleased with his devotion gave him sovereignty. He refused it but consented on condition of repairing all Siva temples. Siva revealed himself and went away. Kubera then appeared, related the story of Ianjasura who obtained salvation through the favour of Ānandavallī at Samivana (ancient site of Tanjore) and crowned Kulottunga at Tanjore. He repaired several temples, crowned his son and went to heaven.<sup>2</sup>

SADAKSARIDFVA, the well-known Canarese poet, lived at Dhanugoor in Mysore. He was a pupil of Uddandadeva who flourished at the beginning of the 15th century. In his Kavikarnarasātyana or Mahācola-rajya he describes in 10 cantos the history of a Cola King.<sup>3</sup>

**195** *UDAYARAJA* was the son of Prayāgadāsa and pupil of Rama-dāsa. His Rājavinoda celebrates the life and doings of Sultan Mahommad. He calls him Rājanyacūḍāmanī and says that he surpasses Karna in liberality and in his footsteps attend Śrī and Sarasvatī. In seven cantos, he describes the genealogy of Mahomad from Myzaffar Khan, his Durbar hall and amusements and his exploits in war. This eulogy by a Hindu Brahmin writer leads us to doubt whether all that is said in our published Indian Histories about the cruelty and persecutions of Sultan Mahomad may not after all be true.<sup>4</sup>

**196** P G Rāmārya narrates the life of Ghazni Muhammad in *Ghazni Mahamadcarita*.<sup>5</sup>

Birudāvahī is an alliterative poem in praise of Emperor Jehangir.<sup>6</sup>

1. *TC*, IV 5665 (breaks off in 14th canto)

2. *HR*, III 2081. His Saradāśārvāri is a commentary on Candra-loka (*Ibid* 1617).

3. *CMy*, 243 (only two cantos are available). He praises Pārakurti Somanātha. There is a commentary by Vengana, Telugu poet of Madura.

4. See A E Gough, *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1, 181.

5. *Sah*, XVIII.

6. *CSC*, (1908), 95. There are other works of the same name by Kalyāna and Raghudeva. (*Ibid*, 96, 97).

AKBARNAMAH is a Sanskrit translation of the Persian work of that name relating the history of Emperor Akbar<sup>1</sup>. There is the poem Todarmallakāvya on the life of Todarmal, his financial minister.<sup>2</sup> Kālidāsa Vidyāvinoda wrote Sivājicarita<sup>3</sup>.

LAKSMIPATI was the son of Visvarūpa, son of Jayadeva. He wrote Avadūllacarī on the life of king-maker Abdulla who lived in 18th century. The poem is not divided into cantos or chapters and contains many Persian terms.<sup>4</sup>

**197 Keladi Basavabhpala** was the son of Somasekhara and Cennāmbā. The family of Keladi to which he belonged traces its descent from Basava whose son Counda distinguished himself as a great warrior and was made the Governor of Pulladesa by the King of the country. His son Sadārīva fought under Emperor Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagar. Under his successors the viceroyalty was augmented by presents conquered territories by the Emperor. During Basava's minority, Cennāmbā acted as regent and once vanquished the forces of the general of Emperor Aurangzeb. Basava was proficient in the Sivādvaīta and worshipped Siva in the form of Virabhadra. He had the titles Rajādhīrāja, Kotikolākala and Parayādavamurari.

His SIVĀRATNĀKARA<sup>5</sup> is a unique encyclopaedia, said to incorporate the essence of all arts and sciences treated in the Vedas and the Āgamas. The work was completed in Saka Candrāgnyātukṣmā (1631) that is 1709-10 A.D. Apart from the valuable information it collects on different topics, it gives a history of the House of Keladi and a legendary account of the foundation of the City of Vijayanagar by Vidyāranya and a history of the emperors that ruled there. The work is divided into Tarangas and Kalolas after the manner of Kathasarit-sāgara.

Rājakālanirnaya of Vidyārapya, gives a history of Kings of Vijayanagar from its foundation. It is said that Harihara and Bukka were guardians of the treasury of Virarudra and after him of Suratrāpa.<sup>6</sup>

1. OSC, (1904), No. 5

2. OM, OMS, 634

3. Jl. of Sam. Sah. Parishat, XI

4. OSC, (1904), No. 6

5. Printed in Madras. For extracts see SVII, 194, 837-364

6. DC, XX. 8587. On Vidyāranya, see para 125 supra.

**198 Rudra**<sup>1</sup> was the son of Ananta and grandson of Kesava He belonged to the Deccan and appears to have gone abroad to Courts of Northern India In Mayūragiri, he was patronised by King Nārāyaṇa Shah and his son Pratāpa Shah In his RASTRAUDHAVAMSA, a poem of 20 cantos he describes the history of the Bagulas of Mayūragiri, from the first King of the dynasty, Rastraudha, King of Kanouj This poem was composed in 1596 A D Later he wrote a work in prose, divided into Ullasas, *Jehangir SHAH Chaurita* Fragments of this work have been discovered in Nasik The poet thus gives a mythical origin to the dynasty "Once Siva was playing at dice with Parvaṭi on the peaks of Mt Kailasa One of the dice accidentally struck the moon in Siva's crest and a boy of eleven sprang from the moon Pleased with his prayer, Siva granted him the kingship of Kanyakubja At this time Latana, who seems to be the tutelary goddess of the kings of Kanyakubja, requested that the boy should be given to her for the throne of Kanouj Siva granted her request Virabhadra presented him with a sword of victory Latana then took the boy and gave him to the king Narayana of Kanouj of solar race, who was praying God for a son. The goddess remaining invisible, told the king that the boy will be known as Rashtraudha as he would support both his kingdom and the family" The poem describes in later cantos the expeditions of King Narayana Shah and his son Pratapashah, the last of which was directed against Bälāpura in the Virata country"<sup>2</sup> Rudra's poetry is enchanting and many of his fancies are rare and original<sup>3</sup>

**199. Ḣarācanḍrodaya** of Vaiṣṇavānātha (Maithila) given in 20 cantos the history of King Tārācandra<sup>4</sup> Candrasekha was the son of

1 He is different from the poet and rhetorician Rudra or Rudrata, for whom see Chapter of Alankara post.

2 Ed by Embar Krishnamachariyā, with summary of poem and an elaborate historical introduction by C D Dalal in *Gack. Or. Series*.

3. For instance see :

लसन्मालतीमालिका कण्ठदेशे नवालक्तकं च विन्द्वावरोषे ।  
कुचे चन्द्रम वीक्ष्य काचित्सप्तम्या प्रिये सापरावेऽपि वीषा तुरोष ॥  
आरामशोभा भवलोकयन्त्या वसन्तलङ्घन्थाश्चरणां बुजौथान् ।  
लक्षानुरागानिव नीरजोऽस्मो वालप्रवाळाव ददुर्लतासु ॥  
वधूजने चिन्वति पुष्पमाला भवाकुला॒ षट्पदपायिकौषा ।  
आरामपाला इव कामराजे कोलाहलैजैगरयामभूषुः ॥ XV, 59.

4 CC, I 228, JBRAS, XII The manuscript is dated Sam. 1798.

Jinamitra of Grūda country His Rajasūrjanacaritra in 20 cantos describes the life of his patron of King Sūrjana<sup>1</sup>

VISVANĀTHA was the son of Nārāyana of the Vaidya family<sup>2</sup> He was patronised by Kings Kāmadeva and his son Jagatśimha of the Rānaka race and in their praise wrote his Jagatprakāśakāvya in 14 cantos<sup>3</sup> Among his other works are Satrusalyākāvya<sup>4</sup> and Kōsakalpaṭaru<sup>5</sup>

Mallabhātta Harivallabha describes the history of Jeypoor State in Jayanaganpancaranga<sup>6</sup>

MAYURĀRMACARIIRA in prose and verse in 8 parts is a history of King Mayūravarman, the founder of the Kādamba dynasty of Jayantipura (Banavāsi)<sup>7</sup> Jāmavijaya, a poem in 7 cantos, on the history of Jama dynasty of Kaccha and Navagara was composed by Vāṇīnātha about the end of 16th century A D<sup>8</sup> Vamsalaṭa of Udayanācārya contains genealogies of Kings, historical and mythical<sup>9</sup> Ratnasenakulaprasasti of Bhāvadatta contains a geneological account of the Sena dynasty of Bengal<sup>10</sup> Yācaprabandha by Tripurāntaka is a biography of Kings Yāca of Venkatagiri, who was an ancestor of Sarvajnasinghabhūpāla,<sup>11</sup> Rāmacandrayasafprabanda by Govindabhatta is in praise of King Rāmacandra of Bikaneer<sup>12</sup> Devarāja arṇṭacampu<sup>13</sup> is biographical Vellapurivīayagadya is a prose account of Vellore and in praise of its ruler Kesavesarāja<sup>14</sup>

**200** Itihāsatamomanī gives an account of the conquest of India by the English and was composed in 1813 A D<sup>15</sup> Angarejacandrika by Vināyakabhatta composed in 1801 deals with the British Dominion in India<sup>16</sup> RAJĀNGĀRĀMAKHODYANA of Rāmaswāmi Rājā, Āngalasūmrājya

1. *Mitra* (1870)

4. *PR*, III 342.

2 *PR*, IV cvx.

5 *PR*, II 128

3 *PR*, III Ap. 854

6. Printed, Bombay

7 *IO*, 1570 2708, 2780.

8 *IO*, 1510, 2851, Vaninatha's son Kavitaruka wrote Kautakaratnakara Prahsana (*IO*, 1618)

9 *IO*, 1517, 2864

10 *IO*, 1515, No. 8886

11 *Mask*, 98, see Volugohiyanyamśacarīramu (in Telugu) 84. See further chapter of Alankara post

12 *Bk* 247.

13 *CC*, I

14 Taylor, I, 22

15. *CSC*, IV 188

16 *Ozf*, 184.

of Rājarājavarma and Ānglādhirājvavagata of Paravastu Rangacārya describe the history of British rule in India. Vidyālankāra Bhattacārya describes the reign of Queen Victoria in Vijayinikāvya Srinivasa Vidyālankāra describes Dehlī Darbar in Delhimahotsava Kāvya, G V Padmanabha, author of Pavanadūta, describes the life of King George V in his Jārjidevacarita.<sup>1</sup>

The greatness of Maharaja Kṛṣṇarāja Odayar of Mysore has been depicted by Bhagavata Rāsna in Kṛṣṇarājabhyudaya,<sup>2</sup> by Śrinivasa Kavi in Kṛṣṇaśājaprabhāvodaya,<sup>3</sup> by Trivikrama Sastrin in Kṛṣṇājagunāloka,<sup>4</sup> and by Gītācārya in Sri Kṛṣṇarājodayacāmpū.<sup>5</sup>

**201.** Rājasekharaśūri was the pupil of Tilakasūri. He was a Jain. He wrote Prabandhakosa, a collection of 24 stories in prose at Delhi under the patronage of Mahanasiṁha,<sup>6</sup> in Sam 1405 (1348 A.D.). Of the stories related in the Prabandhakosa, ten refer to teachers (suri), four to poets, seven to kings, and three to laymen in royal service. The four poets are Śrīharṣa, Hariharā, Amaracandra and Digambara-Madanakīrti. Among the seven kings are Lakṣmanascna and Madanavarman.<sup>7</sup> A manuscript ends with a list of thirty-seven Chahamana kings down to Hammīradeva, who is stated to have ruled from Sam 1342 to 1358, and his ancestor Pratīvirāja from Sam 1226 to 1248. The list also mentions the names of the Sultans with whom some of the Chahamana kings were at war.<sup>8</sup>

**202** VIKRAMODAYA is a series of metrical tales on Vikramāditya of which the extant manuscript ends in 28th canto which treats of Śalivāhana.<sup>9</sup> VIRACARIA is a heroic poem in 30 adhyayas by Ananṭa. It narrates the events supposed to have taken place at Pratiṣṭhana (Partha) on the Godāvarī in connection with Śalivāhana, the conqueror of Vikramāditya of Ujjain and his son Saṅkī Kumāra. The leading features of the narrative are the heroic achievements of Suḍraka, the

1 Printed within the last fifty years.

2 Printed, Madras

3 Printed Bangalore

4 Printed Madras

5 My OML He is the father of Chakravatti, author of the romance Sati-valini, for whom, see Chapter on Sanskrit Prose, post

6 His father Jagatīsimha was a contemporary of Muhammad Bin Toghiak, see JBRAS, X 81.

7 Printed Bombay, PR, III. 272, IV cv.

8 HR, III vii,

9 IO, 1501, 1957.



## CHAPTER IX

### Mahakavya (*contd.*)

#### SECTION 1

**205 Alwars** The traditions of Śrī Vaishnavas mention 12 Saints or Alwars<sup>1</sup> Garudavāhanapandit in his *Divyashūricarita*,<sup>2</sup> and Anantācārya in his *Prapanamīpti*,<sup>3</sup> describe their story. The traditional dates,<sup>4</sup> ascribed to many of these Alwars are not accepted by "modern" scholars, probably because according to them tradition cannot be accepted as history. It is not known however why the innocent Vaishnavas should forge chronology, for their reverence to these sages is not due to the time that has gone by, but to the intrinsic merit of their teachings. Speculation cannot displace tradition.

Of these Alwars, some of whom were born in Dvāpara,<sup>5</sup> some in Kali,<sup>6</sup> Kulasekhara was the first, born in Kali year 27, Parābhava,

1. See *Vaishnava Reformer of India* by T. Rajagopalacarya, *Early history of Vaishnavism in South India* by S. Krishnasami Ayyangar, *Life of the Alwars* by A. Govindacharya V. Ranganatarai, *Successors of Ramanuja*, *JBRAS*, XXIV 102 and Guruparamparas of the different Sects

2 Printed *Sahitya*, Madras, and Mysore Gurudavāhana or Śrinivāsa was also known as Kavivaidyapuraṇḍara [DC, XXI 8125, TC, IV, 5093, 5943]

3 This is a long poem in 125 cantos dealing with the lives of Sri Vaishnava Alwars of India Printed Bombay and Madras [SVH, 84, 71, 202, 251]

4 Bhaktīvaibhavaprakāsh of Venkatesa son of Pratīvādibhāskara, gives the date, month, year, constellation of the birth of the several Alwars (TC, II, 2010) For Venkatesa's many other works, see TC, II 2025 2052, among which several are stotras

5 (i) Mahāt (Peyalwar) in Dvāpara, 860900 (862901?), (Siddharthi), Āśvayuja, Šukla 10th, Guru, Šiṭebīja, at Mayurapuri (Mylapore) (ii) Bhuta (Pudattalwar) in Dvāpara, 860900 (862901?), (Siddharthi), Āśvayuja, Šukla, 9th, Budha at Mallapuram (Mahābulipuram) (iii) Kāśīr (Poigai) in Dvāpara 860900 (862901?), (Siddharthi), Āśvayuja, Šukla, 8th, Guru, Sravanya, at Kāñor, (iv) Mathurakavi in Dvāpara 888878 (888878?) (Tēvara), Oṣīra, Šukla, 14th, Šukra, Oṣīra, at Thirukkoloor (Tinnevelly Dt) (v) Bhaktīśra (Tirumalaisalai) in Dvāpara, 892001, (Siddharthi), Puṣya, Kāhuia, 1st Adi, Makha, Tūlālagña, at Tirumalaisalai

6 (i) Periyalwar (Visenicotta) was born in Kali 47, Krodhava, Jyestha, Šukla, 12th Svāti, at Dhanipuri (Sriviliputtr), (ii) Āndāl born in Kali 98, Nala, Āśādha, Šukla, 14th, Mangala, Pubbha, (iii) Vipranārāyaṇa (Tondaradippadi Alwar) in Kali 107, Prabhava, Margasira, Jyestha, at Mandangudi (iv) (Tiruppāni Alwar in Kali 162 (8483?) (Bahula 2nd,) (Durnati) Kartika, Šukla, 15th (Krittika?) Budha, (Orayur) Rohini? at Nicolapuri (v) Parakāla (Tirumangai Alwar) in Kali 217 (899?), (Nala), Kartika, 15th, Guru, Kṛttikā at Parikambhapuri.

3075 B C He was son of Dṛḍhavrata<sup>1</sup> His famous lyric Mukundamālā displays harmony and devotion<sup>2</sup>

Among Alwars, Nammālwar or Sathagopa of Kurukapuri,<sup>3</sup> also known as Parāśara or Vakulābhārana was the greatest. He was the son of Kari and Udayamangai and was born at Tirukkuruhur in the 43rd year Kali of 3059 B C<sup>4</sup> His original name was Maran. After a period of contemplation while yet a child, he became inspired and the result of it was the singing of the Tamil Prabandham Nālāyiram. This has been rendered into Sanskrit Kurukesagathanaukarana by Rāmānuja, son of Govinda of Kāśyapagotra,<sup>5</sup> and in Jñātparyaratnāvah by Vedāntadeśika.<sup>6</sup>

Among the Ācāryas was Ālavandar (Yāmunācārya) who occupied the apostolic seat at Srīrangam. He was the son of Īvaralbhatti and Ranganāyaki,<sup>7</sup> and grandson of Nāthamuni.<sup>8</sup> He was a great devotee and his lyrics Cāṭussioki, Stotgaratna,<sup>9</sup> and Sri-tuṭi,<sup>10</sup> are famous for their piety and melody. He lived between 915-1040 A D.

1. Kulaśekhara was according to the Ś-1 Vaisnava tradition born at Kolpatānam in Keralas, in Kali, 27, (Parābhava) Māgha Sukla, 12th, Guru, Pūnarvasu. But Ganapathi Sastri in his preface of *Tāpatisamāvratana* (TSS), says that that Kulaśekhara mentioned in Tamil Prabandhas is said to have lived in Kali 1680 (1422 B C). The source of information is not given.

2. See Chapter on Laghukāvya, post

3. Sāthagopasahasra is a thousand verses in praise of Sāthagopa, a by Venkātācārya (TC, IV 4612, 4660) Sāthagopagunālankaraparicaryā is a treatise on rhetoric with illustrations in praise of Sāthagopa (TC, II 2810, IV 5222) probably by a member of the Bhatta's family of Srīrangam in 17th century A D. For other eulogies, see TC, III, 2085, IV 5292, 5221, 5222, 4664, DC, XVIII 4842. For a short account, see Ind. Rev (1918), 646.

4. He was born in Pramadi, Vāsiṣṭha sukla 16th, Śukra, Vaiśakha (TC, XVIII. 6881

5. TC, III. 8492

6. TC, III 4152

7. He was born in Kali 4017 Phāṭu Āśadha Śukla 15th, Budha Uttarāśadha. See Ind. Rev IX 585.

8. According to Prapannāmrīja, Nāthamuni was born in Śobhārti, Kali 8684, Āśi, Wednesday, Krṣṇa 13th, and he is said to have lived 980 (340<sup>0</sup>) years. See Ind. Rev IX, 275.

9. See TC, II 2600

10. Printed, Madras. There is commentary by Vedāntadeśika (DC, XVIII 7204) and a summary of this commentary Rāmānujasudhi (*Ibid* 7206). See also TC, III. 2989.

**206** Ramanuja was Ālavandār's son's daughter's son He was born in Kali 4119 (1017 A D ) at Śrīperumbudūr<sup>1</sup> His father was Āśūri Kesava Bhattar of Hāritīgotra Rāmānuja was first named Laks-mapa and to this day he is called Lakṣmapamuni and an incarnation of Ādiseṇa He studied under Vādavaprakāśa at Kāncī, but became estranged from him on account of his jealousy After escaping an attempt at assassination, he lived at Kāncī, until he was called to Srīrangam to take the place of Ālavandār He reached Srīrangam barely to see the remains of Ālavandār about to be consigned to the funeral pile<sup>2</sup> At Madhurāntakam, he was initiated into Vedānta by Perianambi and soon he became an ascetic

He wrote his commentary on Vyāsasūtras and a Bhāṣya on the Gīta and three works on Vedānta In his tour in Kāśmir, his commentary on the sūtras was approved by Sarasvatī and at her bidding it was called Śrī Bhāṣya He installed the Viṣṇu deity at Melkote, in 1099 A D ,<sup>3</sup> settled disputes at Tirupati and arranged for the performance of festivals in several Viṣṇu shrines He passed away after a life of 128 years in Durmati 1137 A D <sup>4</sup>

Apart from his works on philosophy,<sup>5</sup> his literary merits are indicated in his GADYATRAYA viz Vaikunthagadya, Raghuviragadya, Saranāgatigadya<sup>6</sup>

1. The formula is शीर्तशा, Śaka 989 (Kali 4118) Pingala, Caiṭra, Śukla 7th, Guru, Ārḍhā, Karkata (TC, XVIII, 6882)

2. "Ramanuja was taken close to the body to take a first and final look at the great master, when he saw three cut of the five fingers of the right hand folded. Struck with this, he enquired whether the defect was noticed in life and the answer came that the defect was not physical and was not noticed in life On further enquiry Ramanuja was told that the master had three of his cherished objects unfulfilled, namely, an easily read and understood commentary upon the Brahmasastra , the giving of the names of Parassara and Sathagopa to suitable persons that would make these names live among the people Ramanuja promised to see these fulfilled and the fingers straightened" Sri Ramanujacharya by S Krishnaswami Iyenger, page 8

3. On this subject, see Jñāṇodhikārakrama, a work preserved in the Yaṭirājā Mutt at Melkote, summarised by N T Narasimha Ayyangar, JRMS, (1915) 147

4. His active life embraced the reigns of the Cola Rājas, Kuloṭṭunga I (1070-1118 A D ), Vikrama (1118-1188 A D ) and Kuloṭṭunga II. (1188-1146 A D )

5. See CC, I 521, II. 529.

6. Ed, Madras, Bonbey.

On the life of Rāmānuja,<sup>1</sup> there are Rāmānujasucarītacakula by Rāmānujadāsa,<sup>2</sup> Yaṣṭindracampū<sup>3</sup> by Vakulābharaṇa, son of Saṅghagōpa of Āṭreyagoṭra and desciple of Varada of Vāṭsyā family, Rāmanujadivya-cariṭa,<sup>4</sup> Rāmānujacariṭa,<sup>5</sup> Rāmānujavijaya by Annayācarya,<sup>6</sup> Rāmānujīya,<sup>7</sup> Śiḍbhāyakāracariṭa by Kauśika Venkatesa,<sup>8</sup> Srīsailakulavaiśhvava by Nṛsimhaśurī.<sup>9</sup>

His desciple Āndhrapūrṇa (Vaduhanambi) wrote Yatirājavarībhava

**207.** **Kurattalvar** or Śrīvatsāṅkamisra, son of Rāma Somayāji, was born at Kūram near Kāncī in Kali 4141 (1039 A.D.)<sup>10</sup> He was a pupil of Rāmānuja. He belonged to a wealthy family but abondoned his riches and migrated to Srirangam to join Rāmānuja. There he became a mendicant and lived by alms. His memory was supernatural and it is said that when Rāmānuja was not permitted in Kashmir to make a copy of Bodhāyanā's Vṛtti on Brahmasūtra, Kuresa could by a single reading of it repeat the work. Thus he helped Rāmānuja in his composition of Śrībhāya of which he was his ananuensis. When King Kuloṭṭungacola I summoned Rāmānuja to his presence to accept the Saiva faith, Kuresa personated Rāmānuja and when he attempted to argue the superiority of Vaishnava faith the cruel king ordered his eyes to be put out. Kuresa is the founder of the family of the Bhattacharyas of Srirangam.<sup>11</sup>

He was a great poet and his verse combines in it the fluency of lay fancies and the sanctity of theological allusions. His Vaikunṭhastava describes the glory of Viṣṇu in Vaikuntha, his Aṭimānuṣaṇṭava,<sup>12</sup> the great deeds of Viṣṇu in his incarnations, his Sundarabābuṣṭava, the

1. See also Life of Sri Rāmānuja by C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Rāmānuja Grantha (Opp., II 4882), Rāmānujavamāvali (CG, I 522). For Stotras in his praise, see TC, I 14, 595, 768, DO, XVIII, 6855, 6706, 6849, 6881, 6841, 6862, 6995, 6842, 6785, 6847.

2. TG, III 8581

3. TG, IV 5210

4. Opp. II 8528

5. TG, III 8061.

6. Recs, 240.

7. Opp., II, 1801, 7722

8. Mys OML, 260

9. Ibid., 260,

10. DO, XVIII, 6882. He was born in Saumya, Makara, Kṛṣṇa 5th, Budha, Hasta.

11. For a short account of his life, see Saṅkh XVII 45, 89, 118, 130

12. There is a commentary by Rāmānuja (DO, XVIII, 6819).

grace and purposes of idolic forms of Viṣṇu, his Varadarāja-tīva the particular merit of Varadarāja of Kancī and Śūśrava, the qualities of Lakṣmī These together go under the name of Pancastīvi<sup>1</sup> I Kūresavijaya, probably by Kūranārāyaṇa,<sup>2</sup> relates his history<sup>3</sup>

Śrīvatsaka's son was Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, born in Saka 983 (1061 A D)<sup>4</sup> He wrote Viṣṇusahasranāma-Bhāṣya and Śrīrangarājaṭava<sup>5</sup> Śrīgunarāṭnakosa,<sup>6</sup> Kṣamāśoḍasi,<sup>7</sup> Tantisloki and Astasloki<sup>8</sup> Doddayācārya<sup>9</sup> relates his history in his Pārāśaryavijaya<sup>10</sup>

**208 Vedantadesika** or Venkatanātha was the high priest of the Vadagalai Śrīvaiṣṇava sect His life and works have been noticed in a previous Chapter<sup>11</sup>

**209. Sauimyajatmatrmuni** (or Manavāla Mahāmuni)<sup>12</sup> was the high priest of the Tengalai Sri Vaiṣṇava sect He was born at Kuntīnagara and was a disciple of Lokācārya<sup>13</sup> He lived in 1370-1444 A D<sup>14</sup>

1. El Madras, with the commentary of Śivivāsa, son of Rāmānuja of Atreya Gotra.

2. Kūranārāyaṇa was the author of Sugrīvanasatata (Kāvyaṁīla, VII)

3. DC, XVIII, 6958, Opp 5516, 7909, II 1052, 1980

4. He was born in Subhaktī, Vaiṣṇava, Śukla, 15, Anuśāda and died in the year Jaya, Kārtika

5. Printed, Madras There are commentaries, one anonymous and another by Venkātācārya, DC, XVIII, 7118, 7119

6. Printed, Madras. For commentary by Rāmānujācārya, see DO, XVIII 6884, by Veeraghava (*Ibid*, 6886), by Venkātīvāsa (*Ibid*, 6889), and by Jagannātha (TG, II, 440)

7. Printed, Madras. TG, IV 4675

8. Printed, Madras,

9. Doddayacarya of Vādhulagoṭra of lived in the days of King Rāma Rāya of Viṣṇugadā. See p. 122 supra. Among his other works are Cāndramārūpa, Vedāntavidyāvijaya and Saṅkyāvijaya. He wrote Vedāntādēśikavaibhāvaprakāśikā (DC, XIX 7677). See SVH, 202 and OG, I 263

10. Rice, 154

11. See para 120 *supra*.

12. He was also called Śrīśailaśāṅkaka (see Śrīśailaśāṅkaka by Davācājī, (TG, III, 4146) For other stotras in his praise, see DC, XVIII 7301-10 and TG, IV, 5298, 5219, 5226. See also Yatiṇdrapratavāṇīampu by Vakulābhāraṇa (Mya OML Sup. 12)

13. He is known as Pillai Lokācārya. He lived for 28 years in 1365-1373 A D. He composed Śrīvaiṣṇavabhūṣṭi in Tamil of which there is a summary of Venkātī (TG, II 2019). He died at Jyotiṣkudi. He was a friend of Vedāntādēśikī. (See extract from Prapannāmṛta, SVH, 84).

14. He was born on 24.1.1370 A D in Saka 1292, Saṭṭhārapāṭi, Arpiśi, 26, Guru, Śukla, Caṭurđāśi, Mula, 1.

He composed Yatirājavimśati,<sup>1</sup> in praise of Rā nānuja and Kastūritilakastava.<sup>2</sup> In Sucaritacāvaka, Raghavārya, son of Nṛsimha, describes the incidents of his life. Rāghava lived at Bhūṣara or Tīrumalaisai near Chingleput.<sup>3</sup> His daughter's son Abhirāmavara or Varavaramuni or Saumyavara, son of Dīprasāyana,<sup>4</sup> wrote Nakṣatramālā, a hymn in praise of Sathagopa.<sup>5</sup>

**210** In the hierarchy of Ahobalam Mutt of which ADI VAN SAHAGOPA Swāmi was the first pontiff, there were many poets of a high order.<sup>6</sup> ADI VAN SAHAGOPA swami of Irunārāyanapuram lived in 1379-1458 A.D (Tirumalai Nambākam) NARAYANA was his successor (1458-1472). He is known to have written 60 works on various topics and in the field of poetry his Nārāyanacarita and commentary on Ālavandarṣṭoṭra are known (Vangipuram) PARANKUSA was 6th (1497-1511) and wrote Narasimhaṣṭava SATHAGOPA was 7th (1512-1522) and wrote the play Vāsanākāparīpaya<sup>7</sup> (Kalyāṇapuram Cakravarthy) PARANKUSA RAMANUJA was 24th (1762-1774) and wrote Śīraprapatti, Narasimha-mangalāśāsana etc (Elanagar Gadādhārapuram) VIRARAGHAVA was 27th (1827-1830) and wrote Kṛpāsāgarastava, Kṣiranadīṣṭava, Vihaṇeṣvaraṣṭava, Devarājastava, Lakṣminarasimhaṣṭava and Valkunthavijaya-campū in answer to Nilakanṭhavijaya (Athupattu Mādabūsi) SATHAGOPA RAMANUJA was 34th (1878-1881) and wrote Kavīṛḍayaranjini and Veḍagirivarnana (Turagagaṭi) (Pillaiyapakam Ilayavalli) VIRARAGHAVA (1897-1898) was 67th and wrote Śārīrakasuprabhāṣa and Śīgosthūnāṣṭava

**211.** Among the pontiffs of the Parakala Mutt of Mysore, Srinivasa was the 29th. He lived in 1802-1861 A.D. and wrote Alankārasangraha.<sup>8</sup>

Śrī KRŚNA Brahmaṇṭra Parakālaswāmi was the 31st Head of the Parakāla Mutt at Mysore. His original name was Kṛṣṇācārya. He was the son of Tātācārya and Kṛṣṇāmbā of the village of Amṛdella on

1. Printed, Madras. There is commentary on it (TC, II, 2490).

2. TC, IV 4739; DC, XVII, 6989, with commentary.

3. TO, III, 4127.

4. See TC, II, 2019 for this relationship.

5. TO, II, 2268, with commentary by Jagannāṭha.

6. See Guruparampara of that Mutt published in Tamil at Madras. See the Ahobalam inscription of Śīrāṅgarāja dated Śaka 1506 (1584 A.D.) extracted in SVH. 288

7. See Chapter on Sanskrit Drama, post. DC, XXI, 8500.

8. See Guruparampara of that Mutt, published in Mysore

the Pennar. He was born in 1839 and passed away about 1916 A.D. He was for some time in the courts of Vanaparti, Āṭmakūr and Ānagondi. He wrote 67 works on various branches of learning. Among campūs are Rangarājavilāsa, Kārtikōtsavadipikā and Śrinivāsavilāsa. Among poems are Capetāhāṭīṣṭuṭi, Uṭṭararangamāhāṭmya, Rameśvara-vijaya, Nṛsimhavilāsa and Maṭhangopālamāhāṭmya.<sup>1</sup> His Alankāramapī-hāra is an elaborate work on rhetoric with illustrations in praise of the deity Śrinivāsa of Tirupati.<sup>2</sup>

**212. Lakṣmikumara Tatacarya** of Śāṭhamarṣanagoṭra is a famous personage in South Indian Vaiṣṇava history. He was born at Kumbakonam in 1571 A.D. He was adopted by Venkatācārya, better known as Pancamaṭabhanjana<sup>3</sup> Tāṭādesika of Conjeevaram. He was preceptor and minister of Emperors Śrīranga and Venkatapaṭi of Vijayanagar and was practically the ruler of the empire in the later half of the 16th century. He was accorded the first honours in all the shrines of South India and was celebrated for his acts of charity. His titular name Kotikanyāḍāna indicates the marriages of several maidens performed at his instance. He passed away in 1631 A.D. His HANUMADVIṂSATI is engraved on the walls in Devarājswāmi temple at Conjeevaram of which his descendants are still the trustees.

The greatness of his line is described by Kāshmūjādāsa in Tāṭāryavābhāvaprakāsa.<sup>4</sup> His life is described by his descendant Ranganātha in the poem Lakṣmikumāroḍaya.<sup>5</sup>

## SECTION 2

**213 Sri Madhvācārya** or Ānandatīrtha,<sup>6</sup> was born in the village of Belle near Uḍipi in an orthodox brahmin family in the year Yuva, 4300 Kali or 1198 A.D.<sup>7</sup> on the last day of Navarātri. That day is now known as Maṭhvanavami. His mother was Vedavalli. His original

1. For full account, see Guruparamparā (Mysore).

2. Id. Mys. series

3. See pata 524 *supra*. SVH, 262, where an extract from Prayāṇīśārthī is given.

4. DC, XIX, 7242.

5. Printed, Kumbakonam.

6. He is also known as Ānandīśvaraṭagiri, Ānandīgiri, Ānandījīvī, Ānandījīna-guri, Jñānānanda, Jñānānandīgiri. (C.O. I, 48). See Grierson, SBE25, VII, 289; Bhāskararāya, VS, 57 and BR, (1882-3), 207.

7. O.M. Badamiṭhācārya in his *Life of Sri Madhvācārya* discusses the question and fixes the year 1193 A.D. as the date of his birth, i.e. taking the older H. Krishna Gaudi agrees with him. But the inscription at Śikharīmūla dated Śaka 1208 indicates the earlier date. (EI, III, 260 8) See Introduction to Translation of Geṭṭabhāṣyā by S. Subba Rao and A Sketch of the History of Madhvācāryas by G. Venkateswara (14, XIV, 229).

name was Vāsudeva. His early life displayed miracles of divine powers. By twenty five,<sup>1</sup> he became learned in all the sciences and Vedas. His knowledge was so profound that he was called Pūrnaprajna. At that age he renounced his family and became an ascetic on the initiation of Acyutaprakāśa under the name of Ānandatīrtha. In his tours throughout India he engaged himself in philosophical controversies and became the founder of the Advaita school of philosophy. He expounded his Dvaita doctrine in his Bhāṣyas on Vyāsa Sūtras, the Upaniṣads, and the Gīta. He spent his last years at the Saridantāram, the duab between the rivers Neṛāvati and Kumāradhāra in S. Canara and he lived for 79 years, 6 months and 20 days and disappeared in Pingala, 1278 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Of his 37 works,<sup>3</sup> many on philosophy, his mastery of the language is displayed in his poem YAMAKABHĀRATA, where he narrates the story of Mahābhārata in Yamaka verse.<sup>4</sup> Among his sṭotras are Āgyāntotra, Gurustottra, Kṛṣṇastotra and Dvādasastotra.<sup>5</sup> Bhāgavatātparyanirṇaya<sup>6</sup> and Bhārataātparyanirṇaya<sup>7</sup> are learned critiques on Sri Bhāgavata and Mahābhārata. Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛtamahārāpava,<sup>8</sup> Śankaravijaya and Śankarācāryavaṭārakāthi are also attributed to him.<sup>9</sup>

**214 Trivikrama.** Among the immediate disciples of Śri Madhvā was Ṭrivikrama,<sup>10</sup> whom he converted to his faith after a long series of discussions. He wrote Uḍdhārapaṭkāvya and Vāyuṣṭupi.<sup>11</sup>

Trivikrama's son was Narayāṇa. To him we owe the first account of Śri Madhvā's life in his poems Madhvavijaya,<sup>12</sup> Arumadhvā-

1. Some say it was thirteen.

2. According to the other view this was on 11th January 1318 A.D. See B. Venkateswara, *Life of Sri Vyāsadeva*, XXVIII Bangalore.

3. Govindamīśvara (TG, II, 2008) gives the list.

4. Printed Bombay and Madras. There are commentaries on it anonymous (DC, XX, 7955) which refers to a prior commentary in verse (TO, II, 1148).

5. Printed, Madras, Bombay.

6. Printed, Madras and Bombay with Śāṅkarādabhātta's commentary. See TG, II, 1161. For a short summary of it, see TO, II, 1995.

7. See page 43 *supra*. For commentaries, see TO, II, 1148; by Viśiṣṭācārya (TO, II, 1912), by Chetti Karu (TO, II, 1549), by Lekṣmīśaṅkha (TO, II, 1409).

8. BTG, 107, Rāce, 196.

9. CO, I, 46.

10. Printed, Bombay with the commentary of Sumatiñidha. Sumatiñidha extolled King Śakataji of Tanjore in his Sutmañdrājayaghoṣa. *Tanq Cat.*, VII, 8984.

11. TO, II, 1141, 1907, with commentary (TO, II, 1914) by Kāviḍācārya Vedāṅgamuni.

12. Printed, Bombay, with commentary by Śāṅkācārya, TG, II, 1150.

vijaya,<sup>1</sup> and Maṇimānjarī.<sup>2</sup> His Pāṇjūṭharana is a Yamaka poem.<sup>3</sup> He wrote also Sivāṇṭut, Viṇuṇṭuti, Nṛsimhaṇṭotra and Sangraha-Rūmāyāṇa.<sup>4</sup>

**215** Of Madhva's disciples, four succeeded as pontiffs, one after another, Padmanābha, Narahari, Mādhava and Akṣobhya. From Akṣobhya,<sup>5</sup> Jayatīrtha got his initiation. He is said to have died in 1388 A.D. The life of Jayatīrtha is described in poems by Vyāsatiṭha in his Jayatīrthavijaya,<sup>6</sup> by Kṛṣṇa in Jayatīrthavijayābdhi,<sup>7</sup> by Sankarāna in Jayatīrthavijaya,<sup>8</sup> and by Karkohalli Śrinivāsa in Jayindrodaya.<sup>9</sup>

**216** After Jayatīrtha, the most famous among the Madhva Acāryas was Vyāsarāya,<sup>10</sup> He lived in 1447-1539 A.D. He was practically the moving influence in the Court of Vijayanagar from the days of Sälva Narasimha to Acyutadevarāya who ruled in 1486-1542 A.D.<sup>11</sup>

The life of Vyāsarāya is described in the Vyāsayogicaritacampūl by Somanātha,<sup>12</sup> which was continued by Śivādyāratnākarasvāmī,<sup>13</sup> and the poem Vyāsavijaya. Somanātha's prose is enchanting. The reader feels as if it is Kādambarī. He is reported to be the sister's son of Anantabhatta, author of Campūbhārata, who lived about 1500 A.D. Somanātha was introduced to his hero Vyāsarāya in the reign of King Acyutadevarāya and must have lived about 1535 A.D. Somanātha's grand-father Bhāta Gayamukhī Bhāskara, known as Kālameghādhvarin, was a great poet.<sup>14</sup>

1 There is a commentary by Venkateshbhatta, *TC*, II, 1686.

2 Printed, Bombay with Subrahmanyā's commentary. There are commentaries by Anantācārya (*DO*, XX, 7945), by Jammu Bhāvanāśyācārya (*DO*, II, 7945) and by Vittalācārya (*TC*, II, 2003).

3 Printed, Poona *DO*, XX 7986

4 Printed, Bombay and Belgaum. In *DO*, XV 7976, there is an anonymous commentary.

5 Akṣobhya, Viḍyāraṇya, Veḍanṭa Dīka and Jayatīrtha were contemporaries.

6 Printed, Mysore

7 Mys *OML Sup* 10

8 Printed, Belgaum

9 Mys *OML Sup*, 10.

10. He was disciple of Brahmaṇyaṭīṭi whose life is described in Brahmaṇyaṭīṭhavijaya (See B. Venkobharao's *Lal. to Sri Vyāsayogicarita*, I, XXII). Brahmaṇyaṭi died about 1528 A.D.

11 See para 124 *supra*

12 Ed. Bangalore with a long introduction dealing with the contemporary history of Kingdom of Vijayanagar by B. Venkobharao

13. *Op cit* lxxii.

14. See B. Venkobharao, *op cit* ill. ix.

**217** Purandaradīsa, the distinguished author of Kanarese devotional songs, was Vyāsarāya's disciple. So was Vādirāja. Vādirāja is said to have opened an old treasury at a crisis, for King Acyutadevarāya He rebuilt the temple at Udupi, but before the golden dome was erected the Kingdom of Vijayanagar was subverted by defeat at the battle of Talikota.<sup>1</sup> He was a great poet and among his poems are Rukminiśavijaya,<sup>2</sup> Sarasabhārativilāsa,<sup>3</sup> Tīrthaprabandha,<sup>4</sup> Ekibhāvastotra,<sup>5</sup> and Daśāvaṭārasaṭṭu.<sup>6</sup> His life is described in Vādirājavṛttaratnasaṅgraha by Raghunātha.<sup>7</sup>

Satyanāṭhaṭīrṭha's original name was Raghunāṭhācārya. He died in 1674 A.D.<sup>8</sup> His life is depicted in Saṭyanāṭhamāhātmyaratnākara,<sup>9</sup> in Saṭyanāṭhabhyudaya<sup>10</sup> by Sankarsana, son of Seṭṭācārya, and in Saṭyanāṭhavilāsa by Śrinivāsa.<sup>11</sup>

There are poems on the lives of Dvaita Ācāryas.<sup>12</sup> Visvapriyaguna-jīlāvilāsa by Seṭumādhava,<sup>13</sup> Raghavendravijaya by Nārāyana,<sup>14</sup> and Saṭyanāṭhavilāsa by Śrinivāsa,<sup>15</sup> Seturāyavijaya,<sup>16</sup> Saṭyabodhvijaya,<sup>17</sup> by Kṛṣṇa.<sup>18</sup>

### SECTION 3

**218** Basava, the founder of the Veerasaiva cult of the Lingāyats, was the prime minister of the Kalacuri King Bhijjala who came to the throne at Kalyan in 1156 A.D.<sup>19</sup> The tradition is that the sect was founded by five ascetics—Ekorāma, Panditāñdhya, Revaṇa, Marula,

1. See B. Venkobharao, *op. cit.* CLXXXIII.

2. *CC*, I. 562

3. Printed, Belgaum.

4. Printed, Calcutta.

5. Printed, Bombay.

6. Printed, Belgaum.

7. *CAL*, II. 25.

8. *CC*, I. 638.

9. *CC*, I. 639.

10. *Mys OML Sup.* II; *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2676.

11. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2676, 2680.

12. On the history of Maṭhva Ācāryas, see *IA*, XLIII, 233, 269.

13. *Mys OMS Sup.* 11

14. *SVH*, 252. Raghavendra was contemporary of Yaguanāṭhāyapa Dikṣīṭa. (See para 150 *supra*).

15. *Mys OMS Sup.* 11.

16. *CAL*, II. 16

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Mys OML Sup.* 11.

19. See *IA*, V. 175.

Viśvārādhya—who are held to have sprung from the five heads of Śiva, incarnate age after age. These are regarded as very ancient, and Basava is said to have been but the reviver of the faith.<sup>1</sup> Yet the early literature shows that the five were all his contemporaries, some older, some younger.<sup>2</sup> In the poem Basavēśavijaya,<sup>3</sup> Sankarārādhva describes his life, and so does Somanātha in his Basavapurāṇa,<sup>4</sup> and Basavanagaḍya. Somanātha also wrote a poem Panditārādhhyacarita on the life of Panditārādhya, the Lingayat Guru Somanātha (Palkurki), of Bhṛngiritagotra and son of Gurulinga, lived in the time of King Praṭaparudra I (1140-1196 A D).<sup>5</sup>

## SECTION 4

**219 Sri Gauranga**, whose original name was Nimai, was born of Jagannātha and Sacī at Nadia in Phalgun, of Saka 1407 (1486 A D) on the banks of the Bhāgirathī. His childhood foretold his future greatness. He married Viśnupriyā, daughter of Sanātanamisra. He was called Gaurāṅga or Gour for his fair complexion. When he became inspired and an ascetic, he took the name Sri Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. He sang the glories of Sri Kṛṣṇa and became the founder of the school of Bhakti of devotion. He passed away in 1527 A D.<sup>6</sup> Among his poems are Gopālacakritra,<sup>7</sup> Premāmṛta,<sup>8</sup> Sankṣepabhāgavatāmṛta,<sup>9</sup> Harināma-kavaca,<sup>10</sup> Dānakelincintāmanī.<sup>11</sup>

**220 Rupa**<sup>12</sup> was born in 1490 A D. He was a scion of the Goswāmī line and Kūmarā was his father. Vallabha and Sanatāna were his brothers. His sixth ancestor Aniruddha was a Raja of Karnat about

1. On Lingayat legends and literature, see *IA*, IV, 17, 211, V 183.

2. Farquhar, *ORL*, 260. For bibliography, see *Ibid*, 887.

3. Printed, Mysore.

4. *Mys OML* 548; *Ibid*, Sup. 84.

5. See Veerasalingam's Works, X 220.

6. For an account of his life, see S. K. Ghose, *Lord Gauranga*, Calcutta; R. B. Dherchandha Sen, *Chaitanya and his age* and *Chaitanya and his companions*; M T Kennedy, *Chaitanya and his movement*, Y. Sercar, *Chaitanya's pilgrimages and teachings*, Farquhar, *ORL*, 476.

7. *CG*, I 161.

8. *CSC*, (1907), No. 54; (1908) No. 67, with commentary by Vitthala.

9. *CG*, I, 884.

10. *CG*, I, 758.

11. *CSC*, (1908) 67.

12. For an account, see D C Sen's *History of Bengali Literature* (Calcutta), 503, Introduction to Ujvalanilamapi (*Kavyamāla*), Introduction to Caitanyacandrodaya (*Kavyamāla*).

Saka 1338. His family was immensely rich Rūpa and Sanātana were made the prime ministers of Hosen Sahara, Emperor of Gauda.<sup>1</sup> By nature, of a religious disposition, they were attracted by the teachings of the reformer Caitanya,<sup>2</sup> and gave up home to become ascetics. Their greatness as religious teachers is described in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal.<sup>3</sup> Rūpa passed away in 1363 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

As a poet and rhetorician, Rūpa is of a high order.<sup>5</sup> The poetic instinct saturated with bhakti or love for Kṛṣṇa manifested itself in several forms of composition, always with the life of Kṛṣṇa as its theme. Viḍagdhamādhava, and Lalitamādhava<sup>6</sup> are dramas in seven acts describing the loves of Kṛṣṇa, and Rādhā as related in the Bhāgavata, Dānakelikaumudi<sup>7</sup> and is a bhāṇa with its hero, Kṛṣṇa. Hamasadūta and Uddhavasandesa are poems of message,<sup>8</sup> on the model of Meghadūta. Padyāvali is an anthology and names the authors it quotes.<sup>9</sup>

Among his other works,<sup>10</sup> are Ujjvalacandrikā (a dialogue between Caitanyaacandra's sister Rādhā and her friend about Kṛṣṇa), Yamunāstoṭra, Gandharvaprārthanāstoṭra, Gaurāṅgaṭavakalpaṭaru, Kusumastabaka, Mukundamuktāvali, Cālupuspānjalīṭava, Utkalikāvallari, Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta, Ānandamahodadhi, and Mathurāmāhima.<sup>11</sup> By far his greatest work is the Ujjavalanilamani.<sup>12</sup> As a treatise on poetics it describes classes and conditions of lovers and the several stages and modes of their affection and is profusely illustrated with verses, all

1. Rupa is mentioned by Rājasekhara in his Kāvyamīmāṃsa. Rupadeva mentioned in Skv., and Padyāvali and Rupadeva, author of commentary on Gītagovinda, are different poets.

2. Sanātana lived between 1484—1558 A.D.

3. For a fuller account, see Narahari Chakravarti's Bhaktisūtrāṇikā.

4. Printed Kāvyamāla, Bombay. There is a commentary on it by Chakravarti. It is in fact Gītagovinda dramatised "The piece is also in its different portions supposed to be applicable to the different seasons of the year, at which the chief festivals in honour of Kṛṣṇa are held, or the festival of Spring in Chaitra of Vaisakha, that of the birth of Kṛṣṇa in Sravana of the rains, and the Rāsayātra or dance of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis in the autumn." Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 898.

5. For a list of his works, see CG, I, 588.

6. IO, VII 4179, CG, I, 542, III 115, also note a commentary by Nārāyaṇa.

7. DC, XI 8406. There are commentaries on it by Jīvāgreeswari and Raghunātha dāsa. See Vaisṇavaḍharmaprakāśikā (Murchidabad), Parts I to VI.

8. There is a commentary on 'Hamasadūta' by Mādhavacarīra alias Puruṣottama.

9. See Thomas, *Kavī* 11.

10. CG, I 588, III 118, TC, IV R. No. 8050

11. CG, I, 68. Composed in 1560 A.D.

12. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, 95.

devoted to Kṛṣṇa. There are commentaries on it by Jīvagōswāmī,<sup>2</sup> by Viśvanāthacakravartī,<sup>3</sup> and three anonymous.<sup>4</sup> His Nāṭakacandrika<sup>5</sup> is a treatise on drama based on the Nāṭyaśāstra and he refers to the views of Viśvanātha as opposed to Bharata.

**221** Rūpa had two brothers Vallabha and Sanātana. Sanātana commented on Rūpa's Ujjvalanīlamāṇi and wrote among other works,<sup>6</sup> Haribhaktivilāsa<sup>7</sup> and Bhāgavatāmṛta.<sup>8</sup> He lived in 1484–1558 A.D.

Rūpa's disciple RAGHUNATHADASA wrote the short but beautiful poem the Muktācarṇī,<sup>9</sup> a funny tale in which Kṛṣṇa told Saṭyabhāma that pearls could be grown as a crop and demonstrated it by sowing a pearl and watering it with milk. Then the Gopis sowed all the pearls they had, but no plants came out. After repeated entreaties, Kṛṣṇa relented and returned the pearls.

**222** Jīva Goswamī was the son of Vallabha, Rūpa's younger brother. He was born in Śaka 1445 (1435?) at Rāmakeli near Fatehbād. He became an ascetic when he was twenty and was head of a Goswamī mutt at Bṛndāvana, until his demise in Śaka 1540 (1618 A.D.). Among his works<sup>10</sup> are Gopālacampū, Mādhavamahotsava, Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, Govindabirudīvali and Jāhnavyastaka.<sup>11</sup>

**223** Kavikarnapura was the son of Śivānanda Sena of Kancanapalli near Nadia. His father was the purveyor of the Bengali followers of Caitanya to Puri, so long as Caitanya lived, at the cost of Vasudevaḍatta, a millionaire.<sup>12</sup> He was born in 1524 A.D. He was educated at Kumārahatta, modern Hailasar, north of Calcutta. He was a pupil probably of Jīvagoswamī. In his Gaurāngagānoḍeṣadipikā,<sup>13</sup> composed in Śaka 1498 (1577 A.D.) he traces Caitanya's followers to their prior births; for instance, Caitanya's father Jagannātha is traced to Nanda, the father of Kṛṣṇa, and to Daśaratha, the father of Rāma. Every follower of Caitanya is traced to one of the Gopikas or

1 Ed. Bombay Composed in 1580 A.D.

2 Ed. Bombay Composed in 1695 A.D. He wrote a commentary on Bhāgavata in Kavikarnapura's Ālankārakauṣṭubha.

3 OC, I, 62, OSC, XI, 8.

4 Ed. Kasimbazar. OC, XXIII, 6689.

5 See OC I 698.

6 See OC, I 758. There is another work of this name by Gopāla Bhatta. Ibid.

7 See OC, I 408 4

8 TO, IV, 4850 2.

9 For a complete list of his works, see Int. to Ujjvalanīlamāṇi, loc. cit.

10 TO, IV 4471 4.

11 See OSC, (1908), No 86.

12 OSC, (1907), 45, HPR, II, (for an account).

milkmaids in the Kṛṣṇa incarnation and to one of the monkeys in the Rāma incarnation.

In his play Caiṭanya-candroḍaya,<sup>1</sup> composed in 1543 A.D., he depicted the life of Caiṭanya. Besides Alankārakaustubha,<sup>2</sup> on rhetoric, he wrote Camatkāracandrikā,<sup>3</sup> and Ānandaśāradāvanacampū,<sup>4</sup> on the loves of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

**224** Among the great men of Goswami's order, Śridāsa wrote Rādhakundāṣṭava, Raghunāṭha wrote Viśapakusumāñjalistava, and Kṛṣṇakavirāja wrote Rādhāṣṭaka,<sup>5</sup> and Govindadāsa (1537-1612 A.D.) wrote Sangitamadhava and Karnāmṛta.<sup>6</sup> In his Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, Sanātana describes the four varieties of Bhakti to Lord Kṛṣṇa and develops the sentiment according to the theories of rhetoric.<sup>7</sup>

Raghunāṭha's disciple Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote the poems Govindalilā-mṛta,<sup>8</sup> and Kṛṣṇalilāṣṭava.<sup>9</sup>

#### SECTION 5

**225** Vallabha Acarya, the famous religious teacher, was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta and Guru of Puruṣottama. He lived in 1478-1530 A.D. He commented on Vyāsa's Brahmasūtras. The followers of Vallabha school, like Caiṭanya's, worship Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being. Among his works<sup>10</sup> in poetry are Premāmṛti,<sup>11</sup> Maṭhurāmāhātmya,<sup>12</sup> Maṭhurāṣṭaka, Yamunāṣṭava, besides discourses on Śrī Bhāgavata.

1 Printed Calcutta and Bombay.

2 Ed. partly by Sivaprasad Bhāṭācārya; *Opf* 209. There are commentaries by Lokarāṭha (*CC*, I, 81) and by Bṛhadāvanacandra (*IO*, 940).

3 *IO*, 1463, *Mitra*, VI 212 and 2150.

4 *IO*, 492, 645. There is another of that name by Paramānandadāsa (printed Benares) and another by Keśava (*NP*, X, 16).

5 See *TC*, IV No 8050 & Yadunandana wrote Viśapakusumāñjali, *OSC*, (1907) No. 59.

6 See D. C. Sen, *History of Bengal Literature*, 547.

7 In *OC*, I 890 Aufrecht gives it as the work of Sanātana composed in 1543 A.D. (*IO*, 820). But in *TC*, VI 4484, it is cited as the work of Rupagoswāmi.

8 This poem is described as the work of (i) Raghunāṭhadāsa (*IO*, VII 8875); (ii) Raghunāṭhabhatta (*Mitra*, II 571). But the real author of Kṛṣṇadāsa (*Ulwar*, 88). See article by C Chakravarti (*IA*, LVII, 208).

9 See *TC*, IV, B. No 8058.

10 For list of his works see *CC*, I 555 G, *Ind Rev* (1918), 648. For Sṭoṭras, see Vallabhačāryāstutratnāvali by Gokulādhiśa (Printed, Bombay). For Vallabhačāryavamśāvali, see *Ibid.*, 666. Bhandarkar, *VS*, 76 and *History of Vallabhačārya in Western India* (London); Grouse, *Mathura*, Farquhar, *ORL*, 977.

11 *BR*, IV 70 with commentary by Vitthala.

12. *BR*, II. 46.

His life is described by Gopālaṭāsa in *Vallabhākhyānaka*,<sup>1</sup> by Babu Sītārama Saṅstri in *Vallabhadigvijaya*.<sup>2</sup>

Vallabha's sons were Gopīnātha and Viṭṭhala. Viṭṭhala was born in 1515 A.D. and was as great a writer as his father. Among his poems,<sup>3</sup> are *Kṛṣṇapremāmr̥ta*,<sup>4</sup> *Yamunāstapadī*,<sup>5</sup> *Rasasarvasva*,<sup>6</sup> and commentary on *Gīṭagovindā*. Viṭṭhala's sons were Giriḍhara and Raghunātha. They wrote verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>7</sup>

Vallabha's brother Rāmacandra, born about 1484 A.D., wrote the poems *Kṛṣṇakuṭūhalā*, *Gopālālīla*, *Rasikaranjana* and *Romāvalisatāka*.<sup>8</sup>

**226** Devarāja and Gangarao describe the life of Guru Nānak in *Nānakcandrodaya*.<sup>9</sup>

#### SECTION 6.

**227** Ravisena Acarya composed his *Padmapurāna* in Nirvāṇa Samvat 1205 (678 A.D.) Jinasena in his *Harivamsapurāna* says

कृतपद्मोदयोधोता प्रलङ्घ परिवर्तिता ।  
मूर्ति काव्यमयी लोके रवेरिव रवे प्रिया ॥

"*Padmapurāna* is the earliest complete Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* unless the Prakrit work *Paumachariya* of Vimala Suri and another work of the same name by Svayambhudeva which are said to bear on the same subject, really prove to be works of an earlier date, as is alleged. Later writers have all based their works dealing with this subject, on the book of Ravisenacharya. The incidents related in *Padma-purana* are said to have occurred during the period (Tirtha) of Santinatha, the 16th Tīrthamkara. The story of Rama as narrated here differs in many material points from that of the *Ramayāna* of Valmiki. Rama and Ravana are both claimed here to have followed Jain religion. Lakshmana is stated not to have been a full brother of Satrughna, but son of a fourth wife of Dasaratha, Suprabha by name. Sita was born from the human womb of the queen of Videha, Dasaratha did not die

1 Printed, Bombay

2 Printed, Benares

3 For his works, see *CG*, I, 572

4 *Hall*, 151.

5 *Hall*, 152.

6 *CG*, I, 498

7, *Hall*, 146, 152

8 Printed *Pandit*, VI, 108 and *Kātyayamāla*, Bombay. *Rasikaranjana* was composed at Ayodhya in 1594 A.D.

9. Printed, Bombay *CG*, I, 285.

on account of the banishment of Rama, he is represented to have become disgusted with the ways of the world and he retired to the forest to practise penance. Bali, Sugriva and Hanuman were not of any monkey race, but were powerful rulers of the forest regions. Rama never killed Bali. The latter of his free will relinquished the throne in favour of his younger brother Sugriva and himself became an ascetic. Ravana was not a Brahmana, but a Kshatriya, and met his death not at the hands of Rama but those of his younger brother Lakshmana. The latter recovered from the effects of Ravana's Sakti not by life giving drug but by the presence of a virtuous lady Visalya, who afterwards became his wife. These are some of the points of difference. A comparative and critical study of the whole will be interesting.”<sup>1</sup>

**228** To Jinasena are attributed<sup>2</sup> Harivamsapurāṇa<sup>3</sup> and Adipurāṇa.<sup>4</sup> The former was written in Saka 705 (783 A.D.) “when Indra Sri Vallabh the son of Krishna was reigning in the South, Vatsaraja at Avanti (Ujjain) and Varaha Vira in Saurya mandala. In the Mangalacharana, which Dr. Peterson has omitted to quote in full, Jinasena pays his tribute to Samantabhadra (the author of Jivasiddhi and Yuktyanusasana). Siddhaseana, Indra, Chandra, Arka and Deva (Devanandi) the grammarians. Vajra Suri, Mahasena (the author of Sulochanakaiha). Ravishena (the author of Padma-purana), Varangachanta, Kumarasena, Virasena and Jinasena. The mention of the last two names has given rise to a controversy as to the relation between Jinasena, author of Harivamsapurana, and Jinasena, author of Adipurana. It has been suggested that the reference above is to the author of Harivamsapurana and hence he is one with the author of Adipurana. But the difference in the dates of composition of the two works is at least 50 years which makes their authorship by the same person very improbable. Again, the genealogies of the two authors are different. The author of Harivamsa-purana was the pupil of Kirtisena who belonged to Punnatagan, while the author of Adi-purana was the pupil of Virasena who belonged to the Senagana. Also the manner in which Jinasena has been referred to in Harivamsa-purana shows that the author is referring to a person other than himself. The verse is:—

थाभितां गुदये तस्य जिनेद्वगुणसंस्तुतिः ।  
स्मासिनो जिनेसेनस्य कीर्तिसङ्कृतयस्तौ ॥

1. Hiralal's, *Ori O P. Int.*, xxi.

2. See para 5 supra.

3. For an analysis and extract, see *Mitra*, VI, 74 P.B., IV, 167 7.

4. For an analysis, see *B.R.*, (1888-9).

An author indulging in these terms in regard to himself would certainly be accused of being over presumptuous. But there arises another complication when we prove the two authors to be different. If we accept the date of the completion of the work as given by the author, the mention of Virasena and Jinasena cannot refer to the authors of Jayadhvavalā-tīka and Adi-purana respectively, for they are known to have lived after the date of Harivamsa-purana. To obviate this difficulty we must suppose that two other Acharyas of those names lived before the composition of Harivamsa-purana.<sup>1</sup>

Ādīpurāna was left unfinished by Jinasena and was completed by his pupil Guṇabhadra,<sup>2</sup> under the name of Uṭṭarapurāna. Guṇabhadra also wrote Jinadattacarita.<sup>3</sup> Among poets praised in Ādi-purāna is Kaviparamesvara.

**229 Jinaprabha** was the pupil of Jinasimha of Laghukharataragaccha. He was honoured by Emperor Sahi Muhammad at Delhi. He was very prolific in poetry and there was no day where he did not compose new stotras, of which there are now 700, such as Gauṭamasṭoṭra, Pārvanāthastava, Śrīvīrastava, Śāradāstotra, etc.<sup>4</sup> His Dyasrayakāyya, like the one of that name of Hemacandra, describes the life of Śrenika. It was composed in Sam 1356 (1300 A.D.)<sup>5</sup>

**KIRTIRAJA** in his poem Nemīnāṭhamahākāvya in 12 cantos narrates the life of Nemīnāṭha who was a Bālabrahmacārin,<sup>6</sup> with exquisite descriptions of the seasons, marriage, etc. Kīrturāja wrote the Praśasti engraved in Parāvajmālāya in Jessalnir Mandir in Sam 1473 (1477 A.D.)<sup>7</sup>

**SOMAKIRTI** of Nandīṭṭagaccha was pupil of Bhīmasena. He wrote Saptaavyasanacarita and Pradyumna-carita in 1474 A.D. and Yasodhara-carita in 1476 A.D.<sup>8</sup>

1 See Hiralal, loc. cit xxii

2 He is different from Guṇabhadra, author of Dhanyakumāracarita, Cat. CP. 1655

3 Cat. CP. 648 From the legend of Prince Jayakumāra in this work, Brahma-kāmaraja wrote Jayakumāracarita (*Ibid* 1 e)

4 Printed, Kāvya-māla, VII, Bombay

5 See Jss Cat., 58. Hiralal, loc. cit xxiv.

6 Printed, Bhownagar, from a manuscript dated Sam. 1495 and written at Śriyoginipura (Delhi)

7 This Praśasti is printed in Jss Cat., 64-5

8 See Hiralal, Cat. CP. Int. xxxvii.

Padmasāgaragani describes the life of his Guru Hiravijayasūri in his poem Jagadgurukāvya. It was composed in Sam 1633 (1577 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

Raṭnacandra's Pradyumna-carita, a poem in 18 cantos, describes as a Jain version the story of Pradyumna and ends with the ascent of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to heaven and salvation of Nemi. It was composed in Sam 1674 (1618 A.D.)<sup>2</sup>

**230 Subhacandra** was the pupil of Vijayakīrti of Mūlasangha. Besides PANDAVAPURĀNA also called Bhārata composed in Sam 1608, (1552 A.D.) he says he wrote Candranāthacarita, Palmanāthacarita, Manmathamahimā or Praḍyumna-carita, Jīvakacarita and Nandīśvara-kaṭhā, etc.<sup>3</sup>

**231 Padmasundara** was the pupil of Padmameru of the Tāpagaccha.<sup>4</sup> He was successful in a literary contest at the Court of Akbar and was honoured with gifts of villages, etc.<sup>5</sup> He wrote his Rāyamallābhuyuda in Sam 1615, (1539 A.D.) describing the lives of 24 Tīrthankaras ending with Royamalla of the Agrītākha,<sup>6</sup> class. Same year later he wrote his Pārvanātha Kavya.<sup>7</sup>

Śrivallabha Pathaka in Vijayadeva Māhātmya describes the life of Śri Vijayadevasūri of Tāpagaccha in 21 cantos. He was born in Sam 1634, and was honoured by Emperor Jehangir.<sup>8</sup>

**232 Sakalakīrti** was a Bhāttāraka of the Jain religion. His Dhanyakumāracarita,<sup>9</sup> a poem in seven Adhikaras, describes the life of Dhanyakumāra, son of Dhanapala, a Vaṇya of Ujjain, who by his devotion was regarded as a Saint. He wrote poems Sudarsanacarita,<sup>10</sup> Śripālacakrita,<sup>11</sup> and Vṛṣabhānucarita.<sup>12</sup> Mahāvīrapurāna is an extensive work.<sup>13</sup>

1. Printed, Benares. Hiravijaya was born in Sam, 1588 PR, IV 26

2. Bh ORI, 92. The epilogue mentions Jain priests honored by Emperor Akbar. See Mod. Rev. VII

3. PR, (1882-4), 118 PR, IV 148, 149, 156 PR, V. list of authors.

4. PR, IV. lxxv.

5. PR, (1882 8), 48.

6. PR, III 255

7. Bod Cat. 892

8. Printed Jaina-Sahitya-Samādhan-Granthamāla, Ahmedabad.

9. DC, XXI, 8128.

10. Printed, Bombay.

11. Mys. OML, 260.

12. DC, XX 8103, PR, IV. 188

13. Printed, Bombay.

**233** *Vadirajasuri* alias Sanmukha, a Jaina ascetic, was called Dvādaśavidyāpaṭi, probably on account of his proficiency in twelve arts. His *Yasodharacarita* is a poem narrating the life of Yasodhara, son of Yasodhara and Candrāvati of Ujjain, a saintly King of Jaina sect.<sup>1</sup> He also composed Pārvanāthacarita.<sup>2</sup>

**234** *Somacaritragani*'s Gurugunaraṇākara describes the life of Lakṣmisaragani of Tapāgaccha. It was written in 1485 A.D. and is of great value of Gujrati history.<sup>3</sup>

**235** Other Jain poems are here collected

Pṛthvīcandracarita of Śāntisūri (*Sam* 1225),<sup>4</sup> Nemīnāthacarita of Ratnaprabha, pupil of Vādiṣeva (*Sam* 1233),<sup>5</sup> Kuvalayamālākathā of Ratnaprabha, pupil of Paramānanda,<sup>6</sup> Puṇyasārakathānaka of Vivekasamudragani, pupil of Jinesvara (*Sam* 1334),<sup>7</sup> Vijayacandra-carita of Candraprabha (*Sam* 1127),<sup>8</sup> Harivikramacarita of Jayatilaka, (about *Sam* 1350),<sup>9</sup> Ādināthacarita of Vardhamānācārya, (about *Sam* 1330),<sup>10</sup> Vāsūpūjyacarita of Vardhamāna, pupil of Vijayasimha,<sup>11</sup> Pṛthvīcandracarita of Saṭyarājagani,<sup>12</sup> Pṛthvīcandracarita of Jayasāgara, pupil of Jinarāja (*Sam* 1503),<sup>13</sup> Paramahamsacarita by Nayāranga, pupil of Guṇasekhara (*Sam* 1624).<sup>14</sup>

Abhayakumāracarita of Candratilaka, pupil of Jinesvara (*Sam* 1312),<sup>15</sup> Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra (*Sam* 1334),<sup>16</sup> Kāvyamanohara

1 Printed, Bombay *DC*, XXI 8186. There is a commentary on it by Lakṣmane. There is another poem of the same name by Kṣemākalyāṇa, printed in Bombay and composed in *Sam* 1889 (1788 A.D.) See *Jes. Cat* 42, *PR*, IV 162

2 Printed, Bombay

3 Printed, Benares *Mys Arch Rep* (1934), 18 It mentions the Pragvāta dynasty

4 *Jes Cat*, 67 This was composed at Kumārapāla's Court

5 *Jes Cat*, 40,

6 Printed Bombay. This is a Sanskrit rendering of Dāksipyacaritasuri's prakṛti work (*Jes Cat*, 48) composed about the middle of the 18th century A.D. He calls it a campu. He mentions earlier poets (now unknown) Pāṣalipīṭa, Saṭparṇaka, Vimaṇika, Devagupta, Prabhanjana. In *PR*, II 28, Haribhadra is wrongly named as the author of this poem.

7. *Jes Cat*, 56

8. *PR*, VI List of authors

9. *Ibid.*, 1

10. *Ibid.*, 42

11. *Ibid.*, 24 The manuscript was written in *Sam.* 1327

12. *Ibid.*, 47. This contains many styles of poetry and prose

13. *Ibid.*, 58

14. *Ibid.*, 57.

15. Printed Bhownagar, *Jes Cat*, 4.

16. Printed Bombay There is another work of the same name by Candraprabha (Printed Bombay)

of Mahevara (*Sam.* 1504),<sup>1</sup> Vardhamānacarita of Asaga, pupil of Nāgānandin (*Sam.* 1679),<sup>2</sup> Uktirāṇākara of Sādhusundara *alias* Sādhurāṭī, pupil of Devasundara,<sup>3</sup> Pārvanāthacarita of Bhāvadeva,<sup>4</sup> Jambūsvāmicarī<sup>5</sup> of Jinadīsa,<sup>6</sup> Pārvastavana of Padmaprabhadeva,<sup>7</sup> Mallacarī<sup>8</sup> of Vinayacandra,<sup>9</sup> Minaketulīya of Devanātha, Jagadgurucarita of Suvarṇāndī, Santināthacarita of Munisundara and another of Bhāvacandra, Candraprabhāswāmicarī<sup>9</sup> of Devendra,<sup>10</sup> Amāmaswāmicarī<sup>11</sup> of Munirāṇasūti,<sup>12</sup> Upamitibhāvaprapancakathā<sup>13</sup> of Siddharī,<sup>14</sup> Śumitracaritra of Harśakunjaropādhyāya,<sup>15</sup> Pārvacarita of Devabhadra,<sup>16</sup> Hāntinātamahākavya of Munibhadra.<sup>17</sup>

Viroḍīsa of Bhruṣundi, and Nīgakumārakāvya of Mallisenā,<sup>18</sup> Munisuvratākāvya of Arhatdīsa,<sup>19</sup> Pradyumnacarī<sup>20</sup> (i) of Mahāsenācārya *alias* Pappadaguru, pupil of Cārukīrtī,<sup>21</sup> and (ii) of Yāsodhara,<sup>22</sup> Bhadrabāhucarī<sup>23</sup> of Ratnanandi,<sup>24</sup> Candraprabhavijaya of Ravigupta,<sup>25</sup> Nemīnirvāṇa of Vāgbhata.<sup>26</sup>

[Kumārasambhava of Jayākēkhara, Pārvanāthacaritra of Bhāvadeva, Dhānyacarita of Jinakīrtī, Prahlādvakacarita of Candraprabha, Bhaktimārakathā of Rovamalla, Malayasundarikathā of Māniyasundara

1 Int to Apabhramsakāvyaṭrayī (*GOS*), 85

2. *PR*, IV 168; *DC*, XXI 8188

3 He was author also of Yājñikalapavritti written in *Sam.* 1455. See *PR*, IV, V xxvii, Klatt, I4, XI, 255

4 Printed Bombay Probably composed at Avanī in *Sam.* 1412 (*PR*, IV 108 XV Last of authors) He was also the author of Kalikācāryakathānaka (*PR*, I Ap 80)

5 *Mys.* *OML* 246, *PR*, V

6 *PR*, III Ap 219, with commentary by Munīskhata

7. *PR*, IV 144 His pupil Dharmidīsa was also a poet He lived about *Sam.* 1286

8. *Gough*, 87, 95, 96, 106.

9 *PR*, IIL 87-89

10 *PR*, III 42, 41 and *App* 168, IV 129 gives the year 962.

11 *Jes Cat* 54.

12 *Ibid*, 87

13 Printed, Benares

14 *Mys OML*, 247 251 This latter work throws light on Nāga history See *Mys Arch Rep* (1924), 10

15 *Ibid*, 251 *CAL*, II 218 with commentary

16 Printed, Bhownagar *TO*, IV 5898 The same story is told in the play Ārjha-panoaka (*DC*, XXI, 88877) of unknown authorship

17 *DC*, XX 793

18 *DC*, XX 7940

19 *PR*, IV, civ *PR*, I *App* 68,



CHAPTER X  
Mahakavyas (*contd*)

SECTION 1

**236 Caturbhuja's Haricaritakāvya** is a poem in 13 cantos on the adventures of Kṛṣṇa composed on 1493 A.D. at Rāmakeli, a suburb of the Gauda capital of Bengal, then under the rule of Khojas and Habsis. As soon as he was born his father wrote some verse on his tongue with a golden pen tipped in honey and he became a poet. His son Kamalākara wrote a commentary on Lolambarāja's Harivilāsa-kāvya<sup>1</sup> and Ghatakarpura<sup>2</sup>.

**237 Divakara** was son of Vaidyeśvara and Muktāmbā of Bhāradvāja Gotra. He was in the court of King Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar (1509-1529 A.D.)<sup>3</sup>. From King Rudra he says he got the title Kavicandrarāya. His brother Mañhusūḍana wrote Dhūrṭacariabhāṇa<sup>4</sup>. Besides the play Pārijātaharana, Rasamanjarī, and Deviśuṣṭi, he wrote the poem Bhāratāmṛta in more than 40 cantos on the story of Mahābhārata<sup>5</sup>.

**238. Ekamranatha** was born in Kondavidu. He came to the Court of Immadi Ankusa of Rāna family, of 16-17th century A.D. In his two poems, Jāmbavatiparīṇaya and Satyāparīṇaya, he gives the genealogy of Ankusa and a running history of his patron and his ancestors which furnishes valuable history. He also wrote the poem Virabhaḍravijaya<sup>6</sup>. At the beginning of the poems,<sup>7</sup> as usual the poet gives a lengthy account of the family of his patrons. "Among the members of the fourth caste (Sudras) was a family which became famous as the Rāna vamsa. In that family was born Iimma who married Mallamma. Their descendants are represented in the following genealogical table!—

1. BKB, 17. CC, III, 158.

2. PR, III Ap, 896.

3. IOC, 2825.

4. See para 189 *supra*.

5. It is apparently different from Dhūrṭacariaprahāsana mentioned in Sāhityadarpana, 588.

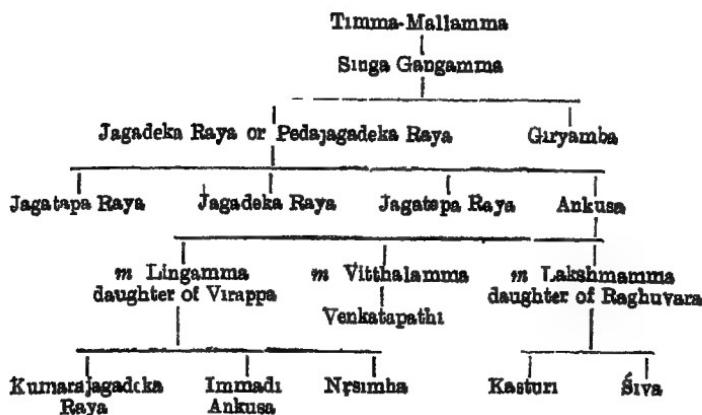
6. TC, IV. 4808, 5502. The last verse now available is

षके च तथी पृथिव्यातानि सद्विग्निशिविरं शबैकशैषम् ।

परावतप्रकारान्तराले संविष्टो माधितं धथा विडालः ॥

7. Rida, 242 where another poem of this name by Mukteśvara is mentioned.

8. DC, XX, 7732, 7769.



Of these chiefs Jagadeka Raya or Pedda Jagadeka Raya is said to have fought with the ruler of Burana Nagari (the City of Burhan, Nizam Shah and defeating him, to have captured innumerable horses and elephants. Of his sons Jagadeka Raya was the most famous. In a battle he is said to have captured as prisoner a Muhammadan chief Chittakhan, defeated the troops of Nuru Khan and Murtya Khan and killed the chief Sujata Khan<sup>1</sup>.

**239. Venkatesa** was the son of Śrinivasa of Āṭreyagoṭra.<sup>2</sup> Born near Kānci in 1593 A.D., he lived for more than fifty years.<sup>3</sup> His Rāmacandrodāya is a long poem of thirty cantos describing the history Rāma and was composed at Benares in 1635 A.D. So is his Yama-kārpava composed in 1656 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

**240. Utprekṣavallabha**, whose real name appears to be Gokula, was a votary of Śiva and was also known as Śivabhaktidāsa. He lived in Malabar about the 16th Century A.D. His BHIKSATANAKĀVYĀ,<sup>5</sup> in 40 Paḍḍhaṭis, is a fine poem describing "how Śiva went about as a mendicant for alms from Rājarāja Cola King to test his liberality and how the appearance of Śiva influenced the women of the City". The poem is replete with descriptions of high fancy, interspersed with didactic matter. He wrote Sundarisaṭṭaka<sup>6</sup> at the request of King Maṭṭana.

1. SVH, 227 86.

2. Tanj Cat<sup>†</sup>, VII, xxxi.

3. Tanj. Cat<sup>‡</sup>, VI, 2658.

4. Ibid., 2681.

5. Printed Kāvyaśālā, Bombay.

6. Printed, Kāvyaśālā, Bombay. From this pōettū, it appears that Gokula was called Utprekṣavallabha.

**241 Venkatekrasnayajan** was the son of Venkatādri of Vādhūlagotra and wrote at the instance of King Gopāla, son of Dādāji and grandson of Bāījī, brahmin of Vasisthagotra and Metukārī family King Gopāla ruled as a feudatory of Sivacchātrapati near Chidambaram in 17th century AD His NATISAVIJAYA<sup>1</sup> in 7 cantos describes the story of the vanquishment of Kali at Cidambaram by Siva by his cosmic dance

**242 Srinivasa**, son of Varada of Viravalli family and Kaundinyagotra, lived at Śrimuṇnam early in the 17th century AD In his poem BHUVARAHARIJAYA,<sup>2</sup> in eight cantos, he describes the Varāha incarnation, the sacrifice performed at Śrimuṇnam, the destruction of demon, Dandaka's father, and Bhūvaraha's marriage with Lakṣmī He wrote several other works, of which Ambujavallīlindaka, Śrīvarāha-cūrṇikā, Dhyanacūrṇikā, and Śrīrangalandaka are in prose Among his poems are Ambujavallīparinaya, Varāhvijaya, Varabacampū, Vākulamālinigītāparinaya, Sīṭādvyaacaritra, and commentaries on Māgha, Raghuvamśa, Nai-adba, and Amaruka.

His son Varadadesika was equally great Besides Lakṣmīnārāyana-caritra, Raghuvavaravijaya, Rāmāyaṇasangraha, Ambujavallīsaṭīka, and Śrīvarāhasataka, he wrote Gadyarāmāyana, narrating in prose the story of the Rāmāyaṇa Varadadesika's son was Appalācārya and the latter's son Venkatavarāda wrote the drama Kṛṣṇavijaya<sup>3</sup> and in the prologue the works of many of his ancestors are described

**243 Gangadasa** was son of Gopālaḍāśa of Vaidya caste In six chapters, he describes in his Chandomanjari,<sup>4</sup> the varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa He also wrote ĀCYUTACĀRITA, a poem in 16 cantos and DINKSICĀRITA in praise of the Sun His father wrote a play Parijāṭharana<sup>5</sup>

**244 Abhinava Ramanujacārya** bore the title of Mayāvāju-Madagaja-Kanṭhīravācārya He was the son of Venkātāraya of Naḍhruvakīsyapagotra of the family of Vaḍibhakesarin. He was probably a contemporary of Īmmajagāspati (of Karvetnagar) of the 19th century His ŚRINIVASAGUNAKARA is a poem in seven cantos describing the greatness of Sri Venkatesa of Tirupati He wrote his own

1. DC, XX 7747.

2. DC, XX 7708

3. DC, XXI 8569-74

4. Ed. everywhere with commentary, IOC, 805,

5. CC, I, 985

commentary on the first 8 cantos and his brother's son Varadarāja wrote a commentary on the rest of the poem<sup>1</sup>

**245 Kṛṣṇarama** was a professor in Ājurvēda in Jaipur State about 1900 A.D. In his Kacchavamsa and Jayapuravilāsa, he described the greatness of the rulers of Jaipur. Among many poems he wrote are Āryālankārasatīka, Pālāndusatīka, Mukṭāla, Muktāvali, Holamahotsava and Sārasatīka, a poetical epitome of several important Sanskrit works. In metres he wrote Chandaschatāmardīna<sup>2</sup>

**246 Laksmanasuri** was the son of Muthusubba Iyer of Punalur near Srivilliputtūr, in Rāmnād. He lived between 1859-1919 A.D. He was well-versed in all the Sāstras and was given the title Mahāmahopādhyāya. He was Professor of Sanskrit in the Pachayappa's College, Madras. His KRŚNALILAMRTA is a long poem on the story of Kṛṣṇa. Among his minor poems are Viprasandesa, Mānasasandesa and Venkatesastava. His play Delhi-Sāmrājya represents the story of Durbar of King George V at Delhi and Paulastryavādha the story of Rāmāyana. His commentaries on Anargarāghava, Uttrarāmacariṇī, Mahāvīracariṇī, Venisambhāra, Bālārāmāyaṇa and Raṭhāvali are well-known. He revised the broken fragments of Madana's Pārijātamanjarī.

In the field of simple prose he has set an example. His BHISMA-VIJAYA narrates the life of Bhīṣma, the great Kaurava warrior and imports the ideal of virtue and discipline. His Bhāratasangraha and Rāmāyanasangraha are easy epitomes of Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana<sup>3</sup>.

**247 Ganapati Sastri** was the son of Ramasubba Iyer. He was born at Taruvai, in Tinnevelly district in 1860 A.D. He attained high proficiency Sanskrit study very early and in his seventeenth year wrote a drama Mādhavivasantā. He was principal of the Sanskrit College, Trivandrum and latterly Curator of Sanskrit publications, in Trivandrum, under the patronage of the Maharajah of Travancore. The title of Mahāmahopādhyāya was conferred on him. He passed away a few years ago. His name has been known to the world as the discoveror of Bhāṣa's lost dramas. His researches in literary history are of high merit and they are embodied in the introductions to the editions of works in the series. His original works are many. He has commented on the plays of Bhāṣa and edited them himself.

1. T.O. LII, 2019.

2. See Śivadatta's Introduction to Naisadha. Another work on Jaipūti is Jaya-nagatapancaranga, of Mallikāshṭa Harivallabha (Printed, Bōmbay).

3. Some of his works have been printed in Madras.

Among his poems are Śrimūlacarīṭa, a history of Kings of Travancore, Bhāratavarṇana, a description of India, Tulāpuruṣadānakāvya, on the Tulabhāra ceremony in the palace, Aparnāṣṭava in praise of Pārvatī, and Cakravarṭiniguṇamanimālā, on the greatness of Queen Victoria. His Arṭhacīṭramanimālā is a rhetorical work with illustrations in praise of King Viśākha Rāma Varma, Mahārāja of Travancore.

By far the most appreciable of his works is SEIUVYATRĀNUVARNANA, a romance in learned but easy sanskrit prose with its theme the description of a pilgrimage to Ramesvaram. It describes and decries many of the social evils of the day and impresses on the reader's mind, the sanctity and utility of Hindu ideals.<sup>1</sup>

**248 Nilakantha Sarma** is the son of Punnasserī Nambi Nārāyaṇa Sarma. He was born in 1858 and is one of the famous living authors of Malabar. He maintains the Sanskrit College at Pattāmbī and edits a journal in Sanskrit Vijnāna-Cintāmanī. Besides works on astrology, he wrote poems, Paṭṭabhishekaprabhanīḥa, Saīlabdhīsaśāṭaka and Āryāśāṭika.

**249 Vidhusakhara Bhattācārya** of Santiniketan, Bengal, is a great Sanskrit and Bengali scholar. Besides works in Pāli, he wrote poems in Sanskrit, Yauvanavilāsa, Umāparinaya, Hariscandracarīṭa and Cittavilāsa and romance Cāndraprabhā. He is the editor of Mitragoṣṭhī, a Sanskrit Journal in Benares.

## SECTION 2

**250 Poems on the story of Mahabharata** are Pāndavā-bhyudaya (R No 391), Tarupabhāratī (TC, IV 5116), Abhinava-bhārata of Narasappamanīṭī (DC, XX 7690), Pāndavavijaya by Hemacandrārāya Kavibhūṣana (Printed, Patna), Pāndavacarīṭa by Lakṣmīdāṭī (CC, I 537), Vikramabhārati by Śrīsvār Vidyālakāra (Printed, Calcutta), Bhāratodyota of Cītrabhānu.<sup>2</sup>

**251. Poems on Sri Krishna** are Rādhāvinoda by Rāmacandra, son of Janārḍana (PR, II 396, Tāṇḍ Cat., VII 2829) with commentary by Trilocanāṭha (CC, I 505) and by Bhatta Nārāyaṇa (Mitra, IV 299), Kṛṣṇābhyudaya (i) by Flayavalli Śrinivasarāghava, son of Venkatācārya of Kausikagoṭra (TC, IV 5962, Mys OML 244), and (ii) by Varadaradesika, son of Appāyārya of Ātreyagoṭra (DC, XX 7726), Kṛṣṇajunilya (Ibid 7731), Yadunāthacarīṭa (Ibid 7795), Kṛṣṇabhakticandrikā of

1. The manuscripts of these works are now in the author's home.

2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavī, M. A., Madras.

Anantadeva (*PR*, II 23, 103) Kṛṣṇacarita (*TC*, IV 5893), Kṛṣṇavimoda by Moturāma (*Oudh*, IV, 9), Kṛṣṇakṛīdīta by Kesavārka (*Oxf* [3+1]), Kṛṣṇabhbāvanāmṛta (*CC*, I 121), Kṛṣṇacarita by Mānaveda\* (*TC*, III 4032), Kṛṣṇalilā by Madana (*CC* I 123), Kṛṣṇalilābhūṣana and Kṛṣṇalilasāra (*Opp* II 3329, 4538), Kṛṣṇavilāsa (i) by Prabhākara (*Opp* 1427, 2590), and (ii) by Śēsadikīrtī (*Rice*, 230), Kṛṣṇavilāsacaritāmāhārṇava (*Opp* II 4539), Kṛṣṇacandrodaya by Govinda, son of Śrīnivāsa of Ātreyagotra (*TC*, IV 5677)

Govindalilā by Rāmacandra (*Printed*, Benares), Aisvaryakādambini by Vidyābhūṣana (*CC*, I 76), Kṛṣṇacaritāmṛta and Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta [*CSC*, (1907), 17], Kṛṣṇāmṛtamahārṇava (*Opp* II 65), and Vrajavilāsa [*CSC* (1908), 76], Vilāpakusumānjali of Yadunandanadāsa [*CSC* (1908), 72], Kṛṣṇabhaktikāvya of Anantadeva (*PR*, III App 394), Bhāgavatodyota of Citrabhānu,<sup>\*</sup> [Kṛṣṇalilābhūṣaṇa of Daṭṭat̄reya, Kṛṣṇavilāsa of Puṇyakoti, Kṛṣṇābhuyudaya of Timmayajvan and of Varadarājajayajvan, Bālabhāgavata, and Bhāgavatāmṛta, Mukundavilāsa of Nīlakantha, Govindacarita] (*CAL*, II 4, 510, 66)

Premendusāgara by Rūpagośwāmi (*CC*, I 36), Premoktyudaya (*CC*, I 365), Premāmṛpacampū by Candraśāsa (*CC*, I 365), Rādhā-sudhākara (*Opp* 6165), Rādhāmānaṭaranginī (composed in *Sam* 1696) by Nandakumārasarma in the reign of King Candra of Navadvīpa and Rādhārasamanjarī by Caṭṭanyacandra (*CC*, I 504), Rādhārasasudhāniḍhi by Hita Harivamsa Goswāmin with commentary by Narottama (*IO*, 146), Rādhārahasya by Kṛṣṇadatta (*PR*, III 362), Rādhāvinoda by Dineśa and with commentary by Nārāyaṇa, son of Rangānāṭha (*CC*, I 505), Rādhāvilāsa (*CC*, I 505), Rādhāsoundaryamanjarī by Subalacandrācārya (*CC*, I 505), Kṛṣṇavijaya by Rāmacandra (*CC*, I 511), Gopālalīla by Rāmacandra (*Printed*, Bombay) and Bṛndāvanamanjarī by Mānasimha (*CC*, I 899), Bṛndāvanavimoda by Rudranyāvācaspati (*CC*, I, 599), Vrajavihāra by Śrīdharaśwāmi (*Printed*, Haberlin), Vrajendracaritā by Sadānanda (*Bk*, 249), Kṛṣṇābhuyudaya by Varadarājajayajvan (*CAL*, II 4), Mukundavilāsa by Raghūttamāṭarīṣha (*CC*, II 106), Hariṇīlā by Bopadeva (*CC*, I 760, *OR*, III, 390), Harikelillāvatī by Kavikesari (*HPR*, I 421), Harivilāsa by Kavisekhara, son of Yasoḍhaśacandra (*IO*, 1177), Kṛṣṇalilā by Kṛṣṇamisra (*HPR*, II 41), Kṛṣṇabhbāvanāmṛta (*IO*, 1180), Kṛṣṇalilā by Madana, son of Kṛṣṇa (*IO*, 2538), Kṛṣṇalilā-

1. See para 176 supra

2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M A , Tirupati, more than 400 years old. See Oīṭrabhānu's commentary on Bhācavī (*TSS* Trivandrum)

tarangī by Nārāyaṇatirīśa (*CC*, III 27), Gopālacariṭa by Padmanābha Bhatta (*CC*, III 35), Gopālaviveka (*PR*, VI 333), Madhukelivallī by Govardhana (*Ukeś*, 1066), Camaṭkāraṇacandrikī by Kavikarṇapura (*JO*, 1177), Rāsakalpalatā by Mohanānanda (*HPR*, II 176), Rāsakalpa-sāratāṭṭva by Brindāvanadāśa (*HPR*, I 307), Rāsakṛṣṇamādhūṇī by Añjanayadāśasvāmin (*CC*, III 105), Rāsarasoḍaya (*OIB*, 164)

Vāsudevacariṭa by Veṇidatta, son of Jagjīrāmā (*JUC*, 584-1459);<sup>1</sup> Harivamsakāvya (*CC*, I 750), Bālaharivamsa by Sankara Nārāyaṇa (*Mys OML* 250), Kamsanidhana by Rāma (*PR*, III 1p 393), Śrīkṛṣṇacariṭa (*TC*, IV 5406), Gopikomāda (*TC*, IV 5616), Kṛṣṇāmr̥ta-tarāṅgikā by Venkatesa (*Printed*, Bombay), Gopālavijaya by Gurisundarādāśa (*HR*, II No 1155), Kṛṣṇodanṭa by Bhāskara (*CAI*, II 5), Sundarāradāmodara by Lolambarāja (*CIL*, II 16), Kṛṣṇabhāvānāmr̥ta by Viśvanātha [*Printed*, Brindabun, *Mitha*, VI 269 Composed in 1786 A D], Kṛṣṇavijaya by Sankarācārya (*OJ* 3715)

KRSNAYANA is a work on the life of Kṛṣṇa in imitation of Rāmāyaṇa. As the latter was called Ādikāvya, this is called Anantākāvya. The style is charming, but the manuscript breaks off in the 7th canto. It is stated to have been related by Bharadvāja, and must have been a production of the 12th or 13th century by a follower of Rāmānuja cult. He says he describes the origin of the world according to Purāṇas, Smṛtis and Rāmānuja (*DO*, XX 7720)

**252 Poems on Ramayana** are Rāmavilāsa, Rāmacaritra of Raghuṇāṭha, Udārarāghava of Candīśuryakavi, Kalyāṇarāmāyaya of Śeṣakavi, Bhadrāṇḍra-Rāmāyana of Virāraghava, Rāmakathāsudhodaya of Śrīśāla Śrinivāsa, Rāmāmr̥ta of Venkatarangī, and Vālavarāgħavīya of Nāzahari (*Mys OML*, 253-5); Raghuvirāvavyacariṭa of Tirumalakonavārya (*Ibid Sup* 11), Dasananaavadha by Yogiṇdranātha (*Printed*, Calcutta), Raghuviracariṭa by Sukumāra (*Tav Cat*, 86)

Sīṭārāmavihāra by Lakṣmanasomayaji, son of Ṣorganti Śankara (*JO*, 1481), Rāmagunākara by Rāmadeva [*Mitha*, (1872) 315, *CC*, I, 510], Rāmalhetakāvya by Padmanābha (*CASB*, 163, composed 1839 A D), Rāmavilasa by (i) Rāmacarana and (ii) Harināṭha (*OJ*, 132, 214)

Rāmacandrakāvya of Sambhū Kālidāśa (*Tav Cat*, VI 2837), Udārarāghava (*DC*, XX 794), Prasannarāmāyaya of Devāradikātā, son of Śripāla (*DC*, XII 7780), Rāmacandrodaya of Kavivallabha (*Ibid*, 7844), Rāmacarita of Viśvaksena (*Ibid* 7846); Rāghavollāsa (i) by

1. See under Subhāṣīṭa post.

Advaita Rāma Bhikṣu (*CC*, I 500, *IO*, 1138, 1479) and (ii) by Pūjyapāda Devānanda (*CC*, I 500), Āscaryarāmā�ana (*Opp*, II 3108), Bālārāghavīya by Sāthagopācārya (*Opp*, II 590), Sītārāghavīya (*CC*, I 483), Ramaṇīva-fāghava by Brahmadatta (*Ricc*, 240), Abhūrāmakāvya by Rāmanātha (*CC*, I 26), Rāmakutūhala by Rāmesvara, son of Govinda (composed in 1680 A.D. *Oif*, 198), Rāmakautuka by Kamalākara, son of Rāma-kṛṣṇa, (*IO*, 107, 1487), Rāmakathāmrīta by Gṛidharadāsa (VII, 456, 488), Rāmagunākara by Rāmadeva Nyāśālankāra (*CC*, I 510), Rāma-vilāsakāvya by Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīsa<sup>1</sup> and by Harinātha (*CC*, I 179, 518), Rāmacariṇa (i) by Kāśinātha and (ii) by Mohanaswāmi (*IO*, 978, 1184), Rāmalīlōdaya by Ramākānta, son of Bānesvara (*CC*, I 518), Rāmābhiseka by Kesava (*BTC*, 161), Rānakāvya by Rāmānandatīrtha (*CC*, I 507), Rāmābhuyudaya by Venkatesa<sup>2</sup> (*BTC*, 161, 214) Rāmābhuyudayatīlaka (*Opp*, 1555), Sītikantharāmā�ana by Sītikantha (*Opp*, 6683)

Sītāramāvijaya (*Opp* 6695), Raghuviravilāsa by Lakṣmaṇa, son of Dāmodara of Bhāradvājagoṭra (*TC*, IV 5460), Raghupativijaya by Gopinātha (*CC*, III 104), Rāmacarita by Mohanaswāmi<sup>3</sup> (*IO*, 978, 1481), Rāmacandrodaya (i) by Purusottamamisra (*Opp*, II 3780, *TC*, IV. 4805), (ii) by Rāmadāsa (*TC*, II 2313), Rāmacandramahodaya by Saccīḍānānda (*CC*, I 587), Rāmākāvya by Bālakṛṣṇa (*CC*, III 108), Rāmaratnākara by Madhvraṭa (*Oudh*, V 6), Rāmarasāmṛ̥ṭa by Śrīdhara (*CC*, I 312), Rāmacandrodaya by Kavivallabha (*Trav Cat* 156)

Raghunandanavilāsa (i) by Venkatacārya (*CAL*, II 12) and (ii) by Pātrācārya son of Sāthagopa Tātācārya, probably of Kumbakodam (*TC*, III 2931), Vikramarāghava by Natanakālidāsa (*CAL*, II 15, Sīśapativijaya, (*Ibid*, 16), Paulastyarāghavīya by Rāmacandra of Pulyela family (*TC*, II 2410), Śrīrāmavijaya by a pupil of Aruṇaścalānātha (*TC*, IV. 5140), Uṭṭararāghavīya (*DC*, XX 7694), Raghunātha guṇodaya by Naṭyacandisatiyā (*SKC*, 71, composed in 1570 A.D.), Bālārāmārasāyana by Kṛṣṇa Śāstri (*CAL*, II 8), Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgraha by Isvaraḍikṣīṭa (*CAL*, II 14), Lalitārāghava by Śrinivāsa Ratna, Jñānakāśānālambodha by Śrīpaṭi Govinda (*Mitra*, II. 193, *IO*, 1489), Rāmalingāmṛ̥ṭa by Advaita, son of Bāyabhatta of Benares, composed in

1. He wrote his Sāhityādīptipravīpi in 1701 A.D. (*IO* 818)

2. He also wrote poems Venkatesvara-vijaya and Kṛṣṇarājaviṣaya (*Opp* 8852, 8858) and plays Umatī-prāhasana and Bhānu-prābandha-prāhasana and Rāghavā-nandana-tīlaka (*BTC*, 172).

3. It was probably he that wrote Mohanasaptasāṭī (*CC*, I 488)

Saka 1530 (*IO*, 1483), Sītarāmavihāra by Lakṣmana, son of Sankara of Organū family (*TC*, III 3215 *IOC*, 3918-19)

**253. Miscellaneous Poems on Weddings** are here collected Padmīparinaya by Vedāntācārya and Malayajāparinaya (*CAL*, II 8), Pārvatīparinaya by Īśvarasurati (*BTC*, 159), Jñānamudrāparīṇaya (*Opp*, II 3648), Sāvitrīparinaya by Varadācārya (*Ruu*, 244), Sundarīsvayamvara (*Opp*, 3077), Rukmīṇiparinaya by Govinda, son of Lakṣmāpa (*CC*, II 34), Saṭīparīṇaya by Candrakāṇṭha Tarkīlāṅkāra (*Printed*, Dacca), Maḍrakanyāparīṇaya (*Mys OMI*, 251), Ḍatāṭrakāparinaya of Sankara-subrahmapya (*Ibid*, 247, *TC*, IV 5466), Rukmīṇipāṇigrahaṇa by Govindāntarvāṇi (*Printed*, Bombay), Saugandhikāparīṇaya (*Gough*, 187), Sīṭāparīṇaya by Śūryanarāyanādīdhvarin (*DC*, XX 7904, *TC*, II 1206, 1603), Sīṭākalyāṇa (*Opp* 2487, 6692), Gaurīkalyāṇa by Govindānātha (*TC*, IV. 4204-8), Sītāsvayamvara by Kāmarūja (*Printed*, Bombay, see also *OAL*, 16 where author's name is not given), Vardēbīparinaya by Kāsinātha (*CC*, I 660), Saṭyabhāmāparinaya by Rāmācārya (*Rice* 244) and by Kṛṣṇa (*OAL*, II. 141), Ramesvaravivāha by Raghunāṭha of the Court of Muthurāmalīnga Seṭupati of Rāmnād (*TC*, II. 1805), Hemodvāha by Srīsvār Viḍyālankara (*Printed*, Calcutta), Ambikāparīṇaya (*BTO*, 156), Vakulamālinīparīṇaya (*TC*, IV 4675), Veḍavullīparinaya by Rāmānuja (*OAL*, II 141)

Lakṣmīkāya of Uṭamarāva Irumalādhīga in 18 cantos describes the marriage of Lakṣmī, daughter of a Cola king, with God Ranganātha of Srīrangam and a festival relating to it<sup>1</sup>

**254. Miscellaneous Poems on Puranic Themes** Kāmākṣīvilāsa (*Opp*, II 8832), Indurābhyuḍaya by Raghavācārya (*Ruu*, 226) and Raghunāṭha (*OAL*, II 136), Cakrapāṇikāvyā by Lakṣmīnidhīra (*CC*, I 175), Pancaṭanṭrakāvyā by Dharmapandita (*NP*, IX 14), Sisupālakathā (*Opp*, 7420), Draupadyupatī (*Rice*, 230), Draupadīvaṭrāharaṇa by Govardhana (*PR*, III 394), Tārakāsuravadha (*Opp*, 5986), Caṇḍraprabhavijaya by Ravigupta (*CC*, I 180), Candraprabhiya by Dhananjaya (*Opp*, II 434), Ciṭrabhānukāvyā by Harihara (*CC*, I 762), Mīnaketūdaya by Devanāṭha (*CC*, I 455), Yakṣadīgviyaya (*CC*, I 469), Kakusṭhavijaya (*CC*, I 550), Syamanṭakaprābandha (*Opp*, 6292), Usāharana by Harṣanāṭha (*CC*, I 764), Hauhayendrakāvyā by Hari (*CC*, I 769), Kumārīvilaṇīta by Sudarśana on the story of Kanyākumāri (*TC*, IV 5638), Vajreśvarikāvyā by Jagannāṭha (*Radh*, 22), Rukmāṅgadiya by Padmanābha (*CC*, I 527);

<sup>1</sup> *TC*, II 1768 The preface gives the names of Śrī Vaishnava teachers of Srīrangam

Jagannāthavijaya (i) by Rudrabhatta (*CC*, I 528), and (ii) by Venkāmātya (*Mys. OML*, 633), Karpūramanjarī by Rajanivallabha (*CC*, I 82), Cakrapāṇivijaya (*CC*, I 123), Candikāntamahākāvva (*CC*, I 176), Prahlādavijaya by Kathanāṭha (*Mys OML* 634), Kumārvijaya by Rāmasūri (*Mys OML*, 9), Kārtikevijaya by Gurvanendra (*Ibid.* 243), Kharanidhana (*DC*, XX 7816), Kirāṭaprabandha on the story of Kirāṭārjuniya (*DC*, XX 7913), Kārtaviryodaya by Candracūḍa [*Mitra Bik series*, 296, *CSC*, (1904) 13], Bīnavijaya by Sīvarāma (*CC*, III 78), Narakāsuravijaya by Mādhavāmātya (*Tanj Cat* IV 2772), Devāvaṭarana by Sīvarāma on the myths of the shrine at Tirukkandiyur (*Tanj Cat* VI 2778), Sāradātilaka by Śeṣaguru describing the festival at Srirangapatam (*Mys Library*)

Lingalilāvilāsacariṭa by Mahālinga (*Rice*, 322), Dhruvacariṭa, Prahlādacariṭa, Vāmanacitracariṭa, Govardhanadṛṣṭakṛṣṇacariṭa, and Ajāmilopākhyāna by Jayakṣna (*CC*, I 199), Hariscandracariṭa (*CC*, I. 761), Candracūḍacariṭa by Umāpatidhara (*CC*, I 180), Varasāvīṭīcariṭa (*Opp*, 7392), Haradaṭṭacariṭra (*Opp* 3896), Kalyāṇarājacakariṭa by Madana (*Opp*, 127), Kārtaviryacakariṭa, Nandicariṭa and Prajāpaṭicariṭa by Kṛṣṇa (*NW*, 442, 478), Uṣācariṭa, Kuberačariṭa, Gauricariṭa, Valmīkicariṭa, Sāmbacariṭa, Mārkandeyacakariṭa by Brindāvana Sukla (*NW*, 440), Paḍmapādacakariṭa, Maṇikyavākyacakariṭa, Viḍyāraṇyacakariṭa, Sudāmačariṭa by Śrimvāsa (*CAL*, II 25), Śivabhaktacakariṭa (*HR*, III. 2189), Vāncipuranāṭhacakariṭa by Navaniṭakavi (*Ibid* 2186), Ambariśacariṭa (*Mys OML Sup* 91), Śivacakariṭa by Kavivādiśekhara (*HR*, II 1094); Uḍḍhavacariṭa by Raghunandana (*IO*, 823), Candravamsa by Caṇḍrakānta Tarkalankāra (*Printed, Calcutta*), Kṛṣṇārjuniya (*DC*, XX 7731), Candrāmgāḍacariṭra by Śāṅkarākavi,<sup>1</sup> and Surendracariṭa on the story of Indra and Abalyā (*DC*, XX 7905), Sivamālā by Rājñaka Gopala (*CC*, I 651), Gangāvaṭāra by Śāṅkara (*IO*, 119), Maṭsyaprabandha (*TC*, IV. 4436)

Sāmbhuviśā by Viśvanātha (*IO*, 1148); Gangādharavijaya by Venkatasubba (*CAL*, II 8), Viśramāṅkacakariṭa by Hamsakavi; Hariscandroḍaya by Ananṭasūri, Markandeyodaya by Venkatasūri, Sudarsanavijaya by Sundarabāhu, Ambariśacariṭa, Kuṭelavṛṭṭa by Bhatta Nārayapa, Kārtikevijaya by Girvaṭendravajvan, Kumārvijaya by Śivacaraṇareṇu, Śrinivasakāvya by Ṭryambaka, son of Śrīdhara, Guruvamēśakāvya by Lakṣmaṇasūri, Virollāśa by Bhrusundi, Viśvadeśika-

<sup>1</sup> This poet is not the same as author of Kṛṣṇavilāsakavya (See para supra) He died 4 years ago Manuscript is with Bhāskura fāṭṭī of Adoni.



**254-A** Navipakam Rāmānujacyāra (Cañurvedi Sañakraṭu) wrote Padmanābhakhadga and Rāmānujakhadga He passed away about 1935. His son Sundarācārya wrote Hanumadvilāsa, Astaprāsa, and Komalām-bākucasāṭaka

Valathur Varada Viṣṇu Ācārya lived near Ayyampet, Tanjore and wrote Bhāraṭakhadga<sup>1</sup>

Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtiśrīha was born in March 1870 in a family of Pandits at *Bhatpara* near Calcutta and died on January 25, 1934 He edited several smṛti texts and composed poetry mostly of panegyric and topical character.<sup>2</sup>

**254 B** Kesavasuri, popularly known R. Kesava Aiyangar, M.A., B.L., is the son of Rājam Aiyangar of Bhāradvājagoṭra He was born in Nandana (1892-1893) at Chakravalanallur near Devīpatnam in Rāmnad District, (Madras) He is an Advocate of the Madras High Court His heritage of poetry has manifested itself in a series of devotional poems, which in point of grace, piety or eloquence vie with similar eulogies of our great religious teachers Among his ślotras are Śrīkeśavastava, Śrīsatyādrināthastava, Śrīlakṣminarasimhaṭava.<sup>3</sup>

**254 C** RAMAKRSNASARMAN known as Kuppusāmi Ayya (Nāgapūdi) was born about 1854. He has now retired from practice as a lawyer and lives at Tirupati His Śtavaraṭnāvali, a lyric in praise of various deities, exhibits an ardent devotion<sup>4</sup>

**254-D.** SOMAKĀVI (Allamrāju) is son of Siṭārāmaya and lives at Chebrole near Pittapuram He wrote Cāstudhārā, Camasākarasaranī and Ādiṭyakarnāmṛṭa

**254 E** VARADACARYA is son of Nārāyaṇa of Śrivatsagoṭra. He was born in Durmukhi (1896) and lives at Tanapalli near Tirupati. He wrote Karṇabhāskarasamvāda, Bhagavaddhyānasopāna, and Sāyantjanisagaravelā and has translated Tagore's *Renunciation* into Sanskrit verse

**254 F** Vijayaraghava Acārya (Viśavalli) is the son of Vardārya of Kaundinyagōṭra He was born at Maiyūr near Kāncī in 1884

1 Printed Vanivilas Press, Srirangam

2 *Ind Rev* (1984), 517

3 Printed, Madras.

4 Printed, Madras by his son, N. Chandrasekhara Iyer, now District Judge, Madura



**254 G Sadaksara** was the son of Mahādeva and Gangādevī He was born at Lalandur in Mysore State in Śaka 1536 (1614 AD) He was one of the famous galaxy of poets who graced the Court of Karnāṭa King Cikadevarāja Blessed with a divine poesy by birth his name soon became glorious Sadaksara bore the title of Kavikunjara Besides several poems in Canarese he wrote in Sanskrit a major poem Rasārnava or Kavikarnarāśāvana (24 cantos) and minor poems Ratnāvali, Kavikoti, Ambāstaka, and Bhadravatā He passed away in his 22nd year in Śaka 1556 He studied under Vasavarāja and admired Vāsavarāja's Kāvyamimāṁsa on which Padmakavi wrote a commentary<sup>1</sup>

**254 H Banesvara Vidyalankara** (Sobhākara) was the son of Rāmadeva, the great extempore poet He lived at Gupṭapallī in Hughli about the end of the 18th century His Citracampū was composed in 1744 His Kālidāsastava is printed in Śyāmākalpalatikā His verses are often quoted in Bengal<sup>2</sup>

**254-I Yagnasubrahmanya** or Swāmī Dīksita was the son of Annā Dīksita and Valliyambā of Kaundinyagoṭra He lived in about 1832-1879 He was born at Ettiyapuram, Tinnevelly District and with a high proficiency in all the Sāstras and in poetry, he was the State Pandit in the Ettiyapuram Samsthānam and was called Kavikesari Besides works on other topics he wrote poetic descriptions of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi of 1875 and of the visit of the Prince of Wales in that year and a campū Valliparinaya which is (in 12 tarangas) quite familiar in South India There is a commentary on it by Ilathūr Sundararāja Aiyangar<sup>3</sup>

**254 J Candamaruta Acarya** was son of Parimalaranga of Vatsagoṭra He was born at Alisur near Kāncī He studied under his father and visited various States and received honours He was patronised particularly by Ravivarma, Chief of Itabalapuri on whose poem

1 This information is from an article by Gaurijsankara Sarma in Śāradā, I 29 See para 521 post

2 See para 546 and S B J1 Here is a verse of his

लज्जा मानसुता भगवदनिता मिक्षा परा दैन्यजा  
तातैश्वर्यविगर्विता बलवती मिक्षा प्रगल्भामवत् ।  
सा लज्जानिहता तथैव तनयाशोकेन मानो मृत  
मिक्षा दैन्यसुता चिरात्परिचिता नाथापि मी मुचति ॥

3 These works are printed and the unprinted works are with his nephew Mr V Subrahmanya Iyer, M.A., Principal, Rameswaram Devasthanam Sanskrit College, Madura

Vidhuravilāpa he wrote a commentary<sup>1</sup> He was lastly Professor of Sanskrit in San Thome, Madras. Besides writing Laghurasakusumāvali on poetics, he answered Jagannātha's critique on Citramimāmsā in a work named Citramimāmsoddbhīra. His poem Alinirājikathā was left incomplete in 6 cantos. He passed away in 1900<sup>2</sup>

Candamāruta had a literary rival Venkatavarada Ācārya of Alavoor (near Kāncī) of Srivatsagotra. He was born in 1879 and lives at Kāncī. He wrote under the name KOMALAMĀRUTA and his poems and stray verses appeared in Manjubhāvini and Vijnānāntīmāni Journals.

**254-K Srinivasa Sastrin** was of Kaundinyagotra. His brother Nārāyaṇasāstrin is a renowned writer whose works will be noticed (in para 727 post). He studied under the famous Mahāmahopādhyāya Tyāgarāja Sastrin (Rājū Sastrin) of Mannargudi (Tanjore District). He upheld the doctrine of Sivādvaita propounded by Appayya Dikṣita by commenting on all the Upaniṣads. His erudition in Sāṃgrahaṇīs was unique and he edited a Journal Brahmatyā. His works were many and his titles were equally so, marks of honour bestowed on him everywhere. Among his minor poems are Vijnaptisatka, Yogibhogr-samvādaśatka, Śāradāśatka, Mahābhauravasatka, Hetirājasatka, Śrīgurusaudaryasāgarasādhatrikā etc., and a play SAUMYASOMAM. He is known to have written a several poems and plays, but information is not available. He passed away about 1900<sup>3</sup>

**254-L Ambikadatta Vyasa** was the son of Durgādatta, a Gauda brahmin of Bhanapura in Jaipur State. He was born in 1859. He was an extempore poet and his proficiency in avadhānam was unique. He was awarded several titles, Vyāsa, Śāhityācārya, Ghatikāśāṭa, Bhāratabhāskara etc. He was for some time Professor of Sanskrit in Bhagalpur. Among his several works on Śivaratājavijaya, a long work in prose on the life of Emperor Śivāji, and minor poems Ratnāstaka, Prastāradipikā, Ganesasatka and Sivavivāha. He passed away in 1901<sup>4</sup>

**254-M Venkataraghava Acarya** (Selur) was son of Ranganātha of Kausikagotra and lived at Srirangam in 1849-1906. He was head Sanskrit Pandit in S P G College, Trichinopoly. Besides the

1 Printed Conjeevaram

2 For a short account see Samskr̄ta-Candrikā, Vol. VIII,

3 For a short account of his life and works, see Samskr̄ta Candrikā, Vol IX X

4 For a short account see Samskr̄ta Candrikā Vol. VIII Śivaratājavijaya is printed in that Journal.

poems Rāmāstaprāsamanjari, Ranganāthāstaprāsa, Sriranganāyikā-nalṣaṇramālikā and Āryāsaptati, he wrote the plays Mānmathavijaya.<sup>1</sup>

**254-N Ganapati Sastrin** was the son of Subrahmanyā and Sītālakṣmī of Moudgalyagoṭra of the village of Painganādu in Tanjore District and lived in 1871-1913. He was the chief Pandit of the Advaita-Sabha of Kumbhakonam and latterly of the Sankara Mutt there. He bore the titles Mahāmahopādhyaya and Vedāntakesari. Learned in all the Sāstras, he has had illustrious pupils among whom is Kadangan-gudi Natesa Sāstri, whose labours in connection with Sanskrit Literature are now well known. Besides several works on other topics, he wrote the poems Kataṅgasatka, Ānyāpadesa, Tātātakāparinaya, Dhruvacarita, Rasikabhūṣana, Gururājasaptati and some stūtis (mentioned in the Index) and Vṛttamānimālā on prosody.

**Pancapagesa Sastrin** (Kaviratna) is his brother. He was born in 1874. Like his brother he was chief pandit at Sankara mutt in Kurubhakonam for about 20 years and is now retired and lives in Tyagarajanagar, Madras. Besides works on Sāstras he wrote campūs Hariscandravijaya and Tātākaprātiṣṭhāmahoṭsava and the poems Kāvyakolāhala, Gauricarapasaṭṭa, Vyāsapūjimahoṭsava, Śankara-gurucaritasangraha and several stūtis which are mentioned in the Index.

**254 O Srisvara Vidyalankara** was the son of Kṣitiśvara Bhāttācārya of Rangpur, Bengal, of Vātsyagoṭra and a poet of Bengal of great renown. He passed away in 1905. His poem Vijaynikāvya (in 12 cantos) describes the life of Queen Victoria and Delhi-Mahoṭsava (in 5 cantos) describes the Delhi Darbar of 1901 and Śakṭiśāṭaka is in praise of Durgā.

Srisvara's son is Kokilesvara SASTRIN (now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University) was born in 1871 and was greatly honoured by the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, in whose College he was Professor of Sanskrit for a number of years, and he delivered Sree Gopal Basu Mullick's Fellowship Lectures in 1930-31. His exposition of the philosophy of the Upanishads has had a wide appreciation.<sup>2</sup>

**254-P Gopalasastrin** (Nadiminty) was the son of Bhagavat Paṭanjali Śastrī and Kāmākṣī of Kaundinyagoṭra. He was born at Nāgur Agraḥaram near Pārvatīpuram, Vizagapatam District. He lived

1. The drama is printed in Bombay and the poems are with his son V. Raja gopalasarma B.A., West Chitra Sheet, Srirangam.

2. He has recently published *A History of Sanskrit Literature*.

in 1853-1928 Like his father and grandfather he was initiated in Śrīvidyā and he wrote the poems Siragauriparinaya and Sītarāmābhuyudaya His father Bhagavat Patanjali Śāstri was a State Pandit in Nepal and was the recipient of agraharams from Kuruppam Sams-thanam His poem Paramapurupadhyānam is now available in part Patanjali's father was Sarvamangalesvara Śāstri (1759-1839) He went to Benares and became famous enough to be called Abhinavakāhdāsa His poetry was oft times satirical and had full vent in the Court of Mahārāja Anandagajapati of Vilanagaram Besides works on the Śāstras, his poems Lalitāstaka, Suryāstaka and Jagannāthāstaka are now available and many stray verses of extempore variety are now preserved and are of a high order<sup>1</sup>

**254 Q Ramavatara Sarma** was the son of Devanārāyaṇa Pandeya and Govindadevi of Bhāradvājagotra He was born at Chapra (U P) in 1878 and passed away in 1929 Having studied at Benares he became Professor of the Hindu College, Benares and was later on in the College at Patna He was a literary prodigy and his contributions to literary and historical criticism are well-known and unique. Besides several works on darsanas, he wrote poems Māruḍīnaḍakam, Mudgaradūta and a play Harsa-Nāradhiyam His Bhāraṭyamitivṛṭṭam is a small literary history of India written in Anustubh metre "It reads like the Kashmir Rājatarangini It form a very small part of a huge work, the history of the whole world Had this huge work been published, it would have been a Mahābhārata of these days." Above all he prepared a gigantic lexic on Viśvakosa which awaits an editor<sup>2</sup>

**254-R Mahesacandra Tarkacudamani** lived a few years ago at Rājārāmpuram, Dinajpur, Bengal Among modern poets and rhetoricians he is one of the foremost Besides several minor poems like Kāvyapetikā on various topics, he wrote Dīnājpurārājāvamsa (in 17 cantos) and Bhūdevacaritra (in 24 cantos) and an elegy on the late Mahārāja of Darbhāṅga and a poetic criticism Kāvyatātvāvali<sup>3</sup>

1. His Samāsakusumāñjali is printed His Vibhaktivilāsam and the rest are with his grandson Mr N Patanjali Śāstri, B A B L, Parvatipur, Vizagapatam District

2. Except the play the poems have been printed The manuscripts of his unprinted works are with his son N V Sarma, Exhibition Road, Patna to whom I am indebted for this information

3. Many of his minor poems are printed in Samskr̥ta Candrikā and Mitragoṣṭhi Journals Dīnājpurārājāvamsa has illustrations of several poetic Bandhas in exquisit form

MAHESACANDRA NYAYARATNA who wrote a gloss of Kāvya-prakāś. was son of Harinārayapa of Nāriṭa village, Havida, Bengal and lived in 1836-1906<sup>1</sup>

**254 S Sri Kalkisimha** or Sri Kalki (T Narasimha (Aiyangar) Ācārya) was the son of Praṭivādibhayankara Tondanur Singalācārya of Śrīvatsagotra. He was born at Melkote in 1867 A D. He was Sanskrit Professor in the Central College, Bangalore for 23 years. He received Inspiration Divine from Heaven through his Yogic meditation early in 1915 and along with his brother Mr T Narayana Aiyangar devoted himself to literary service. He was versed in all branches of Sanskrit learning and besides his works which are still in several volumes of manuscript in Vedānta Book Depot, 17 East Park Road, Malleswaram, the Sanskrit rendering is Tiruvoymuli (printed at Bombay) and Gānā-mṛgātaranginī (variety of songs) are classical. His several disciples revered him as Kalki-avaṭṭāra and he was conscious of that divine inspiration. He passed away in 1935.

**254 T Annadacarana** was the son of Kalikinkara Thakura, a sīrotriya Brahmin of Radhyasreni of Bengal. He was born at Sompada, Noakhali, Bengal in 1862 A D (1268 B S) in the family of the well known Tāntrika Saint Sarvānandasarvavidyā (who lived about 1426 A D). Educated at Calcutta and Benares, his erudition was great and he was Tarkacūḍamāṇi, Mahāmahopādhyāya etc. He commenced a Tol (now a Sanskrit College) at Noakhali and later became Professor of Mīmāṃsā, Sankhya and Yoga in the Benares Hindu University. He was editor of Suprabhāṭa, Benares. His writings began when he was yet young. Besides several works on different Saṃśtras, he wrote the poems, Rāmābhūdaya and Mahāprasthāna (mahākāvyas), Sumanonjali and R̥ucitra and Kāvya-candrikā on a poetics. A combination of attainments in Saṃśtras and poetry is rare and in his retirement he pursues his service to Sarasvatī, being an agnihoṭri in true orthodoxy.<sup>2</sup>

**254 U. Gangānatha Jha** (Mahāmahopādhyāya M.A.) is the son of Tīrthāntha Jhā and Indumati Devi of Vaṭsagotra. He was born in 1871. A unique scholar in Sanskrit, he has been connected with various educational institutions as a Librarian of Darbhanga Raj, as Principal, Sanskrit College, Rewa, and as Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad

1 See para 864. He wrote an essay in Sanskrit on the authorship of Mṛgakāṭaka [MG Jl III 28].

2 For his stray verses and poems such as Prapāṭikāvya, Prārthanākāvya, Āṭma-Atmanuṭṭama, see Journals Vidyodaya and Samskr̥ta-candrikā.

University for a full decade from 1923-1932 His commentary on Prasannaraghava is a lucid exposition and his various other writings on other branches of Sanskrit learning are still appearing in press

**254 V Batuknatha Sarma** is the son of Īsvāriprabhā Misra of Bhāradvājagoṭra Born in Benares in 1895 and educated there, he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Benares Hindu University Besides editing Bharata's Nātyasāstra and Bhāmaha's Kāvyalankāra and other rare works, he wrote the poems Vallavadūtam, Satakasaptakam, Kālikasatākam, Ātmanivedanasaṭakam and Śrīśwayamvaram (māhākāvya) and a play (Prahasana) Pāndityatāndavita<sup>1</sup> which displays an elegance of diction in a vein of the ardent faith and devotion

**254 W Guruprasanna Bhattacharya** was born in 1882 He is the son of Rakhaladas Bhattacharya and Kṛṣṇasakhi Devī of Maudgalyagoṭra of Bengal and a descendant of the renowned Kāśirāma-vācaspati a very respected author on Śāntipūra, the famous seat of learning, he studied in the Calcutta University and after a period of service in the Benares Hindu University, he has been since 1921 Professor of Sanskrit in Dacca University Among his several works, are the poems Śrī-Kāsamahākāvya and Māthuram and Varūṭhimicampū, and plays Nibhūgacarita (6 acts), Maḍālāra-Kuvalayāsava (7 acts) and Bhāminivilāsa (6 acts) and these contain poetry of exquisite grace and varying interest<sup>2</sup>

**254 X Pramathanatha Tarkabhusana** (Māhāmahopādhyāya<sup>1</sup>) was the son of Tāracandra and Rāmaranginī Devī He was born at Bhatpara, Bengal in 1866 in a Pāscāṭya Vedic Brahmin family of Vāsishthagoṭra He studied under the great veterans of Sanskrit learning like Rakhaladas Nyāyaraṭna, Silacandra, Sārvabhauma and Kaulācāndrasarma He became Professor of Vedānta in Sanskrit College, Calcutta and is now the Principal of the College of Oriental Learning in the Benares Hindu University Besides several works on Sāstras he wrote the poems (printed), Kokiladūṭa, Rāsarasodaya and Vijayaprakāsa His father Tāracandra was the State Pandit of Benares Raj Among his poems are Kānanasataka, Rāmajanmabhāna and Śringāratnākara

1 Two Acts have been published in the Vallari His several essays on literary topics are appearing in Oriental Journals His unprinted manuscripts are with him at K 81-50, Kal Bhairava, Benares City

2 The manuscripts are with him at Dacca or at his residence at No 6, Rama-krishna Das Lane, Calcutta.

**254-Y Ranganatha Tatacarya** of Royadurga was born in 1894. He is the son of Raghunātha of Śathamarsanagotra. He is the senior Pandit of Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore. Besides Śukasandesa<sup>1</sup> and Hanumātprasādasataka<sup>2</sup> and Vākyaraṇāvali (a book on Sanskrit idioms), he wrote short plays Nyājasabhbā and Kutsitakusida<sup>3</sup> and prose stories Kaniyan-Grāmaṇī, Jarati-Nagarapālanasabhbā- ca and Navinajāmātā<sup>4</sup>.

**254 Z Tirumala (Srisaila) Tatacarya** was the son of Desikācārya of Sathamarsanagotra. He was born in 1892. After service in the Sanskrit College at Tiruvadi, Tanjore, he is now Principal, Sanskrit College, Tirupati. His critiques on Alankāra and Mimāmsā have got him a wide recognition at Panditaraṇa etc. Besides his commentary on Bhāmabālānkāra and Śleṣaparisuddhi (on slesa) he wrote the poem Drutacarita and the novel Menakā<sup>5</sup>.

**255 A Venkatacalamayya** is otherwise known as Chelamayya Sāstriṇ (Pārupūdi). He was born at Magām village near Muktesvaram in East Godavari. He was honoured by several States in and about Nizam's dominions and he is proficient in several languages. Besides some minor poems, his play Gopicandracarita in 7 acts is a quasi-philosophical work on the plan of Jain poems in which ethics are well combined with humour and poetry<sup>6</sup>.

**255-B Srinivasa Acarya** (Mudumbai) is the son of Rāghavācārya of Śrīvaṭsagotra. He was born in 1887-8 at Agaram near Kānci and was educated at Bhūṭapuri. Besides summaries of the epics and Bhāgavaṭa and some minor poems, his Manimekhala and Pravālavallī are romances based on the Tamil Tales and Kairavī<sup>7</sup> is a prose narrative of the theological traditions of the Deity at Triplicane, Madras<sup>8</sup>.

**255-C Raja Kaitindra Deb** Rai Mahasay of Bansberia Raj (Vamsavati), Bengal, was born in 1876. He was the eldest son of Raja Pūrṇendra Deb and Sacalā Debī of Kāśyapagoṭra. Kṣitīndra is among the foremost of Bengali noblemen, whose houses have devoted their

1 See para 328 *supra*

2 Printed JSSP, Calcutta

3 Ibid

4. *Manjuśā Journal*

1 He is the editor of the Journal Udyānapaṭrikā

1 The manuscript is with the author's son P Subbarao, Sanskrit Pandit, Coonoor

1 See para 378 *supra*, note.

all to the good of society The first ancestor of his family was Devāditya who was a contemporary of Ballala Sen whose cult of Kulinism he opposed The seat of the Raj was moved from Patuli to Bansberia<sup>3</sup> by Rāmesvar Deh about 1680 Rāmesvar was a patron of letters and he brought in scholars renowned in different branches of Sanskrit learning from Benares and elsewhere and founded several Tols or Sanskrit Colleges JAGANNATHA PANCANANA (the famous scholar of Bengal) was one of its first pupils Purṇendu, father of Kṣitindra, was a worthy scion of this house and he maintained and improved the Tols and had the Sanskrit work Kālyarcanāvidhi composed by eminent pandits on the ritual of Kālī worship SURINDRA MOHANA DEVA SARMA and DHARMADITYA DHARMACARYA wrote panegyrics on the greatness of this ancient house along with the Mughal Imperors who have honoured them from time to time Kṣitindra is a poet and has composed minor poems He is known as the Grandfather of the Library Movement in India He ran the first Bengali Journal Purnimā True to the lineage he is devoutly attached to Kālī, and he lives near the temple of Kālī in Kalighat, Calcutta Hamsesvari temple renowned in Bengal for its architecture was built by Rāpi Sankarī in 1614

**255-D** **Tiruvenkata Tatadesika** was son of Singarācārya of Śathamaranagotra He was born in 1892 and lives at Tekkallapadu, Nellore District True to his traditions, he is an authority on Mantrasastra and wrote the poems Nakharasatka, Nṛsimhasatka and Śtupamālikā, all printed at Ongole

**255-E** **Ramanatha Sastrin (S)** is the son of Kṛṣṇa Bhattachar of Kāusikagotra He was born in Palghat and became well versed in all the Śāstrias, In Mīmāṃsa, his learning is unique and that has been recognised by the several titles conferred on him and he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Madras Besides works on other subjects, his drama Manimanjū in 7 acts contains exquisite poetry and is interspersed with songs

**255 F** **Vidyadhara Sastri** is the son of Vidyāvācaspati Deviprasāda Śāstri and grandson of Bhāsyācārya Harināmaḍatta Śāstrin of

1. On Bansberia Raj, see W K Triminger, Note on Bansberia, its Raj, its temples, its missions and schools, in *Bengal past and present*, Journal of Calcutta Historical His society, 1908, *Imperial Gazetteer* Hugly, B V Roy—Links with Calcutta, Shambhu Chandra Dey, *Hoogly Past and Present*, Rao Bahadur B A Gupta, *Ethnology in Ancient Historical Records*, Calcutta Original Sanad granted by Emperor Aurangzeb in 1673 is exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta

Bhāradvājagotra He was born in an illustrious house of scholars at Churu (Bikanir State) in 1901 and is now Professor of Sanskrit in the College at Bikanir His father was proficient in all the Sāstras and his extensive work Satcandīvidhāna is an authority on ritual and his great work Gangāsimha-Kalpadruma still unprinted is lying in the private library of Maharāja Ganga Singh Jee of Bikanir. Vidyādhara bears a number of erudite titles and among his poems are Sivapuṣpāñjali, Sūryaprārthanā, Vidyadharasaṭaka (on nīti) and an original drama, PURNAMALLAM.

**255-G Paramananda Sarma** (Kavīndra) belongs to Rṣikula Lakshmanagadh, Jaipur Besides the poem Karnārjunīya he has retold the story of Rāmāyana in separate poems, Manṭharādūrvilasita Dasarāṭhavilāpa, Māricavaḍha, Meghanādavadha and Rāvanavadha.<sup>1</sup>

**255-H Keśīsacandra Cattopadhyaya** is the son of Śaratcandra and Gīnbälā Devī of Kāsyapagoṭra He was born in 1896 in Calcutta He is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University and edits two Journals Manjuṣā (in Sanskrit) and Calcutta Oriental Journal (in English) which are well known Besides various essays on topical subjects his sixty stories (Sastītanṭram) original and translated exhibit a graceful style which in his own words 'don't smack of the midnight all but are all palpitating with life' For instance, they are Rasamayī, Vāyuparīvartanam, Mṛdusarvatrabādhyate, Dumbhasyadusceṭṭam.<sup>2</sup>

**255-I Vidyusekhara Bhattacharya** was the son of Trailokyanātha. He was born at Harischandrapura, Malda, Bengal in 1179 After spending some years at Śāntiniketan he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University He has been honoured by various titles for his versatile learning His Sanskrit renderings of Milindaprasna is a splendid performance He was the Editor of Miṭragosthī Journal There and in the Samskṛta-Candrikā his several minor poems, songs and his prose essays on Sanskrit poets appeared from time to time Besides the poems mentioned in para 249 supra, he wrote Nagilā, Baddhavihaga and Kṣtrakāṭhā (Buddhist stores) and Bharatacaritra (in prose) and Durgāsaptaśati in praise of Kālī

**255-J Ratni Devi** is a young girl of 13 years of Hatharsa (Hathras) Her prose narrative of Raghuvaṃsa is remarkable (*Sury Jl IX* 286)

1. See *JSSP*, Calcutta, Sūradā Jl, *Sury. Jl*

2. Published in *JSSP* and *Manjuṣā Journal*, Calcutta







## CHAPTER XI

**Laghukavya**

## SECTION I

**255** **Laghu Kavya** or Minor Poem is one that is not a Mahākāvya in the sense described, viz., "a writing of considerable length, varying descriptions and elaborate construction, embracing a narrative theological or historical, divided into cantos for convenience of narration." In theme, many minor poems are narratives of lesser length, such as Nalodaya, and in sentiment they are erotic, religious, gnomic or didactic.

**256** **Niti** or the ethical or didactic poem has a very ancient origin. Long before the composition of Mahābhārata, which is a mine of such literature, there was aphoristic ethical poetry of which only relics have come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

The philosophic turn of the Indian mind developed the science of ethics from the earliest times and the keynote of all didactic poetry in *nīti*, *sānchi*, *mūrakṣi*, i.e. the vanity of earthly pleasures. To attain a mind tranquil, to get out of the trammels of birth and living, to discard pleasure and pain, to discriminate virtue and vice, to discover the Truth and the Divine and to imbibe the love of tolerance and brotherhood, these are the ends of Indian ethical poetry. "Scattered throughout the most various departments of Sanskrit literature," says Macdonell, "are innumerable apophthegms in which wise and noble, striking and original thoughts often appear in a highly finished and poetical garb. These are plentiful in the law books, in the epic and the drama they are frequently on the lips of heroes, sages and gods, and fables are constantly uttered by tigers, jackals, cats and other animals. Above all, the Mahabharata, which to the pious Hindu constitutes a moral encyclopædia, is an inexhaustible mine of proverbial philosophy. It is however natural that ethical maxims should be introduced in great abundance into works which, like the Panchatantra and Hitopadesa, were intended to be handbook of practical moral philosophy."<sup>2</sup>

**257. Stotra** Religious poetry in India is as old as Indian thought. Samhitas of the Vedas, particularly of Atharvan, contain

1. See Boethlingk's critical edition in *Indische Sprüche* and Aartsch's *ZDUG*, XVII, 1. See also J. Kieft, *Die Tridentinischen Upanishads und Mukt's Religious and Moral Sentiments from Sanskrit Writers*.

2. *SL*, 877

eulogistic invocations of various deities and these eulogies abound in the literature of Upanisads, Epics and Purāṇas. They are known as Stoṭra. They are either epithets, descriptive of the powers and greatness of the deity addressed, or collections of names, at times strung into verses. They are called nāmaśtrotṛas or nāmāvalis. The number of the epithets are generally 108, 1000 or 1008, astotrasaṭṭa or sahasra or astotrasaḥasra or shortly called astotṭara. There are also prayers in amulet form which to this day are believed to be very efficacious. They are raised to the status of maṇiras and some of them are prefaced by the mention of pṝhi, chandas and devatā and followed by the benefits of recitation.

Many of these stoṭras are treasures of lyrical beauty and poetic imagery. For instance, there are these lines in Lalitāśabhaṇḍanāma<sup>1</sup>:

श्रीमाता श्रीमहाराज्ञी श्रीमतिसक्षासनेश्वरी । चिदगिनकुण्डसम्भूता देवकार्यसमुद्धता ॥  
 उच्छ्वासहस्रामा चतुर्बुहसमन्विता । रागस्तृपपाशाद्वा क्रोधाकारोऽकुशोऽवला ॥  
 मनोरूपेश्वरकोदण्ड पञ्चतन्मात्रसायका । निजारुणप्रभापूरमज्जदश्वाण्डमण्डला ॥  
 श्वप्नाक्षोक्षप्रभागसैग्निथिकलस्तकचा । कुरुविन्दमणिश्रेणीकनत्कोटीरमणिहृता ॥  
 अष्टमीचन्द्रविभ्राजदलिकस्थलशेषिता । मुख्यचन्द्रकलङ्घाममृगनामिविशेषका ॥  
 वदनस्मरमाङ्गल्यगृहतोरणचिलिका । वक्त्रलक्ष्मीपरीवाहचलभीनामलोचना ॥  
 नवचम्पकपुष्पामनसादण्डविराजिता । ताराकान्तितरस्कारिनासामरणमासुरा ॥  
 कदम्बमञ्जीरीकृषकर्णपूरमनोहरा । ताटक्युगलीभृतपनोद्विपमण्डला ॥  
 पञ्चरागशिलादशीपरिभाविकपोलभू. । नवविद्मविम्बश्रीन्यकारिदनच्छदा ॥  
 शुद्धविद्याकुराकारद्विजपञ्चिद्वयोज्जवला । कर्पूरवृट्टिकामोदसमाकर्षहिंगन्तरा ॥  
 निजसङ्घापमाधुर्यविनिर्मतिसंतकच्छपी । मन्दस्मितप्रभापूरमज्जत्कामेश्वरानसा ॥  
 अनाकलितसादश्यचुबुकथीविराजता । कामेश्वरद्वामाङ्गल्यसूत्रशेषितकन्वरा ॥  
 कनकाङ्गदकेयुरकमनीयभुजान्विता । रत्नग्रैवेयचिन्ताकलोलमुक्ताफलान्विता ॥  
 कामेश्वरप्रेमरप्नमणिपीतारुणसनी । नाभ्यालवालोरोमालिलताफलकुचदयी ॥  
 लक्ष्यरामलताधारातासमृष्टेयमध्यमा । स्तनमारदलन्ध्यपट्टबन्धवालितया ॥  
 अरुणारुणकौसुम्बवस्त्रमालतकटीतटी । रत्नकिञ्चिणिकारम्बरशनादामभूषिता ॥  
 कामेश्वर/तसोभाग्यमार्दद्वोहद्वयान्विता । माणिक्यमकुटाकारजातुद्वयविराजिता ॥  
 हन्दगोपपरिक्षिसम्मरतूणामजड्डिका । गृहयुत्सा कूर्भपृष्ठजयिष्णुप्रपदान्विता ॥  
 नस्तीर्थितिसङ्खनमज्जनतमोशुणा । पदद्वयप्रभाजालपराकृतसरोरुहा ॥  
 शिखानमणिमञ्जीरमणिडतश्रीपदाम्बुजा । भरालीमन्दगमना महालावण्ययेवथि ॥

<sup>1</sup> Ed everywhere, and with English translation of Bhāskararāya's commentary by R. Anantkrishnassestry, Madras. Bhāskararāya or Bhāskarāṇḍana was son of Gambhirārāya Dikṣita of Benares and lived about 1629 A.D. In CC, I, 411, his other works are enumerated.

Later literature abounds in short pieces of eulogical poetry, also known as *stotras*. Their number is a legion. There are several collections printed everywhere according to the taste and persuasion of the editor. There are, for instance, *Bṛhatstotraraṭnākara* (Madras) *Stotra-*  
*raṭnākara* (Bombay), *Stavāvali* (Calcutta) and *Stotraguccha* (Bangalore).<sup>1</sup> They are saturated with expressions of devotion and philosophy, often illustrated by allusions to tales of theology and are none the less fine specimens of melodious poetry.<sup>2</sup>

**258** *Sringara* or erotic poem is amorous 'Amorous' in its widest sense is the innate and ultimate idea and whatever contributes to the story of love, its origination, dissemination and culmination is a necessary adjunct to the poetic description. Nature therefore plays a prominent part. "Various birds" says Macdonell "to which poetic myths are attached are frequently introduced as furnishing analogies to human life and love. The Chataka which would rather die of thirst than drink aught but the raindrops from cloud, affords an illustration of pride. The Chakora supposed to imbibe the rays of the moon, affords a parallel to the lover who with his eyes drinks in the beams of his beloved face. The Chakravaka which, fabled to be condemned to nocturnal separation from his mate, calls to her with plaintive cry during the watches of the night, serves as an emblem of conjugal fidelity. In all this lyric poetry the bright eyes and beauty of Indian girls find a setting 'in scenes brilliant with blossoming trees, fragrant with flowers, gay with the plumage and vocal with the song of birds, diversified with lotus ponds steeped in tropical sunshine and with large-eyed gazelles reclining in the shade'".<sup>3</sup>

## SECTION II.

### Niti

**259** *Sundarapandyā* (Ācārya) belonged apparently to Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. His *Nītidvīṣastikā*<sup>4</sup> is quoted in *Pancatantra*, in *Jānāśrayī* and by Kṛṣṇalilasuka. Sundarapāndya is mentioned as an ancestor of Arikēsarū in an inscription of about 750 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

1. For collections of *stotras*, see *DC*, XVIII to XIX and *Cat. Mys.*, 35, 183; *Mys. OML* and *CAL* 17, 24

2. See also *Stotra Literature in Old India* by Śivaprasāda Bhāttācārya, Paper read at the Or Conference, 1924

3. *SL*, 848.

4. Ed. by Markandeyasastri, Madras, with prefaces by M. R. Kavi and by Prabhakara Sastri.

5. Madras *H&R* Rep. 1930,

and must have flourished earlier than 5th century A D. The verses in Ārvā metre are pretty<sup>1</sup>. The poet says that it received unique honors

इमा कान्चनपीठस्था समेत्य कवयो भुवि ।  
आर्या सुन्दरपाण्ड्यस्य रत्नापयन्ति वधुसिव ॥

**230** **Candragomin** or **Candra**<sup>2</sup> was the celebrated author of the grammatical treatise *Candra-Vyākaraṇa*. His treatise was used profusely by Jayāditya in *Kāśikā*. He was a Buddhist. Vasurāṭa, the preceptor of Bhartṛhari, was his pupil. According to Belvalkar, Candra refers to Hūnas, probably to their expulsion by Yaśodharman in 544 A D. and he fixes the date of Candragomin as about 470 A D. But it is probable that he lived far earlier<sup>3</sup>. Like his predecessors in grammatical literature he was also a poet of no mean merit. He fell into disfavour at the court of a prince Ratnakirti and seeing the prince infatuated by wealth and power, he addressed him a letter in the form of a poem *Sivayalekhādharmakāvya*<sup>4</sup> on the evanescence of worldly treasures and made him forsake the world. "It is a poem of 114 verses. After an introduction of 18 verses in praise of the Three Jewels, the author begins by saying 'entering this ill smelling abode of birth which is filled with heaps of impurity, is very narrow and is pervaded by dense darkness as into some hell, he has to endure great misery with crushed limbs.' Then follow verses about the miseries of age when man will repent what he did or did not do, for 'then messengers of Yama will take him by the hair and carrying before the Judge.' The tortures of pratas and the river vaitarani are described. Then comes the admonition. Thus ends the poem. 'To exert oneself in the interest of others is the true way of salvation, for those that are overcome by thirst in the desert be thou a tree, a cloud, a pond'". A prayer follows that all the world may obtain omniscience<sup>5</sup>. Five stray verses are given in Vallabhadeva's

1. For instance,

सहवसंतामप्यसती बलंदृजलंवद्विलक्षणंलेप ।

दूरेऽपि सती प्रीतिः कुमुदेन्दुवद्वचति ॥—107.

2. There are variations as *Candragomin*, *Candrayogin*, *Candra*, the dramatist in different person.

3. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 58

4. Published in the memoirs of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, IV. 1188, Keight (SL, 72) mentions *Shurlikha* of Nagārjunas [Tr. H. Wenzel, JPTS. (1886), 1], see *Vidyābhūṣana*, J.S.U., (1907), No 2, Wintermuth, IE, II, i, 250.

5. See *JMAS*. (1880) 1188

Subhāśitāvalī These are probably found in that poem<sup>1</sup> He also wrote Tārāśādhanasatka<sup>2</sup>

**261.** **Bhartrhari** is by tradition known to be the son of a Brahmin, Candragupta, by his Sūdra wife Śindhumati. His step-brothers were Vikramārka and Bhātti. Bhātti is said to be a prakṛitised form of Bharṭṛ and Bhātti and Bharṭṛ have been sometimes considered to be identical<sup>3</sup>. Their proficiency in grammar is probably a cause of the identity. Bhartrhari's grammatical treatise Vākyapadīya is well-known<sup>4</sup>. It is said that Bhartrhari became an ascetic and for a long time wavered between the world and its renunciation,<sup>5</sup> and passed away in 600 A.D.<sup>6</sup> though it is probable he lived earlier<sup>7</sup>. He has been called a Buddhist, a Brahmin and a Saivite,<sup>8</sup> as the reviewer pleases.

**262** His Subhasitas or Śatakātraya on Nīti, Sringara or Vairāgya are a specimen of sententious poetry, enveloping lofty ideas for the guidance of mankind<sup>9</sup>. They have suffered from interpolations and the editions of the work differ therefore to some extent in the contents<sup>10</sup>.

1. विषय विषयाणीं कं दूरमसन्तमन्तरम् ।  
उपभुक्तं विषं हामि विषया. स्मरणादपि ॥  
केचित् अथेन हि भजन्ति विशेषभावमन्ये जना विषयलोभकृतप्रवत्ता ।  
केचिच्च साधुजनसदि कीर्तिलोभात् सद्भाववाङ्जनाति कोऽपि न साधुरत्ति ॥

2. Farquhar, *ORL*, 399, Winteritz, *IL*, II, 1, 260

3. For these stories, see para 42 supra

4. See *LA*, III, 286

5. See A. B. Keith, *SL*, 176

6. *Records of Buddhist Religion*, 178, Max Müller's *India*, 847, *Belvalkar*, *SSG*, 40, Macdonell, *SL*, 840.

7. Telang (*Int. to Śatas*) places him in 1-2 Century A.D.

8. See Keith, *SL*, 178, K. B. Pathak, *Was Bhartrhari a Buddhist?* *JBRAS*, XVIII, 841. On Bhartrhari, see Keilhorn, *LA*, XII, 226.

9. *CC*, I, 896, II, 90, III, 86. Ed. Bombay by Gopinath with an analysis of Bhartrharinirveda. Ed Madras with notes and English translation by M.C. Alasingaracarya, Ed. Bombay with commentary by M. R. Kale, Ed. by P. Bohlen, Berlin, Ed. *BSS*, Bombay by Telang, Ed. Bombay with notes and English translation, (See Cat of Or Book Agency, Poona, 108) Tr. into English verse by Tawney (Galoutta) and with introduction and translation by B. H. Wartham (*Trübner Or Series*, London)

10. For instance, in Vaiyagyaśatka, Telang's edition contains 113 verses, while Bohlen's 100 verses only.

It has been thought sometimes that all the verses in these Sātakas are not the work of Bhartṛhari, and that they include verses of other authors chosen by Bhartṛhari. Opinions are various and A B Keith, for instance, says that "it seems unnecessary to exclude the probability that in his collections Bhartṛhari may have included work not his own, as well as verses compiled by himself," but he thinks that Śringūrabhātaka is the work of a single author, for "unquestionably there is a definite structure which may be, of course, the work of a skilled compiler, but which more naturally suggests the product of a creative mind." Bhartṛhari's Subhāṣitās have been held in high esteem for several centuries,<sup>2</sup> and Indian tradition accepts these Sātakas as Bhartṛhari's own. There are in the modern recensions and editions verses included in the Sātakas that are attributed in the anthologies to other authors, but these must only be interpolations, which are easily made when the verses are isolated in ideas and each verse expresses by itself a moral or a sentiment.<sup>3</sup>

There are commentaries on Nītisātaka by Mahābhāskarī<sup>4</sup> and all the Sātakas by Avançī Rāmacandra son of Kundopandita of Sāndilya gotra,<sup>5</sup> by Dhānasāra,<sup>6</sup> by Rāmarāi,<sup>7</sup> by Gunavīṇayā,<sup>8</sup> by Mīnanātha,<sup>9</sup> by Indrajit,<sup>10</sup> and two anonymous,<sup>11</sup> and on Nīti and Vairāgya by M. R. Kale.<sup>12</sup>

There is a fourth Paddhati called Śāntipadḍhātu with a Guzrati introduction printed in Bombay.

1. For a good appreciation, See A B Keith, *SL*, 178-183

2. Peterson collects verses of Bhartṛhari in Subhāṣitāvali (*Int.* 74) and details the ascriptions. He says "Of the 110 verses given in Telang's edition of Nītisātaka 8 are in our book expressly assigned to Bhartṛhari, 32 are given anonymously and 18 are expressly assigned to other authors. Of the 118 verses given in Telang's edition of Vairāgyasātaka, 11 are in one book expressly assigned to Bhartṛhari, 11 are given anonymously and 6 are expressly assigned to other authors. Of the 100 verses given in Bohlen's edition of Vairāgyasātaka only one is one book ascribed to Bhartṛhari, 17 are given anonymously and 8 are expressly ascribed to other authors."

3. Printed, Bombay

4. *DO*, XX 8078

5. *Mack*, 102.

6. *OC*, 897, *PR*, IV 80; *IO*, 2555.

7. *IO*, 1564.

8. *OC*, II 90,

9. *PR*, V. 887, *OC*, III 86

10. *DO*, XX 8083, 8084, *Opp.* 2024.

11. Printed, Bombay

Vitavṛitta<sup>1</sup> is a small poem describing the conduct of licentious people Mādhava attributed it to Bhartṛhari in his Jadavṛitta which in four chapters is a similar work on mad lovers and fools.<sup>2</sup>

**263 Harihara's Bhartrharinīrveda**<sup>3</sup> is a play which is "in great part a glorification of the Yoga philosophy which teaches that the summum bonum is the discrimination and separation of soul from matter, thus leading through renunciation of the world to isolation of the ego." It has śānta for its sentiment. The leading man is the famous ascetic Gorakṣanātha or Goraknath (regarded as the incarnation of Siva), the founder of the Śaiva sect of Kanfat Yogis in the early part of the 15th century A D. His chief temple is at Gorakpur, less than 300 miles from the house of Harihara.<sup>4</sup> It is said that Bhartṛhari became upset by the sudden demise of his consort, on hearing a false news of his death. He was consoled by a Yogi and he attained such a condition of renunciation, that even when his dead wife was recalled to life, he had lost his attraction for the world.<sup>5</sup>

Harihara is mentioned as the author of the play Prabhāvatiparṇayā.<sup>6</sup>

**264. Bhallata**<sup>7</sup> was a poet of the Court of King Śankaravarman of Kāmar (884-902 A D).<sup>8</sup> His Saṭṭaka<sup>9</sup> is a hard but pleasant poem on morals and quotations by Abhinavagupta, by Kṣemendra and Mammata attest the appreciation. Bhallata's other verses are quoted in the anthologies.<sup>10</sup>

1 DC, XX 8010

2 DC, XX 8000.

3 Ed. Kāvyamāla Bombay. Translated into English by L. H Gray (JAOS, XXV 197 280). Keith, SL, 248

4 See Goldstucker *Lit. Remains*, I. 161, Wilson, *Sects* 218, M Williams, *Buddhism*, 198. Farquhar (ORL, 847) gives 1200 A D

5 M̄tra, VII, No, 2895, Leo, II 77, 88, OC, I 854, 762

6 OC I 854

7 In some editions of Śāṅgadharapāṇḍhagi the name is given as Mallabhatta and Bhattamalla

8 Raj V 128. There is a Kavibhallata referred to in Nannaya's Āndhra-saṭṭacintāmaṇi

9 Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay. DC, XX. 8095 See PR, III. 895, SR, I 7, 91.

10 ZDMG, LVI. 405, Keith, SL, 281; Peterson, Subh, 75-77

There is another Bhallata, of a later date. His *Nāṭaka* in praise of the Devi (Perundevi) of Conjeevaram shows dexterous poetry.<sup>1</sup>

**265 Silhana** is a poet of Kāśmir. He often imitates Bhartṛhari. His *Sāntīsaṭaka* is quoted in *Sadukṭikarnāmṛta* composed in 1203 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

**266 Dhanadaraja**, son of Dehala, wrote three *Sāṭakas* like Bhartṛhari in 1434 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Jagannāṭha (Panditarāja) has four chapters on Prāśāṇika, Srngāra, Karuna and Sāṅṭa in his poem Bhāminīvīlāsa.<sup>4</sup> So does Caṭurvargasīra of Rādhāmangalam Nārūṭanasāṭri.<sup>5</sup>

**267 Somaprabha** was disciple of Vajrasimhācārya, the Jain ascetic.<sup>6</sup> In his *Sindūraprakara* he describes the good and bad qualities mostly according to the tenets of the Jain religion. He wrote also *Sṛngāravairagyāṭarangini*.<sup>7</sup> Narābharaṇa is a collection of moral and wise sayings and states what are the ornamental qualities of men.<sup>8</sup>

**268. Among other didactic poems** are — *Sāntīsaṭaka* by Silhanamisra (*Printed*, Calcutta) with commentaries (C.C., I 641), *Sāntīvīlāsa* (i) by Subrahmanyā (ii) by Haridāsa (M.M. O.M.L., 259) (iii) by Nīlakanṭha (*Printed*, Bombay), *Vairāgyasaṭaka* (i) by Padmā-

1. The manuscript is said to be in the village of Navipakkam near Conjeevaram. Here are some verses

इति किल दर्शनरीति कार्यमुपादाय कारण भिन्नम् ।  
देवि तव स्तनकलग्नौ चक्रामिष्ठौ कथ नु इश्येते ॥  
सामानाधिकरण्यं तेजस्तमसोर्हीति आभिष्था ।  
त्वन्मूर्धि हृषमधूषा तेजश्चिकुरान्धकारयोरिम्भला ॥  
उत्पादयति हि दण्ड कलज्ञ बहुशश्युतं च न्त च ।  
त्वत्कुचकुम्भद्वितय जनयति पुरैरैमानदण्डमहो ॥  
हरिद्रस्त्रणजाते हरिदयिते त्वच्छरीरमारघम् ।  
अघरे सुधानुषङ्गादजनि ततो देवि शोणिमा काऽपि ॥  
देवि तव स्तनयुग्म वेदा निर्माय कमलमुक्तलाभ्याम् ।  
तदुपरि विकासमीत्या विद्ये वदनच्छ्लेन विघ्निभूम् ॥

2. C.C., I 647 Ed. by Schonfield, Leipzig. See Keith, *SI*, 281 2 and *JRAS*, (1911) 257

3. *Printed*, Bombay

4. *Printed*, Bombay, DC, 8085. On the author, see chapter on Alankara post.

5. He was born in 1884 A.D. He wrote also *Fuṣṭapūṇjaramahākāvya*, printed partly in S. India

6. DC, XX 8095.

7. *Printed*, Bombay.

8. DC, XX 8085.

nanda (ii) by Appayadikṣita (iii) by Janārdana (iv) by Somanātha (*Printed*, Bombay) (v) by Sankarācārya (*Opp* 4954), (vi) by Nilakantha (*Opp*, 4629), Pancitantrasangraha (*Mys OML*, 248), Niṭimāla of Sadānanda (*Printed*, Calcutta), Niṭimanjari (i) by Sambhurāja (*BTC*, 141), and (ii) Dyādviveda (*JOC*, 960)<sup>2</sup>, Niṭisatāka (i) by Venkatarāya (*Mys OML*, 248) (ii) of Śrinivāsacārya (*DC*, XX 8038) and (iii) anonymous (*Ibid* 2057), Niṭisāra of Ghatakarpura, Niṭisara and Niṭisastrasamuccaya (*Ibid* 8059-61), [Niṭicandrikā of Śwāmi Dayānanda, Niṭisatāka of Sundarācārya, Niṭivakyāmr̥ta of Somadevasūri]<sup>3</sup>, Niṭivilāsa of Vrajarāja Sukla (*NW*, 604), Niṭiraṇa attributed to Vararuci and Niṭipradīpa attributed to Vetalabhatta<sup>4</sup>, Niṭisumāvali of Appā Vājapeyin (*Opp* 4803), Niṭikalpalata by Sāhibrāma (*SKC*, 93), Kavikanthābharaṇa (*Mys OML*, 243), Mugdhopadesa of Jalhaṇa (*Printed*, Bombay), Āryāmanjari by Devarāja (*CC*, I 54), Āryāvignapṭi (i) by Rāmacandra and (ii) by Viśvanātha and by Siṭārāma (*CC*, I 54)

**269 Anyapadesa** is a peculiar class of poems where some moral is preached by an indirect appreciation or condemnation of the natural qualities of particular objects<sup>5</sup>

There are the following —Anyoktūmālā (i) by Accāndikṣita<sup>6</sup> and

1 With commentary by Devarāja *NW*, 16, *CC*, I 299.

2 Printed. See Cat Or Bk Agency, Poona, 108.

3 Printed, Berlin, 502.

4 For instance.

विद्यावता दातरि दीनता चेत् किं भारतीविश्रमकैतवेन ।  
दैन्य यदि प्रेयसि मुन्दरीणा धिगजीविं तत्कुमुभायुधस्य ॥  
उत्सीकरणविद्या कैतकनिकट न यावदातोऽहम् ।  
शिव शिव तावत्कठिनै कण्टकपट्टैरतीव भिन्नोऽस्मि ॥  
केलीलोलमराळक मुरुसास्वादोन्मदेन्दीवर  
सञ्जलसादुजल विकासिकमल सम्प्रीणन प्राणिनाम् ।

कासार ब्रत कासर परिपत्थाकस्मिक दुर्मग-  
शिष्माङ्ग कलुषाम्बु वीतविहा शून्य चकार क्षणात् ॥  
लोकानन्दनिदानमम्बुजमय द्वैषि स्य चन्द्रमा.  
देव किं मृशासन. कलयते गर्भेन तत्तावता ।  
द्वैराज्य कविकुञ्जरैर्मृगदशा वक्तैर्न किं नीयते  
रुदायामवनीपते. पुनरियं वस्तुञ्चसारहता ॥

5. *CC*, XX, 8220. He was of the family of Appaya Dikṣita.

(ii) by Lakṣmīnarasiṁha,<sup>1</sup> Anyoktisataka (i) by Somanātha<sup>2</sup> and (ii) by Bhatta Vīra,<sup>3</sup> and (iii) by Darsana Vijayagāṇi,<sup>4</sup> Anyoktikāvya,<sup>5</sup> Anyokti-muktālata by Śūmbhu,<sup>6</sup> Anyoktikāthābharaṇa by Candracūḍa, son of Puruṣottama<sup>7</sup> Anyoktisangrahādhyāya by Harikṛṣṇa,<sup>8</sup> Anyāpadēśasatāka (i) by Nīlakantha,<sup>9</sup> (ii) by Jagannātha<sup>10</sup> (iii) by Ganapati Śāstri<sup>11</sup> (iv) by Ghanasyāma,<sup>12</sup> (v) Anonymous,<sup>13</sup> (vi) by Madhusūdana,<sup>14</sup> (vii) Pāṇḍita Kāsyapa,<sup>15</sup> and (viii) by Girvānendra, son of Nīlakantha,<sup>16</sup> Bhāvavilāsa by Nyāyavācaspati Ruḍrakavi, son of Vidyāvilāsi.<sup>17</sup>

## SECTION III

## Stotra

270 Sankara<sup>18</sup> was the son of Sivaguru and Āryāmbā, of the family of Vidyādhīrāja According to tradition he was born at Kālādi on the banks of the Alvoi (Cūrni) river in Kerala (Malabar) in the year of Kali 2593 (509 B C) Before he passed his eighth year, he was proficient in all Indian Literature and he had began to perceive the unity of absolute existence on which the philosophy of the advaṭa school is based Not heeding the protests of his parents, he got himself initiated as an ascetic by Govinda Bhagavatpāda and soon began to wander through the cities of northern India with a band of devout pupils preaching his new doctrines He founded five Peethas or Muttis in different parts of India, as centres of propagation of his tenets and to this day these Muttis are held in veneration<sup>19</sup> He wrote his

1 *DC*, XX 8021. It is also called Kavikaumudi; It contains fancies on 32 objects including birds, beasts, etc

2 *CC*, I 20. 10 Printed, Bombay and Madras

3 Printed, Bombay 11 *CAL*, II 2.

4 Printed, Bombay 12 *Tanj. Cat*, VII 2900.

5 *CC* I 20 13 *Tanj. Cat* VII, 2901, 2903, 2906,

6 Printed Bombay *PR*, I 118 1907

7 Printed Bombay *Ulwir*, 801, 14 Printed, Bombay

8 Printed, Romhay 15. *CC*, II 4

9 Printed, Bombay and Srirangam. 16 *DC*, XX 8019

17 Printed Bombay This was composed at the instance of King Bhāvavīṁśa of Jaipur in the beginning of the 17th century A D.

18. His horoscope says तुङ्गसर्पे सूर्ये कुजे रविसुते च शुरौ च केन्द्रे

19. There are “(1) the Śāradā Pīṭha at Dwaraka established on Māgha Śaka Saptaṁsi of the year Sadharaka in the year 2611 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to the year 2649 of Yudhiṣṭhirasaka (420 B C) with Sri Brahma Svārapacharya (Visvarupa), the brother of the famous Sureswaracharya (Mandasuramisra) as its first Acharya (2) the Jyotiḥ Matha at Bedarikasrama established on Pausha Sukla Purnima of the year Rakshasa in the year 2616 K. Y corresponding to 2654 Y. S. (485 B.C) with Totaku-

commentaries on Prasthānatraya, viz., Brahmasūtras, Gīta and Upanisads. Tradition gives us fabulous accounts of many miracles performed by him and of his practical experiences in transmigration. He returned to his native village in time to have a last look at the face of his revered mother and to set fire to her funeral pile, and to this day that place of cremation is remembered and visited by devotees.<sup>1</sup> Great men are short-lived and so was Sankara. He lived only 32 years and died in Kali 2625 (477 B C).<sup>2</sup>

**271** Much has been said on the date of Śankara but with no unanimity of ideas and the dates given by them range as wide as in the case of Kālidāsa, over a space of 14 centuries.<sup>3</sup>

charya (Anandagiri) as its first Acharya, (8) the Govardhana Matha at Jagannatha, established on Vaisakha Sukla Dasami of the year Nala in 2617 K. Y corresponding to 2655 Y. S (484 B C) with Padmapalacharya (Sanandana) as its first Acharya, (4) the Sarada Matha at Śringeri, established on Pausha Sukla Purnima of the year Pingata in 2018 K. Y corresponding to 2656 Y. S (488 B C) with Hastamalakacharya (Prithvidhara) as its first Acharya and (5) the Kamakoti Pitha at Kanchi established on Vaisakha Sukla Puruma of the year Siddharthi in 2620 K. Y corresponding to 2658 Y. S (481 B C) with Sri Śankara Bhagavatpada humsif as its first Acharya.”

For the Ācāryas in Śringeri Mutt, see Lākṣmīpaṇḍī Śastry’s Guruvāmāṁahākāvya written during the days of Somas̄khara II (1714-1780 A D) of Kāladi. (For a full account, see *Mys Arch Rep* (1928) 15. This work mentions the foundation of Vijayanagar by Vidyārāṇya as in Śaka 128 (nāga-isu arka), Dhāṭrī, Vaiśakha, Suṣṭhā, 7th Sunday.

1 In this locality, there is now a large Agraharam with a fine temple, and a bathing ghat in the river Alwai a few miles from Kaladi Road Railway Station in the Cochin State Railway. This act of devotion was due to the perseverance of Mr Rambachandra Iyer, the ex-judge of the Chief Court of Mysore and to the munificence of Sri Śankarācārya of Śringeri.

2 This is according to Kamakotipitha (Kumbakonam). According to Dvīkāra Mutt, Śankara lived in 2631-2668 Yuḍhishthira Śaka. According to Śringeri Mutt, Śankara was born in Śaka 14 (42 B C). But this list gives Sureśvara the first head, 800 years, this is easily explained because Śringeri Mutt ceased to exist until it was revived by Vidyārāṇya. According to Saḍānanda’s Śankarāraṇaya he was born in अर्थे द्राविशतिशके सप्ताशद्विसहस्रके

Mādhava’s Śankaravijaya gives the date of death as कलीशुभ्यवनयन meaning Kali 2625 (477 B C). The anniversary is on Maṣṭa Śukla Āruḍra

3 TEILH (Outline of the History of Ancient Religions, 140) and MAX MULLER (India, 360) and M. Barth (The Religions of India, 89), have accepted the date 788 A D. K. T. THIANG [IA, XI 174, 268, XIII 95, XIV 64, 185, XVI 42, 160] places Śankara not later than 590 A D. (See also JBRAS, XVIII 92, 218, 287). FLEET [IA, XII 850, XIII 412 and XIV 850] says that Nepālavamākāvya (Wright’s History of Nepal, 118-128) mentions Śankara as having visited Nepal in the reign of Viṣadeva (680-855 A D) whose son Śankamadeva was named after Śankara. But B. INDRAJI [IA, XIII, 412] says that Viṣadeva lived about 260 A.D. BHANDARKAR

Among modern scholars, many are almost certain that Śankara flourished in the 7th or 8th century A D. The real foundation of this opinion is traceable to the confusion that has been introduced in the Sankaravijayas or Sanskrit accounts of the life of Sankara, which written, as they are, far later than the times to which they relate, mixed up the accounts of more than one personage of the name of Sankara<sup>1</sup>. Of the

(Rep 1882 3, 15) fixes the date at the end of the 6th century A D W LOGAN (IA, XVI 160) criticises the statement in the Keralotpatti that Śankara lived about 487 A D, during the reign of Cheramun Perumal and fixes his own date the first quarter of the 9th century A D (see also IA, XL, 116). M DURV and K B PATHAK (IA, XI 174, JBRAS, XVIII 216) rely on the chronogram आचार्य वागमेध found in Āryavidyāsudhākara of Yagnesvara and give the dates 788-825 A D. See Bhāraṭī (1925), 150. The DABISTĀN (II, 141) brings down the date to 1849 A D. RAMACANDRAJĪ (Leaves of Eminent Hindu Authors) places him in 610 B C. BURNELL (Elements of South Indian Philosophy, 88) follows Tarānāth's History of Buddhism and fixes 650-700 A D. See also Peterson Int to Subh 126, Windischmann's Śankara WEBER, II, 51, and MACDONALD, SL, 212. Kavali Ramasami (Deccan Poets, 6) COWELL (Preface to Śārvādāśānaṅgraha, viii) and GOUQU (Preface to Philosophy of the Upanishads, viii) and Jacob (Tr of Vedāntasārā, 28) fix 8th century, A D. M. WILLIAMS (IW, 48) gives 650-740 A D. WILSON (Preface to Sanskrit Dictionary, xvii and Essays I, 194) says 8th or 9th century A D. RICH (Mysore Gazetteer, I 877) says Śankara was born in 677 or 737 A D at Oranganoor. R. MITRA (Notices, VII 17) accepts 8th century A D. T. FOULKE (JRAS, XVII, NS 196) gives 650-670 A.D. N. BHĀSHYACĀRYA (Age of Śankara, Adyar) reviews the dates and fixes end of 5th century or between the middle of the 4th and 6th century A D. COLEBROOKE gives 1000 years ago TAYLOR gives 900 years ago, in Dedication to the translation of the Prabodha-chandrodaya. See also Buchanan's Mysore (III 80, 74, Wilks's History of Mysore, I. Ap v Madras Lit Soc, Jl XXIV 6 and 65, Mackenzie's Collection, II 78. S V Venkatesvara (JRAS, (1916), 151) reviews some of these dates and says Śankara's age was 85 years and he lived in 805-89 A.D.)

1. On the life of Śankara, there are the following poems.—

- (1) Brhaṭ Śankaravijaya of Oṣukhācārya, a direct disciple of Śankara
- (2) Pracīna-Śankaravijaya of Anandagiri. Id Bīb Ind. TG, II 1479. IA, V, 28.
- (3) Śankaravijaya of Vidyāśāṅkara or Śāṅkarānanda
- (4) Keraliya Śankaravijaya or Ācāryavijaya of Govindanātha (SK, II 101)
- (5) Guruvijaya of Ananṭānandagiri (DC, XXI, 8886 TG, II, 1470)
- (6) Śankarābhuyūḍaya of Rājendrāmaṇi Dikṣita.
- (7) Śankaravijaya of Vallisahāya (DC, XXI 8807).
- (8) Śankarādigvijayashāra of Śadānanda, disciple of Śankara
- (9) Śankaravijayavilāsa of Cidvilāsa (DC, XXI 8145)
- (10) Śāṅkṣipta Śankaravijaya of Mādhava (Vidyākṛṣṇa) id with commentary by Dhānarāṭitūri, Bombay DC, XXI 8146.

See Burnell's Pref to Vāmsabrahmāṇḍa, xii and Wilson's Works, I 261n. and T. S Narayana Sastry's Age of Śankara, Part I, 99. N. K. Venkatesan, Śāṅkarāchārya and Kamakoti Peetha (Kumbakonam). K. S. Ramaśwami Sastry, Sri Śāṅkarācārya, Madras CC, I 625 6, II, 149, III, 180.

successors of Ādi Sankara there were some who were equally great in the propagation of the doctrines Kṛpāśankara, the 9th (27-68 A D), Ujjavalasankara, the 16th (328-366 A D), Arbhabasankara, the 20th (396-436 A D), and Acidānandaghānendra, the 32nd (667-671 A D), Dhīrasankara the 38th (801-839 A D).

**272** Dhīrasankara of Abinavasankara was a miraculous personality. He was born at Cidambaram in the year of Kali 3889 (787 A D) as a posthumous child, the son of Visvajit and Vīśīta. He was 30 months in the womb of his mother and fearing the calumny of relatives on the suspected guilt of conception during widowhood, the innocent mother left the infant on a green leaf in the forest and went away. Picked up by the women of the hermitage of sage Vyāghrapāda, the child grew up and was initiated by the sage in the sacred lore. He was on the Komakotī Peetha for 38 years (801-839 A D). He went to Kashmir and after vanquishing various scholars like Udbhatta ascended the Sarvagnapeetha. He ascended to heaven with his carnal frame by entering the Daṭṭatreyā cave in his 32nd year.

The following verses Sadgurusantānaparimala are interesting

क्षीरसाभिमनोरथेशचटकश्रीसन्धिमच्छङ्खक-

श्रीदामोदरदण्डवामनमधोध्यायमुख्यान् कवीन् ।

अष्टावप्यभिमूर्य दुर्जयतया भट्टोद्धट प्रलह

यो दीनारकलक्षवेतनवह् कोऽस्याप्रतस्सोऽध्यभूत् ॥

देवेष्यचुकदन्तोद्धटनवभिपटाद्बुद्धाव्यमुख्या-

सादग्रोदस्तवेदादतिरथसज्यापीडसप्राडपि द्राक् ।

यद्वाणुदभूतबोधश्चुतिमयवपुष शारदाया पुरस्तात्

पीठे सर्वज्ञयोग्ये निदधदविष्टदच्छायमार्चिथमच्ये:

**273** Among "Sankaras" works are Stotras : राजभुजङ्ग उत्तराण्यभुजङ्ग विष्णुभुजङ्ग शिवभुजङ्ग दत्तत्रेयभुजङ्ग हनुमदभुजङ्ग देवीभुजङ्ग नवरत्नमालिका भवानीमानस हरिमिषीकनकधारा द्वादशमञ्जरी देवीपञ्चरत्नमाला विष्णुरसुन्दरी पुष्पवीराम्बालि राजराजेस्वरं विट्ठल चन्द्रमोलीश्वर लक्ष्मीनृसिंह नारायण अभ्यर्णी लिंगीणी दशावतार शारदा काशी विश्वनाथ अर्धनारी नटेश्वर रामलक्ष्मण ललिता श्रीचक्रत्सवराज अपराधशतक कृष्णताण्डवस्तोत्र पञ्चरत्न शिवस्तोत्र विष्णुस्तोत्र विष्णुपादादिकेशान्तवर्णन शिवपादादिकेशान्तवर्णन कल्याणवृष्टि ॥

and Astakas on अस्त्रा पाण्डुरङ्ग शिवनामावलि कालसैरव अच्युत कृष्ण अग्नाथ यमुना गङ्गा अन्या मणिकर्णिका शिवराम सैरव कामाक्षी सौब्र ब्रह्मराम्बा.

1. For a collection of these works, See *DC*, XVIII and XIX CC, I III, *Bhāratī* (1925), 158, *SKO* II 92-97, *SKO*, 888-4 Ed. Srirangam, Madras and elsewhere *Sankarastotrasyangrī*, Poona.

**274** To the 20th Ācārya, Mūkārbhaka Sankara (396-436 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> is attributed Pancasāṭī, known as Mūkapancaśāṭī. He is praised by Rāmīla in Manuprabhā and by Menīha in Hayagrīvavadha, who, it is said, were his pupils. He was contemporary of Mātṛgupta. He was born dumb and when he was restored to speech by a hypnotic bath by the grace of sage Vidyāghana. He praised Kāmākṣī in his Pancasāṭī, in five sections, Āryāstutī, Pādāravinda, Kātākṣa and Mandasmitā, where he poured forth his heart in melodious strains of liquid poetry.<sup>2</sup>

**275** **Samantabhadra** was a very early Jain poet and probably lived about the beginning of the Christian era. "In the Viravamsavali of the Śvetambaras he is entered as the 16th Pontiff who lived in 889 after Nirvāṇa. In the Book of Stories, Ārādhana-Kāthā-Kosa of Prabhācandra, there is this traditional account. He was a resident of Kanchi, a sage of might. Coming to suffer from an abdominal disease, he roamed all the way from Kanchi to Paundrapura, Daśarupa and Benares. At the latter place he performed a miracle, by manifesting an image of Parsvanatha out of an image of Siva."<sup>3</sup>

He wrote Devāgamastotra and Svayambhūśṭotra.

In Āḍīpurāṇa he is thus praised

नमस्तमन्तभद्राय महते कविवेदसे । यद्द्वचोवत्रपातेन निर्भिष्म. कुमताक्रय ॥

कवीनां गमकानां च वादीना वाग्मिनामपि । यशस्तमन्तभद्रीय मूर्खि चूडामणीयते ॥

**276.** "Siddhasena Divakara, author of Nyayavatara, is mentioned along with Samantabhadra. They are both recognised by the two sections of the Jains, both were great logicians, both lived probably in the early centuries of the Christian era and the tradition of converting a king by manifesting an image of a Tirthankara out of an image of Siva, is reported about both. These coincidences have led some to entertain a belief that the two persons were identical. But since they are separately mentioned by such early writers as Haribhadra Suri and Jinasena, the theory is untenable."<sup>4</sup> His mother was Devāsikā and father a Purohit of King Vikrama of Ujjain. This led S. C. Vidy-

1. See Gururāṭnamalikā, verses 40-50 and commentary.

2. Printed, Bombay.

3. For the same account, see Mallīṣṇapraśāṭī (EI, III). Samantabhadra's other name was Śāṅgīvara, see Rao's Int to the inscription of Sravana Belgola. See Hiralal's Introduction to Cat of Sanskrit MSS of OP. and Berar, ix-xii. His works have been printed.

4. See Hiralal, loc. cit.

bhūṣāṇa to identify him with the Kṣapanaka, one of the nine gems of Vikramaditya's Court. After he met Vṛiddha Vādīguru he became his disciple and was given the name Kumudacandra. When later he became a Śūri he assumed the name of Siddhasena Dīvākara. "Once he presumptuously declared in the presence of his guru that he would turn the whole sacred lore from Prakrit into sanskrit. To the explanation of the sin committed by this sacrilegious utterance, he was administered by his guru the 'Paranhīka Prayaschitta' which required him to remain dumb for twelve years and visit sacred places. In observance of this vow, he once went to Ujjain and lodged in the temple of Mahakali. Here he incurred the displeasure of the priests for not making obeisance to the god Siva. They called the king Vikramaditya who compelled Siddhasena to bow before the god. Siddhasena did this reciting the KALYANAMANDIRA<sup>3</sup> ode which had the effect of splitting the image of Siva in twain and manifesting out of it an image of a Jain Tīrthankara. Being impressed with his power King Vikramaditya and many others became converted to Jainism"<sup>4</sup>. Jinasena in Ādīpūraṇa praises him thus

प्राचादिकरियूथाना केसरी नयकेसरी ।  
सिद्धसेनकविर्जीयात् विकल्पनग्वराङ्गकुर् ॥

**277 Asvaghosa** On the identity of Asvaghosa with Māṭcēṭa and Āryasūra, opinion is divided. Many works are attributed to them under these different names and all are alike in the merit of their poetry. There are Asvaghosa's Gāndīṣṭoṭra, Āryasūra's Jāṭhakamālā, Māṭcēṭa's Śāṭapancasatkāṣṭoṭra, Ekottarikāṣṭoṭra, Triratnamangala-ṣṭoṭra, Triratnaṣṭoṭra, Mīṣrakāṣṭoṭra, Sugāṭapancaṭrīratnaṣṭoṭra<sup>5</sup>.

**278 Kulasekhara**, King of Kerala, was a saint among Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. According to the tradition he was the son of Drdhavrāṭa and was born as an incarnation of Viṣṇu's Kausubha in Kali year 27 in 3075 B.C., Prabhava, Māgha, Śuddha, Dvādaśi, Guruvāra and Punarvasu at Tiruvan̄iikkulam<sup>6</sup>. He gave up his throne and became a

1. Printed Bombay Ed and transas ISt, XIV 826

2 Hiralal, I & xiii

3 For a full collection with references, see F.W. Thomas, *Int. to Kav.* 25 29, *Album Kern* (Leiden), 1A (1908), 845 60, *Kesth*, SL, 67

4 For an account by P. Kṛṣṇamurṭi, see Bhāraṭī (1980), 947. In his introduction to Ṭāpaṭīśvīvarāṇa (TSS), Ganapati Sastrī gives dates as Kali 1680 (1422 B.C.). See Bhaktavaihbhavadīplīka of Venkatesa (TC, II 2010), and para 205 *supra*

recluse and composed the divine lyric Mukundamālā<sup>1</sup>. In the history of Kerala, there are several kings bearing the name Kulasekhara and in the appellations of the present Maharajas of Travancore thus is one Stories current in Malabar says that Kṛṣṇalīśuka, author or Kṛṣṇakarnāngti, was a contemporary of a Kulesekharā and Vāsudeva in his Yudhisthiravijaya<sup>2</sup> mentions Kulesekharā. But the earlier Kulasekhara, the Ālwar, has been wrongly identified with later kings of that name, and has been assigned to the 9th century A D. It is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusion on these identities, beyond saying that the author of Mukundamālā lived for earlier than the author of the dramas, Āpatiśamvarana and Subhadrādhanamjaya, and Vāsudeva and Līlāsuka were in the courts of some later Kulesekharā of about the 9-10 century A D<sup>3</sup>.

Mukundamālā<sup>4</sup> is very popular lyric often repeated and inculcates the merit of Bhakti or devotion as a means of salvation. There are commentaries on it by Venkāṭēśa and Ānandarāghava, pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda<sup>5</sup>.

1. So it says राजा कृताकृतिरिय कुलशेखरेण

2. तस्य वसुधामवत् काले कुलशेखरेस्य वसुधामवतः

3. K R Ishareshvari says that these two authors came one after another and Kulasekhara the Alwar lived in 8—9th century A D and the dramatists in 8—9th century A.D and that the later was the patron of Vāsudeva and Līlāsukā (IHQ, V 558) A S Ramanatha Iyer in [JRAS, (1835), 268 Authorship of Naloḍaya] says that Vāsudeva the real author of Naloḍaya, Yudhisthiravijaya etc., lived under king Kulasekhara of the 9th century A D. Some modern scholars (see Vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religions by R G Bhandarkar and Early History of Sri Vaishnavism in South India by S Krishnasami Ayyangar) identify the Ālwār with the author of the dramas on the ground that they are described as kings in the same locality and to bring down the date of the Ālwār also to 12th century A D. Keralaippatti give the date of the death of Kulasekhara as 388 A D. See Trav State Manual, I 228.

In Gururājanamālīka of Mahadevendrasaīrajavati it is said that Kulasekhara, the royal poet, was taught poetry by Ujjvalasankara, the 16th in succession (820-867 A D) कुलशेखरसाहितीप्रणोते वलदासेतुहिमादिविज्ञनेते

4 Printed everywhere, Haberlin, 515 and Kavyamālā, Bombay, DC, XVIII, 7086

5 Tō, II 2026, IV 4383 So says Ānandarāghava

मुक्तिरेव मुक्तिसाधिकेति सैवाभ्यर्थनीया मुमश्चभिरित्यतस्तदुपायित्वेन श्रीनारदादगृहीति मौकुन्दाष्टादशाक्षरीमन्त्र मुकुन्दचरणशब्दात्प्रत्यभेषणामप्तं प्रभाणयन् मुकुन्दमालास्य तात्ररत्नमकरोत्।

**279** Mayura, says tradition, was a friend and father-in-law of Bāna.<sup>1</sup> Bāna and Mayūra were rivals in poetry in the court of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj,<sup>2</sup> and were equally honoured by the King.<sup>3</sup> Mayūra became glorious, very Sarasvatī incarnate. So says Jayamangala

Mādhava in his Sanksepa-Sankaravijaya says that Śankara defeated Bāna and Mayūra in philosophical controversy and this Śankara was apparently a later ācārya of that name.<sup>4</sup>

In Bhojaprabandha, Mayūra is mentioned as a poet of Bhoja's Court, but that work is a fictitious compilation. Bhoja lived far later than Mayūra.

An anonymous Jain commentator has the following story of Bāpa and Mayūra. The Jain priests were anxious that the King should not consider them and their religion inferior and in order to convince the King that their holy men could work greater miracles, they got Mānatungaśūri tied up by 42 iron fetters and when he sang Bhaktāmarastotra, the chains came off and he was free.<sup>5</sup>

1. See Mañhusudana's commentary on Suryāstaka. Quackenbos, *Sanskrit Poems of Mayura* (Col. Un. Series), Int. 21. Keith, SL, 211.

2. For instance, Padmagupta says

सचिन्त्रवर्णविभिन्नतिहरिणीरवनीश्वरः ।  
श्रीहर्ष इव सद्गुणं चक्रे बाणमयूर्यो ॥

3. So Jalapa in his Suktimukṭāvalli (*JBRAS*, XVII 607) quotes a verse of Rājākara

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या गन्मातङ्गदिवाकर ।  
श्रीहर्षसाभवत्सम्य समो बाणमयूर्यो ॥

Divākara is mentioned as a poet there in verse 80, i.e. मासो रामिलसैमिलौ (*ZDMG*, XXVII 77). This verse is found in Śāṅgadharapadḍhaṭi also. The identification Mātanga Divākara, with Mānatunga (the Jain poet) by Hall (Int. to *Vassavadatta*, 91) and Max Müller (*India*, 380) is wrong.

Jayamangala, a commentator, also says

भक्तमयूरवक्त्राऽजपदविन्यासशालिनी ।  
नरैकीव नरीनर्ति समामध्ये सरस्ती ॥

4. See Quackenbos, i. c. 14 15,

सकथमिरवन्तिषु प्रसिद्धान् विद्वान् बाणमयूरदण्डमूरुस्यान् ।  
थिथिलीकृतदुर्भातिभानान् निजभाग्यश्रवणोत्सुकाश्चकार ॥

5. Taken from Quackenbos, i. c. 21 22. For variations in Jaina tales, see i. c. 25 et seq. See also Prabandhaśūntāmaṇi of Merūntuga (Tawney's Trans. 64, 66).

**280.** *Suryasataka* is a centum of verses in praise of the Sun and invokes the grace and succour of Sūrya, his rays, disc, chariot and other accompaniments. Sūrya is described as supreme in the universe and identical with the greatest deities of the Hindu pantheon.<sup>1</sup> *Sūryasataka* has been held in high esteem by rhetoricians and has been quoted by Abhinavagupta and Mammata.

There are commentaries on *Suryasatika* by Tribhuvanapāla,<sup>2</sup> Vagnesvara,<sup>3</sup> [Madhusūdana, Vallabhadeva, Jayamangalat].<sup>4</sup> Śrīrangadeva,<sup>5</sup> [Gangādhara, Bālambhatta, Harivamsa],<sup>6</sup> Gopinātha,<sup>7</sup> [Jaganmātha, Rāmabhatta, Anvayamukha],<sup>8</sup> Rāmacandra,<sup>9</sup> and some anonymous.<sup>10</sup>

Besides verses quoted in the anthologies, Mayūra wrote *Mayūrāstaka*,<sup>11</sup> eight verses, describing the charms of a woman, said by some to be Mayūra's daughter herself.<sup>12</sup>

There are other *Sūryasatikas* by Gopālasarman,<sup>13</sup> Śrīsvara Vidyālankāra,<sup>14</sup> by Raghavendra Sarasvatī,<sup>15</sup> Lingakavi,<sup>16</sup> and by Kodandaramaya,<sup>17</sup> and *Sūryasatava* by Hanūmān and by Upamanyu.<sup>18</sup>

**281** Among Stotras of Sūrya (Sun) SAMBAPANCASIKA ranks supreme. Its diction, devotion and melody have led to the attribution of its authorship to Sūmba, the very son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but this Sūmba is a different poet. He often imitates if not borrows the style and ex-

1. For a fine analysis, see Quackenbos, *I o 88 et seq* Keith, *SL*, 201, 212 Ed. by Quackenbos (*Col. Un. Series*) with an elaborate introduction and English translation. Translated into Italian by Berhauer, Livorno.

2. Printed, Kāvyamālā, Bombay

3. Ed. by the author (See *IA*, I 115) mentioned in the Kāvyamālā edition

4. *OC*, I 782.

5. *TC*, III. 782, *Trav. Cat* 67, 68

6. Hall's *Pref to Vāsavadatta*

7. *DC*, XIX 7625

8. *CO*, III 150.

9. *DC*, XII. 7621

10. *DC*, XIX 7626, *TC*, I 226, *TC*, III 2811.

11. These are collected by Quackenbos and translated *I o 329*.

12. Ed by Quackenbos, with English translation, *I o et seq*.

13. *Opp*, II 8421 Ed Calcutta (1871) He was the First Master of Sanskrit in Jaynaranin College, Benares.

14. *CO*, I 732 Śrīsvara was alive in 1864 See *Mitras*, VII. 113

15. *Ulwar*, 2488

16. *DC*, XIX 7624

17. *TC*, IV. 4956

18. *Trav. Cat*, 64

pressions of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti and must have lived about the 9th century A D

There is a commentary on it by Kṣemarāja (Rājānaka), pupil of Abhinavagupta, who lived about the beginning of the 11th century A D<sup>1</sup>. Kṣemarāja wrote also Śivastotra, Bhairavānukarana Stotra, and commented on Paramesvarastotrāvalī and Nārāyaṇa's Stavacintāmaṇī.<sup>2</sup>

**282. Bana's Candisatka** is a poem in praise of Pārvatī in the form of Candī or Mahiṣasuramardini. It describes Candī's combat with Mahiṣa and his destruction by the goddess's kick. The verses have a majestic gait in Sārdūlavikridita metre.<sup>3</sup>

There are commentaries by DHANESVARA, son of Somesvara,<sup>4</sup> and two anonymous<sup>5</sup>.

On Candī, there are Candīkucapancāśikā by Lakṣmaṇācārya,<sup>6</sup> Candīcaritanāṭaka by Rudra Tripathī,<sup>7</sup> Candīcaritacandrikā, by Bhairavānandi,<sup>8</sup> Candīkuṭasaptati,<sup>9</sup> Candikācariṭa by Candasimha,<sup>10</sup> Candīkāḍandasṭoṭra by Kālidāsa.<sup>11</sup>

**283. Manatunga**<sup>12</sup> was minister of King Vairasimha (825-900 A D) of the Calukya dynasty of Malwa.<sup>13</sup> He visited the court of Harṣa

1. Ed Kāvyamāla, Bombay and TSS with introduction by K. Sambasiva Sastrī, PR, I 121.

2. OC, I 184, 826. In BTC, 203 there is a Sāmbamuktiṭāvalistotra. In CG, I. 711, there is also a Suryasaptāṭyā by Sāmbā Sāmba, author of Aniruddhasaṃpu; is a different author (OC, I 711).

3. Ed Kāvyamāla, Bombay and by Quackenboe, *l.c.* with introduction and English translation.

4. Ed Bombay

5. BR, II. 82, KB, (1880 1), 84, IO, IV 2588, 2625, CG, I 177,

6. OC, I. 176 Printed Kāvyamāla, Bombay Keith, SL, 210

7. Hail Pref to Dasarupa, 80; SKG 77.

8. OC, I 176

9. Opp., II. 401

10. Quoted by Guṇavijayagaṇī in his commentary on Nalacampu

11. OC, I. 176.

12. Māṇatunga, the author of Śiddhajayacarita (PR, III. Ap 87) was a different person. He was a pupil of Śilagāṇa of the Vṛddha Gaccha and lived about Sam 1270 (1904 A D). See Klatt (IA, XI 258), BR, (1888-4), 147, PR, IV, xcii. There is a commentary on it by his pupil Malayaprabha written in Sam 1281.

13. Vairasimha was the successor of Upendra or Kṛṣṇarāja, the founder of the Paramāra Dynasty of Mālwa. The Pattāvati of Vṛddha Gaccha says so. Klatt, IA, XI 252; Princeps, *Usefu' Tables*, 251, Weber, 1St, II 932 note. PR, IV. xcii; Buhler, IA, I 111, Jacobi, I, ad, S<sup>4</sup> XIV 359 (It is here said that according to some Jain Therevalis Māṇatunga lived in 8th century A D).

Silāditya and in a controversy with Bāna and Mayūra at Benares,<sup>2</sup> he overcame the evil effects of their sorceries that had tormented the King, by the composition<sup>3</sup> and recitation of the Bhaktāmarastotra,<sup>4</sup> and convinced Nāgarāja by that of Bhayāharanastavana.<sup>5</sup>

**284 Lokesvarasataka** is a famous encomium of Bodhisattva Lokesvara or Avalokitesvara, composed in the 9th century A.D., if not earlier<sup>6</sup> "Each of the verses, in *Stagdhasa* metre, is in the form of an *śārvāda* or blessing. The description of the Bodhisattva commences, according to the rule regarding divine beings, with his feet, or, rather, in this case, with the light of his toe-nails. The toe-nails themselves emerge for a moment in verses 16 and 18, and in verse 26 the feet come into play, to accompany us as far as verse 45. Then, more dispersedly we treat of the lotus in Lokesvara's hand, his Amītābha bearing crest, his compassion, his name, his qualities, his worship, love of him, meditation upon him, his praise, his kindness, his grace, the remembrance of him, his action, his universality, his titles, his constancy, his protection, teaching, and so on, as far as verse 83. Then we come to his hand with its lotus, his arm, his dress, his face, his tresses. It is not easy through this thorny track to maintain the freshness of our receptivity, but we acknowledge the thrill which the author has reserved for verse 97, where we meet the Great Being's eye. (Or rather, we meet it not, since with a momentary quiver of apprehensive compassion it is turned upon his too terrifically, Hayagriva! From the latter we pass to Bhṛukūṭi-Tārā, saving goddess, and we end with an

1. See Prabhāvāśariṣṭa, Sringa 12

2. In *Kalpasutra* translated into English, Lucknow, the date of this composition is given as *Sam.* 800 (744 A.D.).

3. Ed. Bombay Ed Tr by H Jacobi, *Ind Str.*, XIV 859 *PR*, III App 29, 93. There are commentaries on it by Śāntisuri (*PR*, I Ap 96), by Gunākarasuri composed in *Sam.* 1426, by Amaraprabhasuri (*PR*, III. Ap 228; IV vii) and by Kanaka kūṣala (*PR*, IV. 109). Amaraprabha was pupil of Devasundara alias Devasuri who became Suri at Patna in 1420 (See *PR*, IV viii, Klatt, (I.A. XI 255), Weber 1st. II 988 note) Śāntisuri belonged to Khandellagaccha Kanakakuṣala was the pupil of Hitavijasuri. He wrote in *Sam.* 1652. (*PR*, IV, 109)

4. *PR*, I Ap 90, III Ap 99. There is a commentary on it by Jinaprabhasuri (*PR*, I 52, 88) written in *Sam.* 1865 (1809 A.D.) at Śākēgapura. He was pupil of Jinasimhasuri. Among his other works (for which see Klatt's *Onomasticon*) are Pancaparameshtisījava (*PR*, IV, 91), Tīrthakalpa (*PR*, II 79) and a commentary on Ajitaśāntīśījava of Nandīṣena, who completed his work at Ayodhya in *Sam.* 1865,

Jinaprabha, guru of Rājāsekhaṇa, the author of *Prabandhaścini*; īmapi was born about *Sam.* 1400 and was a different person. See *PR*, IV, xxxvii

5. See JRAS, (1914), 28.

obscurely worded expression (v 100) of the truth that only the words of Sugata are adequate to the description of the whole assemblage of great qualities Putting the poem side by side with the famous Ajanta picture of Avalokitesvara, if it is indeed he, we can to some extent realize what it may have meant to the poet and his hearers ”<sup>1</sup>

**285 Ekanatha** was the disciple of Janārdana Pant of Devagiri He travelled far visiting sacred shrines and performed many miracles, as did other great teachers of religion Ekanātha occupied a place between Nāmdev and Tukārām and taught the Bhakti cult He lived in 1528-1609 A D <sup>2</sup> Besides famous as a poet in Maharashtra, he wrote the philosophical poems, Hastāmalaka and Svātmāsukha and a commentary on the 11th chapter of Śrī Bhāgavata <sup>3</sup>

**286** The poems Suprabhāṣṭotra<sup>4</sup> and Aṇtamahāśrīcāityastotra<sup>5</sup> are ascribed to King Haśavardhana Sarvajnamitra wrote Sragdharāṣṭotra <sup>6</sup>

Stutikusumāñjali is a poem in 39 chapters in praise of Śiva by Jagadīdhara,<sup>7</sup> so is Paramesastotrāvali by Utpaladeva <sup>8</sup> Stavāṁṛatalaharī is in praise of Kṛṣṇa by Viśvanātha Cakravarṭī <sup>9</sup>

Among important ṣṭotras printed in Bombay are Maḍhusūḍana's Ānandamandākīni, Kūranārāyāga's Sudarsānasatka, Dūrvasa's Ṭripuramahīmaṣṭava and Lalitāṣṭavaratna, Lankesvara's Sivastuṭi, Lallādikṣiṇa's Ānandamandirāṣṭuṭi, Srikantha's Ānandasāgaraṣṭava, Avatāra's Īsvarasatka, Loṭṭaka's Dīnakrandapastuti, Dhānanjaya's Viśeṣpahāraṣṭotra, Daśākandhara's Śivāñdavastotra, Mādhabānanda's Hastāmalakaṣṭotra, Puruṣottama's Viṣṇubhaktikalpalataṭā

1 The summary is by C O Blagden [JRAS, (1914), 281].

2 See W S Denning's *Ekanath*, Bombay and Review of his works by C R Śrinivāsa Iyengar in *Hindu*, Jan 17th 1932 Farquhar, OBL, 800.

Ekanātha, who wrote commentary on Bhāravi (OC, I 72) is a different person

3 Printed, Bombay ; Opp, 8592.

4 Thomas, JRAS, (1908) 708 22

5 Levi, OC, X ii 189, Ettunghausen's *Harsavardhana*, 176 , Keith, SL, 215

6 Hirānanda, *Mem of Arch. Survey, India*, No 20 Keith, SL, 215

7 Printed Kāvyaṁala, Bombay OC, I. 748, This is a commentary by Raṭnakartha.

8 OC, I 826 There is commentary by Kṛṣṇapāṇi It is quoted by Raṭna-

anja, I c

9. OC, III, 158.

There are also Śrīdhara Venkatesa's Ākhyāyaśi, Utpaladevācārya's Śivāyatotravali,<sup>1</sup> Mahākāla's Karpūrastava,<sup>2</sup> Puṣpadant's Mahimnastotra,<sup>3</sup> Rāmācārya's Ramamahimnastotra,<sup>4</sup> Rāmakṛṣṇa's Padvapuṣpanjali<sup>5</sup> Laghubhāttaraka's Vimbatiśi ita.<sup>6</sup>

**287** Maharaja Kṛṣnarāja Udayar III (born 1795 A.D.) of Mysore was a poet and patron of letters and is the father's father of the present Maharajah of Mysore His Devaṭādhyānamālikā gives meditative stanzas on various deities with illustrative pictures His Sūryacandrādīvamsāvatārana<sup>7</sup> written in 1857, relates 100 episodes each from Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata and the adventures of the royal brothers Yadurāya and Kṛṣṇarāya, the progenitors of the Mysore dynasty of Kings His Kṛṣṇakathāpuṣpamanjari, Cāmūndimangalamālikā, Mṛtyunjayastotra and Rāmāyanakathāpuṣpamanjari have been published in Mysore

**288.** *Kasturi Sivasankara Sastrī* was born at Koochimanci-varī Agrahāram, Amlapur Taluk, Godavari District, in the year 1833 and died in 1917 at the age of 83 He belonged to Kastūrivarī Savaram, otherwise called Beta Mallipudi Savaram, one mile from Rajole. He was a Niyoji Brahmin of Vadūla Gotra He was son of Somarāju. His ancestors were ministers under Native Rajahs and Nawabs, and were highly proficient in Vedic and administrative matters They were made Desapandyas which position was continued to the members of his family till the boyhood of his father, and in recognition of services the Government also granted an allowance up to the time of Veeresa-lingam, his father's elder brother He was Sanskrit Pandit in the Arts College, Rajamundry, for 25 years Besides several works on philosophy, he wrote poems Śivānandalaharī, Śivapādaśatūti, Stoṭrakadamba, Dvādasamanjari, Samudrāṇtakam, Śūlapāniśatāka, Nṛsunhaśṭotra and other smaller Stoṭras.

**289** *Bellamkonda Ramaraya* was the son of Mohanarāya and Hanumāyamma He was born in Pamidipadu Agraharam in

1. Ed by Visutiprasad Bhandari, *CSS* Benares, with commentary of Keśavarāja. For other stotras, see *Trav. Cat.*, 50 68.

2. Printed, *CSS*, Benares with two commentaries.

3. Printed, *CSS*, Benares with commentaries; Translated by K. M. Banerji.

4. Oudh, XIV, 92. *JASB*, VIII, 285. D. C. Bhattacharya (*IA*, XLVI, 164).

5. *PR*, V, 590, *Trav. Cat.*, 60.

6. *Trav. Cat.*, 51

7. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, (1918) 67.



## CHAPTER XII

### Laghukavya—(contd.)

**290 Krsna Lilasuka** was the son of Dīmodara and Nili and pupil of Isānadeva,<sup>1</sup> the author of Gantrapaddhati. Rāghavēśānayaṭi, the author of commentary on Bhāgavata was his friend. He was a votary of God Mṛtyunjaya of Śvetāranyakṣetra, otherwise known as Dakṣinakailāsam. He lived at Muktiṭhala, now known as Mukkuttalai, in Malabar on the banks of the Bhāratī. He was such an ardent votary of Śrī Kṛṣṇa that he went in trances singing his praise and in one of those trances the song was sung by Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself in praise of his devotee.<sup>2</sup>

1 The Trav Cat (58), 88, 91 mentions Isānahhūṭideva's poems, Padmanābha Saṭaka, Rāmaśāṭaka, Kṛṣṇaśāṭaka, Bhāraṭasenakṣepa, Rāmāyanāmṛta.

2 The whole piece is printed here, as the only manuscript of it is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi —

वचसि मम सन्धिधर्ता मधुरस्मितभरितमन्धरापङ्गी ।  
करकलितललितवंशा कापि किशोरी कृपालहरी ॥  
  
गवोद्रिक्तदिशागजेन्द्रपरिषसेवाप्रणामादृत  
यातायातसुरेन्द्रसैन्यलहरीमौळिप्रभावन्दितम् ।  
बलगत्यार्थवतार्थमण्डलमहायात्रावाराधित  
कास्त्वं काममुवा बुर्वा (?) गजमुखज्योति किमप्याश्रये ॥

भूमे भुवनमाधुर्यसीम्ने सरलसपदा । सीम्ने सरसगोपाथे (ळे) धाम्ने ततिदमोजमः ॥  
अश्चानमदनज्योति प्रशेशानपदास्पदम् । आलम्बितनराकारमालम्बनमभूत्सताम् ॥  
आमृत्य कलणपात्रमस्ति मस्करिणामणि । आदित्यप्रशसंक यदादिलादधिक महः ॥  
निर्जितस्समदृष्ट्यै ... मन्मथ. | आर्जितैरस्त्रकुमौरारादाराधयन्यौ ॥  
आदित्यप्रशपादानामादिकारण्यमाजन । ईशनदेव इत्यासीत ईशानो मुनितेजसाम् ॥  
आस्पदस्य हि यस्यासीदशेषगुणसपदा । अद्वितीय इति ख्यातिरात्मबुद्ध्या न केवलम् ॥  
तयोरुप्रहापाक्षान्तकानसागरा: । सागरा इव गमीरास्त्सन्ति धन्या. सहस्रशः ॥  
तयोरेव कृपापात्र कृष्णलीलाशुक्रो मुनि । यदाश्रमाक्षणे निल रमते तन्त्रविस्तरा: ॥  
तिलक कुलपालीना नीलीति निलय श्रियां । यमल जनयाचके य च कीर्ति च शाश्वतीम् ॥  
यस्य दामोदरो नाम सविता सवितु .. भ ? । अनृणस्य हि यस्यासन्धर्मणा मरुद्रूणाः ॥  
यस्य तत्प्रियसवर्ण राघवेशानसंक्रमः । विनेयसविधे यस्य मुहुन्तुकाश ... ... ॥  
यस्य दक्षिणकैलासलीलापरिणत महः । चर्चाचन्दनगन्धेन सुगन्धवति मानसम् ॥  
कृष्णलीलाशुकसास्य किशोरमधिदैवतम् । (स्तु)तिरलमिदं ब्रूते वेणुवादिमुखेन्दुना ॥

As an ascetic he appears to have assumed the name of *Bilvamangala* and founded the Natuvile Madham of Irichur. The heads of Mutt are known as Bilvamangala.<sup>1</sup> In Gada's *Sampradāya-Kula-dīpikā*, it is said "There were some devotees, one named Bilvamangala in the Tamil country, another at Benares and a third, in Orissa. There is a stotra containing 108 stanzas composed by him. All of them were Vaishnavas. The person who was born at Kasi was in his first birth known by the name of Madhavanala, in the second, Bilhana, in the third Bilvamangala and in the fourth, Jayadeva who composed the *Gita-govinda*. When Bilvamangala was spreading the religion of Vishnu,<sup>2</sup> he got many disciples".<sup>3</sup>

As it is, this poet may be taken to have lived in the 11th century A D.<sup>4</sup>

Kṛṣṇa Līlāsūka is one of those glorious men, whom every province desires to claim for itself, Bengal, Orissa, Circars and Malabar.<sup>5</sup> It is said in the Circars that he lived on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇa Venna (Kṛṣṇā) and founded a Mutt at Amaresaram. So in Bengal and Orissa, the story is current that he lived at Jagannath and he was called by the name Bilvamangala on account of the auspicious Bilva in his house. Tradition gives a tale of his conversion as a votary of Kṛṣṇa. He had a concubine Cintāmāni. She was very pious and would not allow him to see her on the day of her father's annual ceremony. But the passionate lover scaled the walls of her house at midnight with his hold on a serpent's tail hanging there and bitten by it fell down unconscious. The kind woman attended to him and when he was revived, she appeared before him in an ugly attire and taught him to give up his carnal passion and to devote his love to Kṛṣṇa. He learnt Kṛṣṇa-mantra from his guru Soma and became an ascetic. His sayings are recorded by his disciples. He passed away at Brndāvan.<sup>6</sup>

**291** In the field of grammar and philosophy, his proficiency was ever as great as in the field of poetry. He commented on the

1. A Govinda Warriyar says that of three Bilvamangalas whom he mentions (IEQ, VII 894), the first, the founder of the Mutt, wrote Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta and lived in 9th century and the author of Puruṣākāra was a different and later person who lived in 18th century.

2. On Vishnusāmi and his sect, see Farquhar (I c) 288, 804

3. SR, I 14

4. Farquhar (ORL, 804) give the date 15th century A D

5. For an account of this poet by M Rāmakrishnakāvī, see *Andhrajanakī*, Annual number (1922 28) 171 4

6. See SR, II 57

Aśtādhyāyi of Bhoja (known also as Sarasvatīkāṇṭhabharana) and there quotes several verses of Pāṇini.<sup>1</sup> He refers to Hemacandra in his philosophical work Puruṣakāra,<sup>2</sup> and he is quoted by Vidyāranya in his Dhīṣuṛtti.

Among his works now available<sup>3</sup> are Trishubhanusubhaga, Gaṇapati ṣṭuti, Karkotakastuti, Ramacandra ṣṭuti, Abhava-ṣṭuti, Kṛṣṇa-ṣṭuti, Viśvabhiṣṭa-ṣṭuti, Sumangalastutitra, Kṛṣṇacarita, Kṛṣṇabaliṣṭidā, Abhinava Kauṭubhamāla, Kramadipikā and Śāṅkarāḥṛīplayāngana.

**292** In his Brndavanastuti, he describes Rāmakṛīda, in verses which for their charm and melody can rarely be equalled. In his KALAVADHA in 3 cantos he relates the story of the conquest of Yamā by Siva to save Mārkandeya and the narrative is addressed in the words of Kṛṣṇa himself to the Gopīs. In his GOVINDABHISEKA (Gopikābhiseka?) a poem in 8 cantos he illustrates the aphorisms of Prākṛit grammar and these were later on commented upon and supplemented by his pupil Durgāprasada Yati, by 4 cantos. The whole poem of 12 cantos is also called Śrīmbhākāvya.<sup>4</sup>

**293** By far the greatest work, by which his name has been commemorated is Kṛṣṇakarnamīta.<sup>5</sup> It is a lyric in 12 tarangas of exquisite beauty, famed for its music and harmony, on the life of Kṛṣṇa.

1. See para 4 *supra*

2. Elated TSS, by T. Ganapati Sastri

3. IOO, VII 1470-5. Some of these manuscripts are with M. Ramakṛīṣṇa Kavi. He says he brought all these manuscripts from Malabar for the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, but that they were returned by the authorities without copying them.

4. See Kuppusami Sastri's Rep. (1919), 88. In his commentary on Govindābhiṣaka, Durgāprasādayati gives these particulars.

कोदण्डमण्डलवचोगदितीह धाम्नि श्रीकृष्णदर्शनपर किल कर्णभूत्य ।

जात कमेण परहसपदे सितेऽस्मिन् योऽस्मितस्तमवलोक्य जगाम तृष्णिद् ॥

श्रीपद्मादमुनिवर्यविनेयवर्गं श्रीदूषण मुनिरसौ कविसर्वमीम ।

श्रीकृष्णरूपपरमामृतपानशीलशक्ते तदीयचरित नदुधा हिताय ॥

श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकबद्धकाव्य विवृत्य लोकस्य हिताय पूर्वम् ।

तच्छेष्पूर्ति च पुनर्विधाय विवृष्टमहे उत्तरभागमेतम् ॥

मुक्तिस्थलालय शिवपाद(?)मत्तिलेघात दुर्गाप्रसादयतिरिलभिधां दधान ॥

5. Printed everywhere Keith, SL, 218

The poet says

ईशानदेवचरणाभरणेन नीलीदामोदरस्थिरयशस्त्रबक्कीद्रमेन ।

लीलाशुकेन रचित तव देव काण कर्णमृत वहतु कल्पशतान्तरेऽपि ॥

The thoughts are often expressed in Abhinaya and is the poem familiar among gesture-dancers<sup>1</sup>

There are commentaries on it called Karnānandapralāśini and Śṛṅgārarangadī of unknown authorship<sup>2</sup> and commentaries by Gopāla<sup>3</sup> by Bṛndāvanadīsa,<sup>4</sup> by Sankara,<sup>5</sup> by Pālanka Brahmbhatta,<sup>6</sup> by Pusupati Pāpayallayasūri,<sup>7</sup> and by Avancha Rāmacandra<sup>8</sup>

Rāmakarnāmr̥ti of Prat̥pasimha<sup>9</sup> and Rāmabhadradīkṣita,<sup>10</sup> Śrīnivāsakarnāmr̥ti of Bangalore Siddhānti Subrahmanyakavi<sup>11</sup> are of similar description

**294 Jayadeva** Vilvamangala was re-born as Jayadeva, such is the belief of the Indian devotee<sup>12</sup> Jayadeva was the son of Bhojadeva and Vāmādevi He was born at Kindubilva (Kenduli) on the banks of the river Ajaya in the Birbhum District of Bengal<sup>13</sup> He was

1 For an instance of his natural description

अर्द्धेन्मीलितैलोचनस पिबत पर्यासये क स्तन  
सद्य प्रस्तुतदुर्घदिर्घमगर हस्तेन समाजंत ।  
मात्रा चाङ्गुलिलालितस्य चिबुके स्मरायमाणे मुखे  
विष्णो क्षीरकणाम्बुधामधवला दन्तशुति पातु न ॥  
परमिमधुपदेशमादियज्व लिगमवनेषु नितान्तखेदस्त्रिज् ।  
विचिन्तुत भवनेषु वल्लवीतामुपनिषदर्थमुख्यले निबद्धम् ॥

2 *Oxf* 128 It is not known if it is the same as the one mentioned in *DC*, XVII, 8947 and *Opp*, II 54

3 *Ordih*, VI 4

4 *CC*, I 119,

5. Printed, Kāvyaṁāla, Bombay

6 *TO*, II 1862, 2061. *Opp* II. 54. He belonged to Lohitagoṭṭa, obviously an Andhra

7. *SR*, II 58 This commentator suggests that the poet was a native of Chilcoole The commentator was the son of Tīrumala and Kondamāmba He gives various meanings of philosophical significance.

8 *TO*, III 2977, IV 8748, 4489, 4170 He was the son of Kondopandita and Gangāmbikā of Śāndilyagoṭṭa of the village of Kanjaluru on the Gedāvarī branch Āṭreyi. He was also called Mohansbilvamangala He commented on Campūrāmāyāya also (*TO*, II 1548).

9. *Opp* II, 8884

10 Printed, Madras *DC* XVIII. 7122

11 Printed, Tirupati Sri Mahant's Press, G T, Madras

12 See Gada's *Sampraḍāyakuladīpikā*, *SR* I 16

13 Lakṣṇidhara, the commentator, says that Jayadeva was a native of Gujarat. Others say he was Maithila In Bhāṭṭāmāla (Cantos 89-41) Candraṭīta says Jayadeva was born at Tindubilva near Puri Once robbers lopped off his feet and hands and they were miraculously restored In his old age he desired to have a bath in the Ganges and the river appeared before him in her watery form

a poet of the court of Lakshmanasena<sup>1</sup> the Vaidya king of Bengal whose Gava inscription is dated Samvat 1173 or 1116 AD and whose capital was Lakṣmīvati<sup>2</sup>

A rambler in early life, he visited Mathura and Brindavan and was directly influenced by the enchanting scenery and the traditional tales of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. He became a missionary of that cult of Viśnava faith. He visited Jagannāth and there his life was destined for a change. There a brahmin long childless had a beautiful girl Padmavatī by the grace of the Lord of Jagannāth. He had a dream directing him to bestow her on Jayadeva then camping under a tree near the shrine. In spite of Jayadeva's reluctance, the father left the girl in his presence and went away. Jayadeva had no choice and married her. His married life was very happy. She was of his temperament and his regard for her devotion is expressed in his *Gītagovinda*, in that "to the accompaniment of his song, she dances on her feet"<sup>3</sup>. He spent some years at Kāthamandū and then he composed his *Gītagovinda*. When the poem was nearing completion, he stumbled on an impediment. Kṛṣṇa repents his illicit animus and seeks pardon of Rādhā. He thought of expressing that in these words — "Deign, O, Lady, to put thy sprout-like feet on my head and quench the all-consuming fever of love". But his religious scruples would not permit it. Sad and desperate he threw up his work and went to bed. To his surprise, the next morning he found a verse added to his manuscript, 'giant the

1. Lakṣmanasena was the patron of Śridharadāsa, author of *Saduktikarnāmṛta*. Verses of Lakṣmanasena and his father Ballalasena are quoted in *SP*, *SHM*, and *Padyāvali* (See *CO*, I 368). See Pischell *Die Hof Lüchter des Lakṣmanasena*, Göttingen, N. Vaseen, *Chronology of the several kings of Bengal*, *JASB*, XXV 16. Buhler's *Kash. Rep.*, 64, Princep's *Essays*, II H Beveridge, IA, XLVII 272. His era began in 1119 20 AD but on this question see II, IV 300, 167, I4, XIX 2. See also S. Kumar, *On the date of Lakṣmanasena*, IA, XLII 185, D C Bhattacharya, *Date of Lakṣmanasena and his predecessors*, IA, XLII 145, XLVIII, 171, XLIX 189. For other papers see R D Bauerjee, *JASB* IX 271, N G. Majumdar, *JASB* (1918), 275, *EI*, XV 281, Lassen, *Ins Alt* IV 815. Śridharadāsa says however that his *Saduktikarnāmṛta* was composed in 91st year of Lakṣmanasena's reign which was concurrent with 1127th year of Saka. That would put the accession to 1106 A.D. see Smith (*EHI*, 405) gives dates 1170 1200 A.D.

2. Tradition has preserved a verse, said to be part of an inscription, which says

गोवर्धनश्च शारणो जयदेव उमापति । कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्षणस्य च ॥

3. वास्त्रदेवताच्चरितचित्प्रितचित्प्रितसदा पश्चात्पतिच्चरणचारणचक्कर्ती ।

श्रीब्रह्मदेवरतिकेलिकथासमेतभेत करोति जयदेवकवि. प्रबन्धम् ॥

noble sprout of thy foot to be the ornament on my head, which shall be the antidote to the poison of love”<sup>2</sup> This he thought was the grace of Kṛṣṇa himself and the poem was soon complete. The village where the Gītagovindā was composed has since been called Jayadevapura. His poem was admired everywhere. He was regarded as inspired. Hundreds flocked to him for spiritual instruction. A noble prince of Ajmeer gave him funds for the celebration of an annual festival of Kṛṣṇa, but on his way home, he was attacked by a robber band and deprived of all his possessions. He was then entertained for some years at the court of Laksmaṇasena, Vaidya King of Bengal. He died at Kenduli in happy retirement about 1120 A.D. His anniversary is celebrated by his followers on the Sukla Saptami of the Paushya month.<sup>3</sup>

The poem was held in much esteem in Orissa. It was ordered to be sung in temples by King Pratāparudradeva,<sup>4</sup> and King Purusottamadeva (1470-1497 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> composed Abhinava-Gītagovinda.

**295 Gītagovinda** is a celestial song in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa. His wife Padmavati danced with him in accompaniment to his tunes. The poem has 12 cantos and 24 astapadis.<sup>6</sup> The cantos correspond to the Kāndas of Bhāgavata and astapadis to the 24 alphabets of Gāyatri. Each astapadi begins with a chorus followed by eight feet at the end of each of which the chorus is repeated. The melody and time of every song, that is, rāga and tāla are mentioned at the outset. The

१ स्मरगरलभण्डन मम शिरसि मण्डन धेहि पदपङ्कव्युदारम् ।  
ज्वलति मयि दारुणो मदनकदनारुणो हरतु तदुपाहितविकारम् ॥

2 *Sah* IX 95, *SR*, II 59. On Jayadeva generally, see D. Sen's *History of Bengal's Literature*, M. Duff's *Chronology* 186, R. C. Dutt, *Civ* II 295, Weber, *IL*, 210 note. *Lassen*, 147, IV 815, Lyall's *Assamese Studies*, III 185. Tawney's *Prabandhaśāntamani*, xviii 181 8. M. Oakravarā, “*Sanskrit Literature in Bengal under Sena rule*”, *JASB*, (1906) 157. Life of Jayadeva is found in *Eshkar-vijayām* (Andhra) (1) by Śripāda Subrahmanyā (2) by Dhanala Koyat Devaranadajee (Printed). (3) by Devarapalli Chandrayā, Vedamudi, Bapatla Taluk (unprinted) and in Čandradāta's *Bhaktamīlā* (Printed, Bombay) See *Int. to Kāvyaśāstra*, Edn.

3 See *JASB*, LXXXII 96, 146

4. *HPB*, (1895-100), 17

5 For a detailed description, see *SR*, II (1896) 59, and *Jayadeva and his Idyll*, *Sah* III 95, IX, 96. Printed everywhere. Translated into English by Edwin Arnold, into German by Rickert (Leipzig), into French by Courtallier (Paris), by Lassen (Bonn). This poem is quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvali* and *Śringadharapadidhāti* and by Potaroya in his *Prasangarājñāvali* composed in 1460 A.D (*DO*, XX, 8065).

melody gives the keynote and the other notes in the gamut, which are used in the song<sup>1</sup>

**296** This work marks, according to Macdonnel,<sup>2</sup> the transitional stage between pure lyric and pure drama,—“a lyrical drama, which though dating from the twelfth century is the earliest literary specimen of a primitive type of play that still survives in Bengal and must have preceded the regular dramas. The poem contains no dialogue in the proper sense, for its three characters only engage in a kind of lyrical monologue, of which one of the other two is supposed to be an auditor, sometimes even no one at all. The subject of the poem is the love of Krishna for the beautiful cowherd girl Radha, the estrangement of the lovers and their final reconciliation. It is taken from that

1 The melody for instance of the first ashtapadi is Mālava, the notes of which are C, D, flat, E, F, G, A, flat, and B with C as the keynote

In Hindu dated 16.11.1927, P R Sundara Iyer, Headmaster, Training School, Trichinopoly writes “There has been some doubt among musicians here about the authenticity of the Ragas assigned to each Ashtapadi. Let us examine the Ragas of Ashtapadis as per Kumbha. The Raga assigned to the first Ashtapadi as per heading is Malava. Kumbha clearly states that he is making a change and signs the first Ashtapadi in Madhyamadi, (Shadava) in Madhyamagrama. He states as his reason that the thought that is conveyed has to be adjusted and expressed in that Raga alone. He says,—

प्रथमायि प्रबन्धो यो जयदेवेन धीमता । न तस्य विधते लक्ष्म सर्वोद्देशपलक्षितम् ॥

अतस्सरादिमिष्टहमिरकैस्त्योऽयं तथ्यताम् । नीत्वा गीत्वा तदा हित्वा कुटीकामु प्रवर्त्तते ॥

which means, “The composition was made by Jayadeva and it is musically imperfect in so many ways. I shall, therefore, provide it with the Svaras and the other limbs of music and give it its true colour” etc. So, Kumbha—a musician himself, of course an expert musician of the northern side—clearly means that the music of Jayadeva in the original was bad and he was constrained to effect a change in the melody as evidenced by the further statement in the preface—गमकालापपेशलतया मध्यमग्रामे बाइवेन मध्यम प्रहृण्ण मध्यमादिरागेण गोयते. As it is provided with flourishes and is fit for sweet singing as a Raga, it has to be sung in Madhyamai— a Shadava Raga (six note Raga) of the Madhyamagrama.

It has to be noted that Kumbha of Mewar, a musician-king as he was, had the necessity to change the original tunes of Jayadeva even as early as the 14th century. Perhaps or more than that, the same necessity was felt by the musicians of the South and for the very reason assigned by Kumbha, the Southern musicians have adjusted the Ashtapadi to the South Indian Ragas now current. By the way, there is in South India, a system in which particular Ragas are assigned to particular ideas for the expression of the lover in particular stages. Take the Nayaki in sixteenth Ashtapadi—Punmagavarali has been specially selected for the expression of the same stage of the same sentiment by the musicians of the South like Kshetraja ”

episode of Krishna's life in which he himself was herdsman living on the banks of the Yamuna and enjoying to the full the love of the cowherdesses. The only three characters of the poem are Krishna, Radha and a cupid mate of the latter' <sup>1</sup>

In the melody of its diction, in the perfection of its composition, in the ease of its alliteration and in the expression of varied emotions, Gītagovinda has probably the first place in the lyrical literature of the world. Indian mind is mostly philosophical and so was presumably the mind of Jayadeva, full of his devotion to the deity he addressed. The sexual ideas, apparent in the verses, have received at the hands of Indian commentators, an allegorical explanation of divine philosophy, as the longing and union of the supreme and the individual souls' <sup>2</sup>

1 See, for instance

चन्दनचर्चितनीलकलेबर पीतवसनवनमाली ।  
केलिचलन्मणिकुण्डलमधिष्ठतगण्डयुग स्मितशाली ॥  
हरिरिह मुग्धवधूनिकरे विलासिनि विलसतिकेलिपरे श्रुतम् ॥  
पनिपयोधरभारभरेण हरिं परिरम्य सरागम् ।  
गोपवधूरनुगायति काचिद्दद्वितपञ्चमरागम् ॥ हरि  
कापि विलासविलोलविलोचनखेलुलनजनितमनोजम् ।  
ध्यायति मुग्धवधूरथिक मधुसूदनवदनसरोजम् ॥ हरि  
कापि कपोलतले भिलिता लपितु किमापि श्रुतिमूले ।  
कापि चुचुम्ब नितम्बवती दयित पुलकैरत्नकूले ॥ हरि  
केलिकलाकुतुकेन काचिदमु यमुनाजलमूले ।  
मञ्जुलवञ्जुलकुञ्जगत विचकर्ष करेण दुकूले ॥ हरि  
श्लिष्ट्यति कामापि चुन्नाति कामापि कामापि रमयति रामाम् ।  
पश्यति सस्मितचारुतरामपरामनुगच्छति वामाम् ॥ हरि  
श्रीजयदेवमणितमिदमङ्गुतकेशवकेलिरहस्यम् ।  
बृन्दावनविपिने ललित वितनोतु शुभानि यशस्यम् ॥ हरि

2 C R Srinivasa Iyengar says "There are four aspects in which the Gita Govindam or Ashtapadi may be viewed (1) Literary (2) Devotional (3) Musical (4) Mystical. The mystical nature is hinted both in the beginning and end of the work but a full exposition is given in the middle. Radha is not a woman but a thing representing the materialism, and the whole is a gradual story of the pilgrimage of the soul up to the path of glory.

The Ashtapadhi begins in a way which gives the whole key to the mysticism. Nanda who was tending his cattle carries the child Krishna. It was a dark night and the sky was cloudy. He entrusts the babe to Radha and Ashtapadi describes the love affair between Radha and Krishna on the banks of the Yamuna or Jamma. Mystically viewed Jumna is that portion between the two eye brows

Rāmagītagovinda and Rādhākrṣnavilāsa are attributed to Jayadeva<sup>1</sup>

**297** There are commentaries,<sup>2</sup> by Udayanācārya, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Gopālī, Nārāyanadāsa, Bhāvācārya, Rāmatīrtha, Rīmadattī, Kūpadēva, Vithala, Viśvesvara, Śalmītha, Hṛdayābharaṇa, Tirumalāraya, Śrikanthamīra, Gidānanda by Lakṣmidhara also called Laksmanasūri,<sup>3</sup> by Kṛṣṇadatta,<sup>4</sup> by Jagadīhara,<sup>5</sup> by Vanamālibhatta,<sup>6</sup> by Pitambara,<sup>7</sup> by

The first song among the others is remarkable in that it mentions the name of the Raga. In it Jayadev tells us of the ten Avatars. Krishna does not find a place in this list but at the end of the chapter he says that Krishna is the spirit of those ten Avatars. In this work, Jayadev gives the real significance of the Buddha Avatar, which according to the Puranas, have been given a wrong version by the orthodox Brahminism of olden days and who twisted the Vedas to serve their own purpose. The Cita Govind is the best authority of the ten Avatars, and specially of the real nature of the Buddha Avatar."

1. The first is mentioned in Prapuṇadarpanī (TC, III 4034) of Venkatakavi sārvabhamasa. For the second, see IC, VII 1480, and for the first, see JGOS, Vol XLI.

See Garçon de Tassy Christomathi hindie et hindine, p 471 where in the Bhaktamal the Raja of Nilācalā is stated to have tried unsuccessfully to pass off a Gaṅgagovinda of his own for that of Jayadeva. See IOC, VII 1480.

2. CC, I 153, II 81, III 88

3. It is called Srujanjanī (DC, XX 7992 ff.) He was son of Yaścīvara and Saryāmbā and grandson of Timmayasomayaji of Cherukuru family, a native of the Kṛṣṇa District. He refers to a poem of his and was also the author of Sadbhāṣā candraikā, Svaramanjari, Alankāramuktavali (CC, I. 82a) and commentaries on Prasanna Rāghava and Anaraghārāghava and refers to his work Basamanjari. His step brother of Kondubhattopadhyāya, whose son Yaścīvarādīksīṭa, was the author of Alankāra rāghava and Alankārasuryoḍaya (see chapter on Poetics post). On Lakṣmīdhara, see Int. to Gāṇavataraṇa (Kavyamala No 76) 18, SN, II 63, 67, 69, 202, and SVH, 212. In the colophon to the commentary on Anaraghārāghava it is said Lakṣmīdhara became an ascetic and assumed the name of Rāmānanda under his guru Kṛṣṇārama.

Another manuscript (DC, XX 7989 02) attributes the commentary Srujanjanī to Tirumalāraya, son of Tirumalāmbā and Śrināgarāja, of Āṭreya gotra. Tirumala was the younger brother of Aliya Rāmarāya, the son in law of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. After the battle of Talikote in 1565, Tirumala changed his capital to Pennukonda and ruled for 18 years. He was the patron of the author of Vastucarita, the Telugu poem and brother of Venkatāḍī. The introductory verses give these details, (See paras 124, 144 supra)

Lakṣmīdhara was a poet of the court of Tirumala I of Vijayanagar or Atavidā Dynasty (1567-1575 A.D.) About the latter, see Sewell's *Beng. Emp.* 178 404, *South Ind. Ins.* I 70, SVH, xiv, 18. It is therefore quite possible that this commentary was written by Lakṣmīdhara under the patronage of Tirumalāraya of Pennukonda.

4. Ibid., called Śāilekhā. The author was a native of Mithila. He explains every verse as referring to Śiva. Ulvar, Cat 37, IO, 187.

5. This is called Sāradipikā. The author says he referred to several commentaries and wrote his own. DC, XX 7997

6. PR, II, 188. He also wrote a play Aḍbhū tarīghava, CC, III. 2.

7. Gough, 87.

Sē-akamalākara and Sūsaratanākara,<sup>1</sup> by Vāsudeva Vācāsundara,<sup>2</sup> by Anūpabhbupati,<sup>3</sup> by Srīkanthamisra,<sup>4</sup> by Nārāvana,<sup>5</sup> by Sāṅkaramisra,<sup>6</sup> by Bhagavaddāsa,<sup>7</sup> by Kumbhakarnarāja,<sup>8</sup> by Laksmana,<sup>9</sup> by Caitanyadāsa Pūjaka,<sup>10</sup> by Mānānka,<sup>11</sup> and two anonymous, Sangrahadipikā<sup>12</sup> and Balabodhini<sup>13</sup>

In the Nirnayasāgara edition there are eight verses in praise of the Ganges, Gangāstava, printed. It is thought that is the work of Dhīra Jayadeva, a later poet<sup>14</sup>

**298** Among other works composed on this model are Gītagauripati of Bhānuḍatta,<sup>15</sup> Kṛṣṇīṭa of Somanātha,<sup>16</sup> Gītarāghava of Hari Sankara,<sup>17</sup> Gītarāghava of Prabhākara,<sup>18</sup> Gītarāghava of Rāma-kavi,<sup>19</sup> Gītagurīsa of Rāma,<sup>20</sup> Sangitamādhava of Govindadāsa,<sup>21</sup>

1 IA, XLII 252 BTC, 158, Bk 280 *Mys Cat* 245

2 SKC, 281 Composed at the instance of king Chandrasahū of Gāḍhpurī in the country of Tripuri near Narmadā

3 SKC, 280 Prince Anupa seems to have been only the patron and not the real author

4 SKC, 67

5 PR, I, 114, Bod Cat 221, IO, 118

6 Printed, Bombay. The author styles himself Mahāmahopādhyāya

7 CC, I 154

8 Printed Bombay On Kumbhakarna, see chapter on Music post He was also the author of Sangitaśudhā and Sangitarāja (CC, I 111)

9 It was composed at Śrī Purusottama Kṣetra (Puri) in Śaka 1664 (1586 A.D.) *Mys Cat* 245

10 CSC (1917) 590, *Mys Cat*, 245

11 PR, III 280

12 DC, XX 7996 probably by Jīvagoswāmi There is another anonymous commentary in SKC, 67

13 CSC (1907), 88 4

14. There are Gangāstava (1) by Kavikarnāpura (2) by Deveśvara (3) by Hanbhāskara (4) by Gangādhara (5) by Satyaghānānandatirīha, printed in Bombay, in Bhāṣajotīrāṭākara, 844, and in Berlin, 471 See CC, I 140

15 Printed, Bombay There is another poem Kṛṣṇīṭa in more than 9 cantos, on which there is a commentary by Ananṭanāṭayāga Śāṣṭri, TO, III 3915

16 Printed, Bombay

17 BR, II 88 See CC, III 88

18. BR, (1884), 8, 9, CC, I 154. He was the son of Bhudhara He composed it in 1674 A.D.

19 *Mys OML*, 246

20 Oxf, 129 He was son of Śrinātha There is a commentary by Ātmārāma, NW, 616,

21 He wrote also Karṇāmṛta and lived in 1587 1612 A.D. See Dinesandra Sen's *History of Bengal's Literature*, 547.

Gītavitarāga by Abhinavacūrukūti,<sup>1</sup> Gītīgangādhara (i) by Kalyāna,<sup>2</sup> (ii) by Rajasekhara and (iii) by Candrasekharasarasvati,<sup>3</sup> Sivagītumālikā,<sup>4</sup> by Candasiikkhāmaṇi,<sup>5</sup> Ramoduharanaṇgitikītya,<sup>6</sup> Sivāstapadī by Venkata-tappa Naik of Mysore,<sup>7</sup> Gītasatika by Sundarācārvā,<sup>8</sup> Sungīla-Raghunandana by Visvanātha,<sup>9</sup> Sangītisundara by Sadāśiva Dīkṣita<sup>10</sup>

Mukundavilāsa in six cintas describes the sports of Hara and Hara as if they were one.<sup>11</sup> Saṅkarīsingīta of Jayadevāyana, son of Kṛṣṇacandra, in 12 patalas, describes the marriage of Pīrvati and Nīva.<sup>12</sup>

**299. Vamsamani** was the son of Rāmīcandra of the Vilvapanca race of Maithila Brahmanas. He lived in Nepal and wrote Gītīdigambara on the occasion of a Tulāpurusadāna by Pratāpamalla Devi of Katmandu in Saka 1577 (1655 A.D.) "It was composed to entertain the princes and panditas assembled to see the Tulāpurusadāna in which the king in his armours weighs himself against gold and other precious metals and gives them away to Brahmanas. Pratāpa was himself a poet and his Astakas are to be found in all the holy places in Nepal inscribed at prominent places on stone. It is meet that on an auspicious occasion like this that he should encourage a Sanskrit dramatic performance."<sup>13</sup>

**300. Venkataramanaiya (C)**, a principal of Sanskrit College, Bangalore, is the author of several works. Of these Kamalāvijaya is a play in five acts, developed from the story of Lennyon's Cup, a tragedy in two acts. It has no prakrit. The pith of the story is as he says the victory of Virtue over Vice. His NAVAGHĀTAKŪSTMANJALI is meant "to bring home to every one that there is only one divine power called God who is worshipped and contemplated under various names and forms by different kinds of people in the world. To include this all important truth, the popular Hindu theology and mythology have been adopted as far as the narration of the story is concerned, keeping at the same time the central idea running throughout each part or poem. The poem is of 108 verses divided into 9 parts, viz., (1) Ramagītā containing essence of Rāmāyana, (2) Kṛṣṇagītī, narrating briefly the story of Bhāgavata, (3) Dasāvataṛagītī explaining the objects of ten avatars of Vishnu, (4) Ganesagītī showing that God under this name

1 *Mys OML*, 246

8 Printed, Bombay,

2 *Oxf.*, 129

9 *Ulwar*, 980

3 *Mys OML*, 245

10. *CC*, I 690

4 *CAL* II 17

11. *Mitra*, X

5 *Mys OML*, 255

12. *TC*, IV 4587, *CC*, I 690

6 *Mys OML*, 685

13. *PPR*, I, 18 *CC*, III 88

7 *BTC*, 163 He ruled in 1582-1629 A.D.

is also God of Universe and none else, (3) Sadgurugītī similarly indicating that all true knowledge proceeds from the great intelligence, the fountain head of all knowledge, (6) Sīvagītī explaining the Sīva aspect of God and demonstrates with convincing reasons that there is no difference between Bramha, Viṣṇu and Sīva as far as central truth is concerned, (7) Vīṇigītī, (8) Lakṣmīgītī and Gourīgītī showing that even female aspects of Divine Power contribute in effect to the same central idea ”

**301 Narayanatīrtha** is said to be the last incarnation of Madhāvānala<sup>1</sup> He calls himself the pupil of Sīvarāmānapadatīrtha He lived at Kuchimanci Agraḥaram in Godavari District about 1700 A D<sup>2</sup> His Kr̄nalīlātarangītī embraces the story of Kr̄ṣṇa in 12 tarangas<sup>3</sup> The musical modes and rhythmic time are specified and explanatory verses are inserted between the songs The poem is fit for the lyre and showers sentiments of devotion

Kr̄nalīlātarangītī of Bellamkonda Rāmasāstrī is a work of similar description<sup>4</sup>

Kṛṣṇabhbhāvanāmrta of Viṣvanātha,<sup>5</sup> Kṛṣṇabhaktīcandrikā, Kṛṣṇalīlāmṛta with Acyutārao Modak's commentary, Kṛṣṇānandalaharī and Kṛṣṇāmrītarangikā of Venkatesā<sup>6</sup> have the same theme

**302** Among the friends of Jayadeva in the Court of King Laksmanasena were Govardhana, Sarapa, Umāpati and Dhoyi Kavirāja alias Śrutidhara Jayadeva mentions them thus in Gīṭagovinda<sup>7</sup>

वाचं पद्मवयत्युभापतिवरसन्दर्भं शुद्धिं गिरा ।  
जानीते जयदेव एवं शरणश्चाद्यो दुर्लहृते ।  
शृङ्गारात्तरसत्प्रमेयरचनैराचार्यगोवर्धन  
स्पर्धी कोपि न विश्रुतश्रुतश्चरो धोयी कविक्षमापति ॥

1 See para 290 *supra*

2 I examined the Inam register from the Collector's office The grant was by Kolaveenu Buchamā Rao and Timmanina Rao in Fasli 1151, subsequently confirmed by Morigin Beg in Hizra 1157 and certified by the Collector on 4th May 1715 The original grantees were Bhāgavatula Linganna and Gopala, Peddibhotla Gurulingam, Vedantam Ramesam and 5 others

3 DC, XX 7951, 100, VII 1462

4 See under that author *post*

5 Printed, Bombay

6 Printed, Bombay

7 Tradition says so

गोवर्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उभापति ।  
कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥

**303** **Dhoyi** had the fuller title *Gavau Dhoyi Kāvīrāja*<sup>1</sup> He was Srutadhara, because he learnt by a single hearing His PAVANADUTA<sup>2</sup> describes the message of Kuvalayāvatī to King Lakṣmaṇasena and is on the model of Meghadūta His Satyabhāmā-Kṛṣṇasamvāda<sup>3</sup> is not now available

**304.** **Sarana**, says Jayadeva there, was quick but hard in versification.

**305** **Govardhana**<sup>4</sup> was son of Nīlāmbara Somajāin He had a brother Balabhadra and a pupil Udayana He calls himself an Ācārya His Āryāsaptaśatī<sup>5</sup> or shortly Saptasati is a collection of 700 verses on various subjects, erotic in character, in the order of the Sanskrit alphabets The flow of his diction keeps with the running gait of the Āryā metre<sup>6</sup> He refers to Lakṣmaṇasena in his poem as a master of arts<sup>7</sup> There are commentaries on it by Gokulacandra,<sup>8</sup> by Ananta, son of Tryambaka,<sup>9</sup> by Gangārāma<sup>10</sup> and one anonymous<sup>11</sup>

1. Keith, LS, 220 For quotations in anthologies, see Thomas, Kav 122 The Kāvīrāja mentioned in the memorial verse quoted page 345 strip a is therefore the same as Dhoyi This dispels the suspicion of the identification of that Kāvīrāja with the author of the Rāghavapāṇḍaviya Gavau is a Hindustani title for a learned musician Kāvīrāja is the Sanskrit title of an excooleit poet, versed in difforent languages

दनित्यवृह कनकलतिकां चामर हैमदण्ड यो गौडेन्द्रादलभत कविक्षमास्ता चक्रवर्ती ।

श्रीधोयीक सकलरसिकप्रीतिहेतोर्मनस्ती काव्य सारखतमिव महामन्त्रमेतज्जगाद् ॥

Pavanaduta, 101.

2. Ed Calcutta See also J 19B, (1900) 41, EPR, I 227

3. This is referred to in Prapancādīrapana of Venkatakāvi Śivabhāuma (TC, III 4094) See Kuppusami Sastrī's Rep (1916 19), 86

4. Referred to as a playwright in Daśārupa (Ed by Hall, 80 note) Keith, SL, 202

5. Ed, Bombay See Sir William Jones's Works, XIII 4096 Colebrooke's MSS Essays, II 74, Wilson's Pref to Dictionary, xxxi

6. अतिपूजिततरेर्य दृष्टिशुतिलङ्घनक्षमा सुततु ।

जिनसिद्धान्तस्थितिरिव सवामना क न मोहयति ॥

Here on the pretence of describing the beauty of a maiden's eyes, the poet denounces Jainism

7. सकलकला कल्पयितु प्रमु प्रबन्धस्त कुमुदबन्धोश्च ।

सेनकुलतिलकभूपतिरेको राकाप्रदोषश्च ॥

The explanation of the commentator on this verso that the king alluded to was Pravarasena of Kashmūr is obviously wrong See Peterson's Inst. to Subh. 88.

8. PR, II No 79, 100, VII 1527

9. Ed, Benares Tanj Cat, VII, 2981, 100, VII. 1527.

10. Oudh, (1877), 16,

11. TC, III, 4115.

The name of the work seems to have suggested itself from Hāla's *Saptasati*<sup>1</sup>

Among similar works are *Sṛngārasaptasati* (anonymous) (*BTC*, 164, *DC*, XX 8015), *Āryāsaptasati* of Viśvesvara, son of Lakṣmidhara (Printed Bombay, *DC* XX 8011), and *Sṛngārasaptasati* by Paramānanda, son of Vrajacandra, composed in 1869 (Ed Benares), *Āryādvīsati* by Dūrvāsas (*Opp* II 4487, 8163, 8119), *Ārvātrisati* by Sāmarāja Dikṣita (Printed, Bombay), *Āryātrisatimuktaka* or Rasikaranjana of Vrajarāja (Printed, Bombay), *Sivadayāsaḥasra* by Nṛsimha (*Mys OJL*, 258), and *Sivapādakamalarepūsaḥasra* by Sundareśvara (*Ibid*), Sri Kanthaṭrisati (*Mys* 8)

**306 Umapatiḍhara** was the minister of King Lakṣmaṇasena. The story goes that to restrain the king from a scandalous alliance with a Māṭangī, the poet wrote some verses, indirectly hinting at the disgrace. The king was displeased and dismissed the minister. Sometime later, he noticed the poet wandering in the street in rags and when he addressed him another verse, the king repented and restored him to his favour<sup>2</sup>. His Kṛṣṇacarīta probably gives the life of Kṛṣṇa<sup>3</sup>. His

1. Ed. Bombay No 21 (with Gangadhara's commentary). This is a piece of most exquisite poetry. It is said that the real author was Śāṅkaliṭa, a poet of the court of Hāla. हालेनाचम्पूजया कविवृष्टश्रीपालितो लालित (see para 21 note *supra*). See Durgaprasad's *Int.*, Weber's *Essay on the Sapiasatala of Hala* with prose German Translation (Leipzig), Bhat Daji's *Essay on Śālvāhana*, Princep's *Essays*, II 1544 I4, XII 214 Buhler, I4, I 807, Peterson's *Int. to Kadambas* (*BSS*, 24, 74), T Rajagopala Rao (*South Indian Research*, I 225) identifies Śālvāhana with Śāṭavāhana, S. Konow's *Int. to Karpuramanjari* (*HOS*, 192), Macdonell (*SL*, 844), says it is a rich treasury of popular Indian lyrical poetry. Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 17I, Mandlik, *JBRAS*, X 127, V, Smith (*EH* 208) gives the date of Hāla, as the 17th Andhra king, about 80 B.C. T S Narayana Sastrī (*Sarilakara*, Part I D, 98) says he was the 18th King of the dynasty and son of Ariṣṭa Śāṭakarni and assigns him to Yudhiṣṭhīrā era 1644-1649 (495-490 B.C.). To this Hāla he ascribes the patronage of Kālidāsa I, the author of the three dramas and relies on the Śāṅkaravijaya of Cittukha and Jagadgururājanāmālīkā of Sarasvatī to say that Āḍī Śāṅkara was his contemporary. The name Hāla is synonymous with Śāla, Śāṭavahana, Śālavāhana. There are commentaries on Śapatasati by Gangadhara, Premarāja, Bhuvanapāla, Piṭāmbara, Sādhārapāda, Kulabalaṇadeva (*PR*, III ap 896, *OC*, I 151) and Vemabhupāla (*TC* IV, 5066). Hāla is said to be the patron of Gupṭādhyā. For several recensions, see Melkote Swami's *Int. to Śṛngārasprakāśa*.

2. See Rājāśekara's *Prabhāṇḍacintāmaṇi*, (Tawney's Translation, 181, 188). Farquhar, (*ORL*, 805, 878) says Umapatiḍhara was a contemporary of Vidyāpāti at Turhut of the 16th century A.D. See *JBRAS*, XXXIV, 142, and *ZDMG*, XL, some poems in Maithili are published in *JBRAS*, XLIII 76, B Chatterjee, *Padāvallī Literature* (*Jl. of Dep. of Letters, Calcutta Univ.* XVI, 44).

3. It is mentioned in Prāpanaśādarpaṇa (*TC*, III 4094)

PARIJATAPAHARANA<sup>1</sup> is a short drama and contains musical pieces Nārada presented a Pāñjāta flower to Kṛṣṇa and this he gave to Rukmīnī Satyabhāmā grew jealous and when Kṛṣṇa sent word to Indra for some more, they were refused Kṛṣṇa with Arjuna as his lieutenant went to war, defeated Indra and brought the flowers.

Umāpatidhara composed the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena,<sup>2</sup> and his verses are quoted in Sadulikarnāmṛta and Sūktimuktivali Sarana called also Cīratīnasarana is quoted in Saduktikarnāmṛta

There are poems on the same theme by Kavirāja (see para 87 supra), by Nārīyama (see para 214 supra), by Raghunātha (see para 146 supra, *DC* XX, 7848, XL, 8397), a *cambū* by Sesakṛṣṇa (*Bh* 256, CX, I 335) and plays by Gopāladasa<sup>3</sup> (CY, I 335) by Kavīcandrodaya and by Kumāratatācārvā called Caturvedi Satyakratu (*TG*, II 2374, *SIVH*, 254)

**307 Amarukasataka** In his visit to Mihismati, Sankara encountered Mandana and sought a controversy. Mandana's wife was Bhāratī, an incarnation of Sarasvatī. They set her as their umpire and after a long interval Mandana acknowledged defeat and became an ascetic adopting the tenets of Sankara. Then Bhāratī "begged the favour of a controversy with herself, for Sankara had as yet defeated but one half of Mandana, herself being the other half. He objected to arguing with women, but she quoted precedents. So, as before, the disputation went on for seventeen days. Bharati trying to discomfit Sankara passed from one Sastra to another, and finding at last that she could not inflict a defeat on him in any other science she revolved to humble him by means of the Science of Love or Kama-sastra. Now Sankara had not had the experience needed to answer questions on this science, and so found that his reputation as well as the consequent victory of his cause was at stake. So he begged of her an interval of one month for preparation to meet her in argument, which being allowed, he went to the banks of Narmada, and in the hole of a tree in some forest there he left his body in hiding and asked some of his

1. *JBORS*, III 20 98, Ed. Grierson with translation by Aufrecht (*OC*, I 885) says it was written in the reign of Hindupati Hariharadeva. Grierson says that Umāpati lived at the Court of Harisimhaṇeva of Miṭhilā, whom Umāpati calls Hariharadeva.

2. *EZ*, I 807 11

3. Gopāla Bhatta, author of the drama Śāradā Govinda (*OC*, I 707; *Lod*, app. 81) and Gopālārāya, author of the bhāṇḍas, Śringārāraṇa and Śringāramanjeri (*OC*, II 168, 160) are different

disciples to keep watch over it while the living soul was away from it. Then by means of his *Jugnu* powers he separated his soul from that body and luckily came upon the dead body of a King Amaruka, which was about to be committed to flames, and entered it. The king rose and all the town rejoiced. However, in a short while, the ministers as well as the queens of the late king found some things extraordinary about their restored sovereign and suspected that the soul of some Mahatman had come to live in the body of their master. So messengers were secretly sent to search for a human body hidden in lonely spots or caves, and to burn when found, so that the Mahatman might remain with them and the king continue to live long time. Meanwhile Sankara in the body of the king was acquiring the experiences of love with his queens and was recording those experiences in a treatise which has come down to us under the name of *Amaruka-sataka*. And in the midst of these lovely women and their blandishments, he forgot his promise to his disciples about his going back to them, and the month agreed upon soon passed away. The disciples then began to search for him, and hearing the miraculous resurrection of Amaruka, they went to his city, sought audience with the king, and sang a few philosophic songs which at once roused the memory of Sankara. Then they hastened to the place where the body had been secreted. But by this time the messengers of the king had found it out and had just begun to set fire to it. The unattached soul of Sankara now hastened back and entered his own body in this perilous condition. He then prayed to Vishnu conceived as Nrisimha to help him, which he did by sending down a timely shower of rain that put out the flames. Sankara was now in his own body again.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from the merit of this story, the graces of Amaruka's conception and expression are unique. Vāmana and Ānandavardhana quote the verses and that is a worthy recognition of its quality and its age.<sup>2</sup>

**308** The poem is a sātaka or century, but the four recensions have only 51 verses in common, these are the texts used by Rāmarudra, Ravicandra, Arjunavarman and Vemabhūpāla.<sup>3</sup> Each verse depicts the

1 O V Krishnasami Iyer, *Sankaracarya*, 45

2 CC, I 27, II 5, 187, III 7 R Simon, *Das Amarasataka*, Keil, ZDMG XLIX 577. Macionell, SL, 842, SR. II 47

3 Aufrecht (ZDMG, XXVII 7) says "The form Amaru owes its origin to the desire to make a good Sanskrit word of the name, the form Amaru is more easily handled. Only the verses written in the Sardulavikridita metre appear to have formed the original collection. Some of the verses attributed to Amaru (in the Sarangadhara paddhati) are not in the present very incorrect editions. On the other hand we find other verses which in the Indian editions are ascribed to this poet, in our manuscripts of the Sarangadhara-paddhati either given anonymously or ascribed to a different author".

condition of the Nāyikā in a particular mood towards her Nāyaka "The Nataka" says Keith "is essentially a collection of pictures of love, and it differs from the work of Bhartihari in that, while Bhartihari deals rather with general aspects of love and women as factors in life, Amaru paints the relation of lovers, and takes no thought of other aspects of life. Possibly if the reference to the purpose in the title in the manuscripts has any value he may have planned illustrating other sides of life, but that is idle conjecture and we have sufficient cause to be grateful to him for what he has given us without seeking more. The love which Amaru likes is gay and high spirited, delighting in tiny tiffs and lovers' quarrels but ending in smiles, the poet hardly ever contemplates the utter disappearance of love."<sup>1</sup>

There are commentaries<sup>2</sup> by Arjunavarman<sup>3</sup> by Kokasambhava,<sup>4</sup> by Seśarāmakaṇṭha,<sup>5</sup> by Caturbhujamisra,<sup>6</sup> by Nandalīlā,<sup>7</sup> by Rudramadeva,<sup>8</sup> Ravicandra,<sup>9</sup> by Rāmarudra,<sup>10</sup> by Vemalāhūpālā,<sup>11</sup> by Sūrvadūṣa,<sup>12</sup> by Sankarācārya,<sup>13</sup> by Venkatavarada,<sup>14</sup> by Hariharabhatta,<sup>15</sup> by Devasankarabhatta,<sup>16</sup> by Gosthipūrendra,<sup>17</sup> and two others anonymous.<sup>18</sup> Jñānānanda Kalādharaṇena explains the verses in the verses of love and renunciation.<sup>19</sup>

1. Keith, *SL* 188, where he gives a fine exposition of the poet's plan of the poem and conception. See Peterson's *Int to Subh.* 2 and Thomas's *Int to Kav.* 22

2. See *CC*, I 27, II, 5, 187, III, 7, *Mys OUL* 242, *CAL*, II 2

3. Ed. Bombay by Durgaprasad with a valuable introduction. King Arjunavarman was the son of Subhatavarman. He ruled about year 1207 (1211 AD). See for inscriptions, *JASB* V 378, *JAO*S, VII, 82, 25. For verses in the anthologies, see Peterson's *Int. to Subh.* He refers to poet Madava who was his guru as an author on rhetoric.

4. *CAL*, II 2

5. *Int* by Durgaprasad, I e 8

6. *Oudh* (1877), 16

7. *PR*, III 898

8. *CC*, III 7

9. *Oudh*, XVI, 54. See *SKC*, 277

10. *CC*, I 28 *IOC*, VII 1520

11. *DC*, XX 7978, 7981, *Tang Cat.* VII, 2014-26, *TO* LII 2706, 2718  
Vema is the hero of Vāmana's Vīranārāḍyāप्रकाण्ठा

12. *CC*, II, 5

13. *Tang Cat.*, VII 2907-18.

14. See *DC*, XXI 8678

15. *CC*, I 28

16. *CC*, II 5

17. *CAL*, II, 2

18. *CC*, I 28, *IOC*, 711

19. Printed, Calcutta *Oudh*, XIX, 40, *SKC*, 66.

**309 Ritusamhara**<sup>1</sup> in six cantos is a short poem of 153 verses of various metres ascribed to Kālidāsa,<sup>2</sup> descriptive of the six seasons of the year "With glowing appreciation of the beauties of Nature, in which erotic scenes are interspersed, the poet adroitly interweaves the expression of human emotions "

On the question whether Kālidāsa was the real author of this poem, opinion is divided<sup>3</sup> Among arguments advanced for the negative are that Mallinātha did not comment on it and rhetoricians did not quote from it Keith answers the argument, thus " "More deplorable still are some of the æsthetical arguments adduced, complaint is made that the poet begins with the summer whereas the spring was the usual beginning of the year forgetting that Kalidasa was not composing an almanac or writing a Shephard's calendar Again, heart or its derivatives (tap) is found seven times in Canto I as if this did not accord with summer, as does eagerness (samutsukatva) with the rains and longing (utkantha) with autumn The poet is censured for asserting that the swans excel maidens in beauty of gait and the branches rob their arms of loveliness , later, he was not guilty of such courtesy He mixes a metaphor in speaking of clouds as having the lightning as creeper, as we have seen, Vatsabhātti borrows the phrase, and exploits two other verses of the poem, proving its antiquity and rendering most probable its authorship It is objected that he uses here only the construction amulatah, in lieu of the ablative, though equally once only in the Kumarasambhava he has amekhalam , the freshness and liveliness of the several verbal forms (n 19) is unparalleled and therefore, not by Kalidasa Even the lack of developed use of figures of speech is adduced against him, and the

1 Printed everywhere Ed with commentary of Manirāma by Durgaprasad with commentary by Gajendragadkar, Bombay, with commentary of Venkatacarya and notes and English translation by M P Kale, Bombay, with notes and English translation by B G Kher, and also by Sitarama Ayyar, Bombay Tr into Latin and German by Bohlen, Leipzig Ed by Herman Kreyenburg, Hanover with preface by Sir William Jones

2 For a short account of the work see Macdonell, *SL* 887-9, *Studies of Ritusamhara*, Karmayagn Journal , Apte's *Age of Kalidasa*, 85 Vrajarāja's *Sadrūtvārṇana* describes the seasons (Printed Bombay). So does Śīdirāṭuvārṇana (*CC*, I 655)

3 It is not Harichand, *Kalidasa*, 240; Walter, *India*, III 6 . Nobel, *ZDMG*, LXVI 275, *JRAS* (1918), 401 It is Macdonell, *SL*, Keith, *SL*, 82 *JRAS*, (1912) 1066, (1918) 410 , Hillebrandt *Kalidasa*, 66, Strenzler, *ZDMG*, XLIV 83 , Arabinda Ghose, *Kalidasa's Seasons*, Madras

4. *SL*, 82

use of samhara in the title has been questioned as unique Poets happily do not feel themselves bound to be parrots". In dealing with the date of Kālidāsa<sup>2</sup> it was pointed out how wide the divergence is among scholars and so long as standard of taste and judgment differs in nature, it is not possible to assert the infallibility of any conclusion, until and unless something certain is discovered to support a view. It is again a matter for inquiry whether the works foisted on the name of Kālidāsa are not really the works of different Kālidāsas and whether lapse of time has not tended to ignore the difference in identity.<sup>3</sup> It is likely the work of Kālidāsa III or Kotijit.

Sṛngāratilaka<sup>4</sup> is another poem "of Kalidasa" in 23 verses of fine sentiments of love and affection.<sup>5</sup>

Puspabānavilāsa<sup>6</sup> is a piece of fine finery and lyrical beauty. Though ascribed to Kālidāsa, the real author was Arkaibhatta, the writer of Sāhityakaumudi.<sup>7</sup> There are commentaries on it by Venkatapanditarāya,<sup>8</sup> and by an unknown author called Śṛngāracandrikā.<sup>9</sup>

Besides the poems Durghatakāvya, citrakā,<sup>10</sup> Duskaramāla,<sup>11</sup> Cittagaganacandrikā (in praise of Devi and of exquisite grace)<sup>12</sup> and Bhramarāstaka,<sup>13</sup> and Śrutabodha on prosody,<sup>14</sup> Aufrecht mentions the following works under Kālidāsa's [name] Ambikātava, Kūlistoṭra, Laghustava, Viḍvadvinodakāvya, Brndīwanakāvya, Sringāraśāra, Gāngāstaka, Mangalāstaka, Candikālāndakastotra.<sup>15</sup>

1 See para 13 *supra*

2 See para 24 *supra*

3 Ed everywhere, Ed by Gildemeister, Bombay and in Haeberlin, 14. See Keith, *SL*, 199

4 For instance, पयोधराकारधरो हि कन्दुक करेण रोषादभिहन्यते मृदु ।

5 Ed Bombay and elsewhere.

6 See *PR*, VI

7. *TC*, III 2719, 4171

8 *TC*, II 1356

9 Printed Kāvyakalāpa, Calcutta

10 There is a manuscript in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. There is a commentary on it by Durgayya, alias Sumbaswāmi, son of Vāsudeva of Sāthamarasagangotra of about the 18th century A.D.

11 *Mys Cat.* It is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Praṭyabhijnāśaṭra, and Dāvāraṭhi in his commentary on Dhvānyalokalocana.

12 *CAL*, II 8

13 Ed. everywhere, by M. E. Lancerœau, Paris.

14. *OC* I 99.

**310 Damodaragupta** was the famous poet of the court of King Javāpida of Kashmir who ruled between 751-782 A D<sup>1</sup>. He was that king's constant companion. His *Kuttinimati* or *Sambhālimata* is an amusing work on erotics of peculiar interest<sup>2</sup>. The scene is laid at Benares, a city where even courtesans by their ornaments (*candra*) and troops of attendant lovers (*bhujanga*) attain likeness to Siva. A gentle courtesan of that city, Mālatī, once heard from the terrace of her house, an āryā sung by chance, directing women to acquire the art of pleasing lovers. Then she sets off to the house of Vihārālā, a woman, the reverse of beautiful, and from her learns 'wonderful ways of beguiling the hearts of men'. The work is full of stories in illustration and is a practical treatise in the art. For instance, the whole story of Ratnāvalī is summed up. Dāmodaragupta is a lovable author and never misses a place in the anthologies.

**311 Jagannatha**<sup>3</sup> was the son of Perubhatta and Lakṣmi. He was a Tailinga of the Vegināti sect of the village Mungunda, in Godavari District. His family name was Upadrasta. He studied poetry and rhetoric under his father and logic and grammar and other sciences under Jñānindra Bhikṣu, Mahesūcārya, Khandadeva and Seaviresvara, at Benares. He was entertained at the court of Emperor Shah Jehan (1628-1638 A D) and Prince Dara was his favourite patron<sup>4</sup>. Tradition says he fell in love with a lady of the Muslim Court and had secret intrigues with her, she was dead and her separation caused his retirement. He spent the rest of his life in

१ स दामोदरगुप्ताख्य कुट्टिनीमतकारिणम् । कविं कविं बालरिव धुर्य धीसचिव व्यधात् ॥  
Rg. IV 496

See Vaidya's *Med. India*, 202-241. The initial date is given by S P Pandit and M Dutt as 747 and 749. See under Bhavabhuti and Udbhava post. On Dāmodara-gupta, see Peterson, *Subh.*, 45, PR, I 65, II 28, IV 41v F W. Thomas, *Kat.* 46 where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected. Aufrecht, *ZDMG.* XXVII, 35, XXXVI, 518 CC, I 251 BR, (1897), xxix.

2 Ed. Bombay. For a fuller account, see PR, II 28-32 *Dutiprakāśa* (NP, V 126) is a work of similar theme.

3 (i) Jagannātha, son of Nārāyaṇa, author of the poem *Jñānavilāsa* (BTC, 158) (ii) Jagannātha, author of *Sarabharājavilāsa* (BTC, 162) (iii) Jagannātha author of poems *Śāśiṣena* and *Kirūṇamuktāvali* (CASB, 195, 802, CC, III 182) (iv) Jagannātha author of *Nṛamhaṣṭoṭras* (PR, V 575), (v) Jagannātha Sena, quoted in *Padyāvali* (vi) Jagannātha author of *Śāṅkaravilāsācāmpu* (CC, I 196) (vii) Jagannātha author of *Vajresvarikāvya* (CC, I 196) and (viii). Jagannātha, author of *Mānasumhakirī-muktāvali* (Oudh, V 2) are different.

4 डिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपञ्चवतले नीत नवीन वय

Mutra, where he died in 1674 A D<sup>1</sup>. It is said he desired an interview with Appayadikīṣita, but the latter who was very orthodox refused to see him as he was a fallen outcaste. This incensed him and the vent was his scathing criticism of Appayadikīṣita's Citramimāmsa. Apart from his proficiency in rhetoric,<sup>2</sup> his lyrics<sup>3</sup> are charming and musical. Amṛtalaharī was in praise of the Jumna, Lakṣmilaharī in praise of Lakṣmi and Gangālaharī in praise of the Ganges.<sup>4</sup> There are besides Karuṇālaharī, Sudhūlaharī and Anyāipadeśa.

Asaphvīlāsa in prose is in praise of Nawab Asafkhan a counsellor of Shah Jehan who died in 1646 A D.<sup>5</sup> Jagadābharaṇā<sup>6</sup> is a poem describing the splendor of his patron Dara Shah Prānābharaṇa is a similar work in praise of king Prānānārāyaṇa of Kūmarūpa and abounds in ideas of wit and wonder and Yamunāvarṇanācāmpū<sup>7</sup> is probably associated with the theological sanctity of the Jumna. These are quoted in his Rasagangādharī.

1 Acyūtaraya in his commentary on Bhāmūvīlāsa and C R Vaidya in his introduction of Bhāmūvīlāsa describe these biographical allusions contained in the poems. It is said his last verse was this

यवनी न वनीतकोमलाङ्गी शयनीये यदि लभ्यते कदाचित् ।  
अवनीतलभेव साधु मन्ये न वनी माधवनी विनोदहेतु ॥

Suryanārāyaṇa Sastrī in his *Life of Sanskrit Poets* (Telugu) says that Jagannātha lived between 1575 and 1663 from the days of Emperor Akbar. In the trial of a suit before the Emperor between two Mussalmans, Jagannātha was a visitor and though he did not know Persian, he was able to repeat at once the whole proceedings. Akbar was struck by the young man's remarkable memory and asked him to describe his daughter Lavangi, a princess born of a Rajput queen, who was then passing that way with a pot on her head. He gave out the verse with facile grace and when Akbar asked him what he wanted he desired the hand of Lavangi. Akbar asked Jagannātha to dine with him as a condition of the alliance and this done he was wedded to Lavangi. He lived down to the days of Shah Jahan and when his patron Dara was murdered in 1659 A D, he retired from court, went to Benares and after praising the Ganges in beautiful lyrics, he and Lavangi gave up their mortal coil in the waters of the Ganges.

2 See for an account of Jagannātha and his works, S K De, *SP*, I 275 281.

3 Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, Madras and Visagapatam. *OC*, I 196

4 Ed. Bombay with three commentaries. There is another poem of the same nature Gangālahariśākha by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Kavi edited at Benares.

5 *OC*, I 196. There is from quotation for it in the introduction to *Rasagangādharī* (166)

6. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, with a gloss, *DU*, XX. 8071

Bhaminīvīlāsa<sup>1</sup> is by far the most known, being a collection of verses of isolated ideas meant mainly to teach the four Purusārthas and practical ethics. In four Ullāsas of Anyokti, Sṛngāra, Karuṇa and Śānta, the work might be a collection of verses composed by the poet at stray intervals<sup>2</sup>.

**312** Viśvesvara was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and brother of Umāpaṭi of the race of Rande of Almodha Devesvara, eighth in descent, was said to be living thirty years ago at Anupasagar on the Ganges. He lived in the beginning of the 18th century<sup>3</sup>.

His writings are many and cover poetry, drama, poetics and dialectics<sup>4</sup>. Rukmīnīparinaya<sup>5</sup> is a nātaka Navamālikā<sup>6</sup> is a nātikā and Sṛngāramanjari,<sup>7</sup> a sattaka (in prākṛt) Mandāramanjari<sup>8</sup> is a romance in prose Vakrojaśataka, Holikāśataka, Lakṣmīvīlāsa, Sadṛtuvarṇana,<sup>9</sup> Romāvalisaṭṭaka,<sup>10</sup> and Āryāsataka,<sup>11</sup> are poems of lyrical merit Āryāsaptaśati<sup>12</sup> is really a work on erotics of considerable poetic thought Kavīndrābharaṇa<sup>13</sup> in four chapters is a Cītrakāya and contains verses of intricate composition. He wrote commentaries on Naisadha<sup>14</sup> and Rasamanjari.

1. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Acyūṭarāya Modak of Lekṣmīnarayana (with English Translation) *DC*, XX 8085 with an anonymous gloss. For a notice of this work, see *JASB*, XXXI, 527, Keith's *SL*, 284. There is a commentary also by Maṇirāma (*IOC*, VII 1526) composed in 1802 A.D.

2. मदीयपद्मरत्नान् भञ्ज्येषा कृता भया।

3. (i) Viśvesvara quoted in *SKM*, (ii) Viśvesvara, author of Camatkāracandrikā a poem on Sarvagnasungabhuḍpāla (*TC*, III, 8818, *IOC*, VII 1507, S K De, *SP*, 248), (iii) Viśvesvara, author of Sāhūḍyasāra (*Oyy* 2728), (iv) Viśvesvara, commentator on Candrāloka, are different authors.

4. See *OC*, II 189, and *Kavyamālā*, VIII 52

5. *Ibid*

6. *DC*, XXI 8411. It describes the amours of Vijayasena of Avanti with Navamālikā.

7. *PR*, IV 81. See *Kavyamālā*, VIII, 52.

8. Mentioned in *Kavyamālā*, VIII, 52.

9. *Ibid*,

10. Printed *Kavyamālā*, Bombay

11. *DC*, XX 8010

12. *DC*, XX 8011. Printed, Benares.

13. Printed, *Kavyamālā*, Bombay.

14. *TC*, III, 8905, *Tanj Cat*, VI 2556. See *TC*, III, 8943, where he is called Sarvaṇa

**313** JAGANMOHANA,<sup>1</sup> an anthology in 66 verses, describes the attraction and qualities of women of different castes and countries and in different attitudes and activities

**314** Among LĀRĪCA poems are the following

Candrāvalī (*Lipisig* No 448), Candrodhayavarnana (*BTC*, 158), Candraalaksmoprekshātaka by Narahari (*Printed*, Bombay), Kucasatata by Āṭreyā Śrīnivāsa (*DC*, XX 789), Mīgāṅkashātaka and Manovalambikā by Kavikankana (*DC*, XX 8008, *Uvas* 945, 948), Kucapancāśātaka by Vṛttamāni Śrīnivāsa (*Mrs OML* 224), Singārakandukī (*Gough*, 106), Rasavatīśātaka by Dhūrāṇidhara (*CC*, I 496), Virahimodasudhā (*Mrs OML* 11), Virahimanovinoda by Vināyaka (*CC*, I 578), Śringāramanjarī by Rāyamanohara (*H/R*, III No 1823), Sumanoranjana by Śrīnivāsa (*H/R*, III 1726, *CII*, II 16), Kekīvalī by Mayūrapant (*Kh* 40), Madhvavarnana by Keli (*Kh* 55), Kchitrahasya by Vidyādhara Kavirūja (*CC*, I 125), Candikucapancasati by Lakṣmanācārya (*Printed*, Bombay), Śringāracharasi by Bhāvamisra (*CC*, I 661), Rasasarovasva by Vittihala (*CC*, I 490), Rādhabuddhākara (*Opp* 6168), Rasikaranjana (i) by Rāmacandra composed in 1524 (*Printed*, Bombay) and (ii) by Raghunātha (*H/R*, III No 1887), Rāsalabhibhūma (*Mrs OML* 265), Śringārasatalaka (i) by Narahari and (ii) by Janārdana, (iii) by Vrajamālā (*Printed*, Bombay), Rasikajīvana of Arjunavarmadeva (*B* II 100), Rasikabhūṣana (*Opp* 5145), Aisvaryakūḍalambini of Vidyābhūṣana (*CC*, I 574), Rangatarangini of Sivāmabhatta (*CC*, I 645), Śringārāptitalahari of Sāmarāja Dīkṣīta (*Printed*, Bombay), Śringārakallikā (i) by Kāmarāja, (ii) by Hari (*Printed*, Bombay), Śringārākāraṅgraha by Śambhudāsa (*CC*, II 158), Śringārasāra by Kālidāsa (*Opp*, II 6614), Śringārasamandana (*Printed*, Madras), Śringūnatilini by Bhāttacūrya (*BRI*, 76), Ānandamandhāni by Madhusūdanaśravasvāpi (*Printed*, Bombay), Śringāratilaka (i) by Kālidāsa and (ii) by Gāgābhātta (*CC*, I 660), Śringūrakallola by Royabhātta (*PR*, VI, 28), Śringāramāñjari by Mānakavi (*CC*, II 158), Śringāramālī by Sukālāmīra composed in 1745 A D (*CC*, II 158), Śringūrakauṭūhala by Lālāmalī (*SAC*, 75, 293), Pramoḍalahari (*PR*, V 358), Vidvanmodatarangini by Rudrasimha (*Mrs OML* 277), Kavitāmpitakūpa by Gauramohana (*DC*, XX 8024), Śringārarasodaya by Rāmakavi, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Kāśyapagotra (about 1550 A D) Śringāravilāsa by Vāgbhātā and Śringārakosa (*Opp*, 6247), Sarasvativilāsa and Devyārūḍhātaka of Ramaṇapāti (*CC*, I 493),



## CHAPTER XIII

### SECTION I

#### Sandesa

**315 Sandesakavya** A popular species of lyrical poetry is Sandesākāvya or Dūtakāvya. In the Rg Veda (X 108) Narama, a dog, was sent as a messenger to the Pāpis. In the Purānas and Rāmāyana, we have the message Rāma of through Hanūman, of Sudhishthira through Kṛṣṇa, and of Nala through the swan. The idea of Rāmā's message was the source of Kālidāsa's inspiration and to him the credit is due of the creation of Sandesākāvya. His Meghasandesa makes the allusion

इत्यास्याते पवनतनय मैथिलीबोन्मुखी सा

Kālidāsa had to justify the use of inanimate objects as messengers of love by the distracted condition of the lover's mind. Bhāmaha found fault with such impropriety and when he particularly instanced the employment of cloud, wind, moon, bee or parrot, it was as if by his time other poems of this type had been popular, though we are not now able to point to any such poem by name.<sup>3</sup> Bhāvabhūti in his Mālatīmādhava copied the Meghasandesa.<sup>4</sup>

**316. Ghatakarpura<sup>5</sup>** It may be that Ghatakarpura conceived this idea earlier. In his small poem going by his name,<sup>6</sup> he describes the sad plight of a bereaved lady and her appeal to the morning clouds to convey his condition to her distant lover. Ghatakarpura

1. अयुक्तिमधथा दूता जलमृत्मारेतन्दवः ।  
तथा भ्रगरहारीतचकवाकशुकादयः ॥  
अवाचो युक्तवाचश्च दूरदेशविचारिणः ।  
कथ दूलं प्रप्येरविति युक्त्वा न युज्यते ॥  
यदि चोत्कण्ठया यच्छुन्मत्त इव भाषते ।  
तथा भवतु भूम्नेद सुमेघोभि. प्रयुज्यते ॥ I, 42-44,

2. दैवात्पश्येजगति विचरन्निञ्छ्या भाग्यिणा चेत् ।  
आश्वास्यादौ तदनु कथये माथवीयाभवस्थाम् ॥

3. For the identity of Bhāsa and Ghatakarpura, see under Bhāsa post  
4. Printed everywhere.

was one of the nine gems of Vikramādītva's Court. The name seems to be a cognomen attributed to him from the last verse of his poem where he vows that to him who could excel him in Yamaka he would bear pots of water.<sup>3</sup> The self-praise is well deserved and his poetry in spite of the Yamaka is free and exquisite.<sup>4</sup> The High estimation in which he has been held is seen by the commentaries that have been written on it [of whom the great Abhinavagupta was one<sup>5</sup>], by Bharaṭamallika,<sup>6</sup> by Sankara,<sup>7</sup> by Ṭāracandra,<sup>8</sup> Jivananda,<sup>9</sup> by Govardhana,<sup>10</sup> by Kamaikara,<sup>11</sup> by Kucalakavi, by Vaidyanātha, by Vindhyesvarīprasāda,<sup>12</sup> and other, anonymous.<sup>13</sup>

His Nītiśāra is a short didactic poem in 21 verses in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion. The ideas are amusing.<sup>14</sup>

Madana's Kṛṣṇalilā was composed in Sam 1680 (1624 A.D.). It has verses consisting of two pairs of rhyming lines, one of the lines being taken from Ghatakarpura, so that four consecutive verses of this poem have an entire verse of Ghatakarpura.<sup>15</sup>

**317 Meghasandesa or Meghadūta** A Yakṣa, employed under Kubera, the Lord of Alaka, is banished from Kailāsa for

1 आलम्ब्य वाम्बु तृष्णित करकोशपेय मावातुकवनिकासुरतैश्चपेषम् ।

जीयेय येन कविना यमकै परेण तस्मै कहेयमुदकं घटकर्परेण ॥

2 For instance,

निचित समुपेत नीरदै श्रिरहीनाहृदयस्त्रीरदै ।

सलिलैर्महित रमः खिलौ रविचन्द्राविव नोपस्थितितौ ॥

3 CC, I. 174

4 Mītra, IX No 8172 Manuscript is dated Śaka 1650

5 DC, XX 7919

6 DC, XX 7920.

7. Printed, Calcutta

8 Hd. Bombay

9. Gough, *Records*, 87.

10 CC, I 174

11. CC, I. 174, *Taw Cat*, VI 2719, 2728, 2726, 2728

12 Hoberlein, 504 See Jacobi's *Ramayana*, 126, Keith SL 200

13 POC, VII 1861

For instance,

निचित समुपेत नीरदै वसुदेवे हरिवानवरदै ।

रचित फणिशूभ्याननै उपरिष्ठतमपरसिकावनै ॥

dereliction of duty, away from his consort and his home<sup>1</sup>. In his rambles, he makes his abode in Rāmagiri in Central India, a spot whereof the waters are "sanctified by the baths of the daughter of Janaka". On the approach of the season of the rains the pangs of the forlorn lover become intenser and with a maddened mind he thinks of his beloved and fancies her in a like condition of despair. Then dawns the idea of sending her a message of affection and solace. He espies a cloud hanging by the peak of the hill, bound as it were northward, and begins the request with a praise. He takes it that the cloud made a response. He describes the route from Rāmagiri to Alaka with cities and shrines and rivers, amidst sylvan scenes with allusions to tales of mythology, for which the Hindu has a fascination.

Ujjain must not be missed, though it may be a little out of the way

वक्त पन्थास्तव भवतु च प्रस्थितस्योतराशा  
सौधोत्सङ्गप्रणयविमुग्वो मा च भूरुजयिन्या ।  
विद्युद्धामस्फुरितचकितैस्तत्र पौराज्ञनाना  
लोलापाहृयेदि न रम्भे लोचनैर्ब्रह्मितोऽसि ॥

Nor must the cloud fail to console the emaciated (stream) Nirvindhyā, pining for its showers

वेणीभूतप्रतगुसलिला सा त्वर्तिस्य सिन्धु  
पाण्डुच्छायातटरुहतरुभ्रंशिभिर्जीर्णपौर्णे ।  
सौमाग्य ते सुभग विरहावस्थया व्यञ्जयन्ती  
काश्यं येन लजति विधिना स त्वयैवोपपाथ ॥

On reaching the Hymālayas, the poet is full of devotion.

तत्र व्यक्त हृषदि चरणन्यासमधेन्दुमौले  
शश्वत्सद्वैरपचितबलि भक्तिनभ्र षरीया ।

<sup>1</sup> The source of the theme is now discovered to be the story of Aśādhakṛṣṇa Ekādaśi, Yognī Māhātmyam. A yakṣa Hemamālī neglected his duty of culling flowers for Mānasa lake and stayed away with his wife Viśālākṣi. Kubera cursed him with the disease leucoderma and banished him. In the Hymālayas Hemamālī met sage Mārkandeya and on his advice he observed Yognī Vraṭa in the dark half of Aśādha and he was restored to health and home. This is mentioned by K. Lakshmana Somayajin in *Udyānaprakāshikā*, II 174.

The shady bowers of the Mandakini's shores present lovely scene

मन्दाकिन्यस्सलिलगिशैरसेव्यमाना भरुद्धि-  
मन्दाराणामनुतटरुहीं छायया वारितोणा ।  
अन्वेष्टव्य कनकसिकतामुष्टिनिक्षेपगृहै  
सक्रीडन्ते मणिभिरमरप्रार्थिता यह कन्या ॥

The City of Alaka is reached Through the splendours of the City, the cloud is taken to the residence of the Yakṣa, and the presentation is enchanting

तन्मये च स्फुटिकफलका काब्जनी वासयष्टि-  
मूलेबद्धा मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवशप्रकाशै ।  
तालैश्चिङ्गावल्यसुभग्नर्तित कान्तया भे  
यामःयास्ते दिवसविगमे नीलकण्ठस्तुहृद ॥  
एमिस्साधो हृदयनिहितैलक्षणैर्लक्षयेथा  
द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवृषुषौ शङ्खपद्मौ च दृष्टवा ।

There the cloud would see Yakṣa's sweetheart in a state of lone thought and vacant look, and if perchance she was in slumber the cloud had better not wake her up for fear of disturbing her in pleasant dreams On the approach of the cloud she would have pleasant omens

बामश्रास्या कररुहपद्मुच्यमानो मरीयै-  
मुक्ताजाल चिरपरिचित त्याजितो दैवगला ।  
सम्भोगान्ते भम समुचितो हस्तसवाहनार्न  
यास्यत्यूरुस्सरसकदलीस्तम्भगौरश्वलत्वम् ॥

For ever he has in his mental vision her fair frame and he says

श्यामासङ्ग चकितहरिणप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपात  
वक्तव्याणां शशिनि शिशिना बहुमारेषु केशान् ।  
उत्पश्यामि प्रतशु नदीवीचिषु भूविलासान्  
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदिदपि न ते चण्ड सादृश्यमस्ति ॥

To inspire confidence in Hanūmān, Rāma mentioned the incident of the Tilaka

भनश्चिलायास्तिलको गण्डपार्षे निवेशित ।  
त्वया प्रनष्टे तिलके त किल स्मर्तुमर्हसि ॥

and Yakṣa gives here a parallel .

भूमध्याह त्वमसि क्षयने कण्ठलग्ना पुरा मे  
निद्रा गत्वा किमपि रुदती ससर विप्रबुद्धा ।  
सान्तर्हास कथितमसकृत् पृच्छतश्च त्वया मे  
दृष्टस्वज्ञे कितव रमयन् कामपि त्व ममेति ॥

He remembers the words of Sita:

कल्याणी बत गाथेय लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे ।  
एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नर वर्षशतादपि ॥

and adds a word of consolation

इत्यात्मान बहु विगणयत्तमना नावलम्बे  
तत्कल्याणि त्वमपि नितरा मा नम कातरत्वम् ।  
कस्यात्मन्त सुखमुपनत दु खमेकमन्ततो वा  
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनैमिकमेण ॥

Then follows the assurance of reunion. Here does the poet  
commune the sensuous and the divine

शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ  
शेषान् मासान् गमथ चतुरो लोचने भीलयित्वा ।  
पश्चादावां विरहगणित त तमात्मामिलाष  
निर्वेक्ष्याव परिणतशरञ्जित्रिकासु क्षपासु ॥

The poem ends with a word of thankfulness and benediction:

इष्टान् देशान् जलद विचरं प्रावृक्षा सम्मृतश्रीः  
मामूर्देक ऋणमणि च ते किञ्चुता किञ्चयेत् ।

For lofty conception, artistic design, aesthetic sentiment, divine idealism, delicate embellishment and graceful expression, the poem stands supreme and it is a monument of poetic art in the architecture of letters<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed everywhere. Ed. with notes and translation (i) by K P Pathak, Poona, (ii) by B G Khare, Bombay, (iii) by S Ray, Calcutta, (iv) Ed with notes by G B Nandargikar, Bombay El with commentary by Haripada Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta Ed with vocabulary by Stenzler, Breslaw Tr into English verse by Wilson, London, and into German by Max Muller, Konigsburg and by Schutz, Bielefeld. For a critical appreciation by D. Pichayya Sastri, see *Andhrapatiaka* Annual Number (1927) 100, and by B Venkatramayya, *Bharat* (1927), 22. See also M Rangacharya's critique on Meghasandesh and A V Gopalacharya's Sandesādīvya-sārasvadini in *Udayanapatiaka*, Trivadi.

**318 Commentaries.** There are commentaries on Megha-sandesa by Kavicandra,<sup>1</sup> Laksminīvāsa,<sup>2</sup> Cāritravardhana,<sup>3</sup> Kēmahamsagamī,<sup>4</sup> Kaviratna,<sup>5</sup> Kliṣṇadāsa,<sup>6</sup> Cintāmani,<sup>7</sup> Janīrdana,<sup>8</sup> Janendra,<sup>9</sup> Bharatasena,<sup>10</sup> Bhagirathamisra,<sup>11</sup> Kalyānamalla,<sup>12</sup> Mahimasiṁhagāṇī,<sup>13</sup> Rāma Upādhyāya,<sup>14</sup> Rāmanātha,<sup>15</sup> Vaiṭabhadeva,<sup>16</sup> Viścaspati Hara Govinda,<sup>17</sup> Viśvanātha,<sup>18</sup> Viśvanāṭhamisra,<sup>19</sup> Śāsvata,<sup>20</sup> Sanātāna-sarman,<sup>21</sup> Sarasvatītīrtha,<sup>22</sup> Sumati-vijaya,<sup>23</sup> Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīsa,<sup>24</sup> Megharāja,<sup>25</sup> Dakṣināvaraṭa,<sup>26</sup> Pūrṇasarasvatī,<sup>27</sup> Mallinātha,<sup>28</sup> Rāmā-nātha,<sup>29</sup> Kamalākara,<sup>30</sup> Sthiradeva,<sup>31</sup> Gurunātha Kavyatīrtha,<sup>32</sup> Lalā-mohana,<sup>33</sup> Haripādachattopādhyāya,<sup>34</sup> Jīvānanda,<sup>35</sup> Srivatsa Vyāsa,<sup>36</sup> Dīvākara,<sup>37</sup> Asada,<sup>38</sup> [Ravikara, Motijitkavi, Kanakakīrti, Vijayasūri],<sup>39</sup> and some anonymous

R. Krishnamacharya's *Meghasandesavimarsā* is a delightful discourse on the verses.<sup>40</sup>

- |     |   |    |   |
|-----|---|----|---|
| 1   | CC, I 466   | 19 | Oudh, XVII 14   |
| 2   | PR, III 895.  | 20 | CC, I 466   |
| 3   | PR, III 895, VI 845   | 21 | Oxf 125   |
| 4   | PR, III 895, VI 846   | 22 | Cambridge University Library.   |
| 5   | CC, I 466   | 23 | PR, I 128   |
| 6   | CC, I 466   | 24 | Printed, Calcutta   |
| 7   | CC, I 466   | 25 | CC, I 466   |
| 8   | PR, III 19, App 824 Manuscript<br>is dated Sam 1406 VI 844  | 26 | Printed, Trivandrum   |
| 9   | PR, VI 844  | 27 | Printed, Srirangam  |
| 10  | IO, 415, 994  | 28 | Printed, everywhere.  |
| 11. | CC, I 466   | 29 | Oxf 125   |
| 12  | IO, 529 This mentions commentary by Udyotakāra  | 30 | CC, I 466   |
| 13  | CC, I 466   | 31 | Tanj Cat, VII 2685 He lived<br>in Benares Manuscripts are dated Sam<br>1656 |
| 14  | Rice, 29  | 32 | Ed Calcutta.  |
| 15  | Oxf, 125  | 33 | Ed Calcutta.  |
| 16  | Ed by Hultzsch, Madras. PR, II  | 34 | Ed Calcutta   |
| 189 |   | 35 | Ed Calcutta.  |
| 17. | Oxf, 125  | 36 | PR, IV 28, 84   |
| 18  | NW, 626,  | 37 | IO, 1516.   |
| 38  | PR, III 19, App 824 He was son of Katukarāja and Asalīdevi and of the<br>Bhillalama family He had two wives and by the second wife two sons Rājada and<br>Jaṭrasinha and by the first wife Ariśumha He was called Kavisahbhāṣyagāra and was<br>a disciple of Abhayadeva who succeeded Bhadravārasuri He composed his Viveka-<br>manjarī in Sam 1248 (PR, II 101 and IV vi.) |    |   |
| 39  | CC, II 108, III 100, CC, I 466, Oudh, XV 80, TC, III 4933, SKC, 71,<br>PR, IV 28, IO, 2690  |    |   |
| 40. | Printed, Madras   |    |   |

**319** The tale of Meghasandesa stops with the direction to the cloud Sequels have been thought of by later poets Kīnamūrti, son of Sarvasāstri of Vāsisthagotra of the Cirlars, wrote Yak-ollāsa<sup>1</sup> at the beginning of the 17th century He calls himself Abhinava Kālidāsa and wrote also a bhāna Madanābhuyudaya<sup>2</sup> Mandikal Rāmasastry wrote Meghapratisandesa<sup>3</sup> Korada Rāmacandra wrote Ghanavṛta<sup>4</sup> Mahāmahopadhyāya Paramesvara Jha of Mithila wrote Yaksamilanakāvya<sup>5</sup> Bhatta Vamana's Hamsasandesa embraces the same theme<sup>6</sup>

**320** The poetry of Meghasandesa is enchanting in the extreme, and not merely the theme, name and metre Mandākrānta were adopted,<sup>7</sup> by many poets, but the lines of Meghasandesa were interwoven as part of their own verses, so as to make up Samasyā Meghavijaya wrote Meghadūṭasamasyālekha<sup>8</sup> So too are Silladūta,<sup>9</sup> Ceṭodūta,<sup>10</sup> Nemidūta<sup>11</sup> In Nemidūta, Vikrama, son of Sangama, describes the life of Nemi after his renunciation and the message of his queen through a mountain In Pārvābhuyudaya,<sup>12</sup> Jināsenā used a line or two of Meghasandesa Nilakantha, son of Janāśadana, was a tutor to the harem of Alahaviradikhan of the 17th Century A D He wrote Cīmanicarita, with phrases taken by Meghadūta<sup>13</sup>

**321** In the hands of Jain poets this form of poetry took a religious turn In conveying news to their preceptors in VIJNAPTIPATRA, doctrines of philosophy were inculcated and explained and consistent with such fancies the messenger used became cetas, manas, bhaṭṭi and the like Siladūta of Cāntrasundaragapi composed in 1431 A D describes,

1. *TG*, II 2066

2. *TG*, II 2073

3. Printed, Mysore See para 88 supra.

4. Printed, Madras

5. Printed, Darbhanga

6. *DC*, XX 7972 See para 128 supra

7. For such poems, see C Chakravarthi, *IHQ*, III 273, Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, LIV 616, Paper by E V Virāghavāchārya, Vijayanagaram

8. Printed, Bhownagar

9. Printed, Benares

10. Printed, Bhownagar

11. Printed, Bombay *PR*, IV 25

12. Ed Poona by K P Pathak with a valuable introduction, and Ed Bombay with the commentary of Śriyogirāt Panlit Ācārya of Śravan Belgola Jināsenā's brother was Narendrasena and the latter's disciple Mallisena wrote the poem Nāgakumāra carīya and *Mys Arch Rep* (1925) 12 On Jināsenā's and Guṇabhadra, see *Jit to Central Provinces Cat* xxii, and also para 228 *supra*

13. *OC*, I 189

sas C Cakravarthi, how "Sthulabhadra, a great Jaina prince, renounced the world at the death of his father and became a disciple of the great Jaina sage Bhadrabhanu, how the former, who came to his city by the order of his preceptor was not the least moved by the persuasive arguments put forward by his wife Kosa against the prudence of his taking the order and how in the long run, on account of the powerful influence of his immaculate character (*sila*) he was able to prevail upon his wife and persuade her to become a nun and thus put an end to all earthly sorrows and sufferings"

Merutunga of Anchalagaccha composed a Jain Meghadūta in four cantos on the life of Neminātha.<sup>5</sup> He became a Sūri in *Sam* 1426 (1472 A D) and studied under Mahendraprabhasūri. He lived till *Sam* 1471 (1527 A D).<sup>6</sup>

**322** Some later poets similarly used this style of composition for ethical and philosophical teachings

In Kākadūṭa,<sup>7</sup> a fallen brahmin in prison sends a message to his beloved Kādambarī (drink), a satire on society meant to teach morals. In Indudūta the poet embodies a devotional message to Śrī Tāpa Gaṇapati from the city of Vodha.<sup>8</sup>

In Hamsasandesa<sup>9</sup> (anonymous) a person disgusted with the world wanders in the forest and sends Hamsa as a messenger to Śiva in Dvādāśānta and to Muktiśāyā through the route Satcakra.

Hamsayogin's Hamsadūta is a communication between Bhakti and Jīvatman.<sup>10</sup>

In another anonymous Hamsasandesa, "The outstanding feature is the two-fold course, namely, the Adhyātmic and the Yogic which are in accordance with the significance of the name 'Hamsasandesa'. Among these, the Adhyātmic course is the attainment of Sivasayujya a man who is dependent on the Prarabdha Karma and is consequently passing through wordly existence, after he is freed from all

1 Printed *Sri Yasovijaya Jam Grasithanala*, Benares

2 He wrote also Śrikumārapālamahākāvya and Mahipālacakṣaṇa

3 Printed *Atm Ser* Bhownagar, with an elaborate introduction. There is a commentary of Śilarātnasūri, *PR*, IV 120. See Nandargikar's *Int. to Ragh*, 19 note.

4 Merutunga, author of *Prabandhaśuciñāmaṇi*, is a different poet (see para 119 ipsa).

5 *Sah*, XXIII 178

6 Printed, Bombay *JRAS*, (1884), 450

7 *TC*, IV 5042

8 The manuscript is said to be with the Raja of Chirakkal, Malabar

worldly bonds and his identity destroyed by faith, understanding, hearing, steadiness, tranquility, endurance and other kinds of austerity. The Yogic course is the mind's journey through various stages beginning with 'Susumna' up to 'Dvadasantendumandala' and its final repose along with Bhakti in the state of Amritayoga "<sup>1</sup>

### 323 The following are other poems of this kind —

Uddhavadūta (*a*) by Rūpagoswāmī,<sup>2</sup> and (*b*) by Mādhava,<sup>3</sup> Uddhava-sandesa, anonymous,<sup>4</sup> Viprasandesa by Kochunni Tamburan,<sup>5</sup> Subhagasandesa (*a*) by Lakmanasūri,<sup>6</sup> and (*b*) by Nārāyaṇa,<sup>7</sup> Pāñthadūta by Bholanātha,<sup>8</sup> Kṛṇdūta by Nṛsiṁha,<sup>9</sup> Garudasandesa by Bellamkonda Rāmarāya<sup>10</sup>

Pavanadūta (*a*) by Vādicandra,<sup>11</sup> and (*b*) by Dhovi,<sup>12</sup> Vātadūta by Kṛṣnanātha Nyāyapancānana,<sup>13</sup> Mārutasandesa (anonymous)<sup>14</sup>

Tulasidūta by Vaidyanātha,<sup>15</sup> Mānasasandesa by Vinjumūn Viśrāghava,<sup>16</sup> Manodūṭa,<sup>17</sup> (*a*) by Vrajanātha, son of Ramakrṣna,<sup>18</sup> (*b*) by Viśnudāsa,<sup>19</sup> (*c*) by Rāmārāma,<sup>20</sup> and (*d*) two anonymous,<sup>21</sup> Madhurostha-

1. Printed *Trev Sanskrit Series* No 108 It is accompanied by a metrical commentary

2. Printed, Haerberlin, Bombay and Calcutta, DC, XX, 7910, 7968

3. *Ibid SKC*, 66 He lived in Talitanagari about the beginning of 19th century.

4. Int to the Jaina Meghadūṭa

5. *JRAS*, (1900) 763 He lived at Kodangalur in Malabar

6. Printed, Tanjore

7. *JRAS*, (1884), 449 He was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Jayasimha and (1541-1547 A.D.)

8. IO, VII, 8890

9. *CAL*, II 4

10. See para 289 *supra*

11. Ed Bombay He wrote the play Jñānasuryodāya on the tenets of Digambara sect. (*Jaina Granthavali*)

12. Ed Madras and Calcutta.

13. Ed Bombay

14. Printed, Madras

15. Samskrīt Sahitya Parishat Library, Calcutta.

16. *OML*, No 2964

17. There is a Manodūṭakāvya (*SKC*, 70, 287), a description of the relations between Jīviṣṭman and Paramājīman

18. Printed, Bombay It was composed at Brindāranya in 1768 A.D. and is a message by Draupadi to Kṛṣṇa

19. IOO, VII 1470 *Mitra*, II 618 It is in Vasantāñilaka metre

20. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, No. 1281. It is in Śikhāvini metre

21. *Jaina Granthavali*, 392 *SKC*, 170, 287

sandesa,<sup>1</sup> Padānkaḍūṭa (*a*) by Kṛṣṇaśārabhauma,<sup>2</sup> and (*b*) by Bhola-nītha,<sup>3</sup> Bhaktidūṭa by Kālīprasāda.<sup>4</sup>

Candraḍūṭa<sup>5</sup> (*a*) by Kṛṣṇacandra,<sup>6</sup> (*b*) by Viñayaprabha,<sup>7</sup> Indudūṭa (*a*) by Jambukāvi or Jambunāga and (*b*) by Viñayavijaya-gani,<sup>8</sup> Daṭyūhasandesa by Nārāyaṇa.<sup>9</sup>

Kokilasandesa<sup>10</sup> (*a*) by Varadācārya, son of Vedunt desika,<sup>11</sup> (*b*) by Venkatācārya, son of Satakratu Tātārva,<sup>12</sup> (*c*) by Gunavardhana,<sup>13</sup> (*d*) by Uḍḍanda<sup>14</sup> and (*e*) by Narasiṁha,<sup>15</sup> Kokasandesa by Viñutrāta,<sup>16</sup> and Raṭhāṅgadūṭa.<sup>17</sup>

Hamsadūṭa by Raghunātha-dāsa,<sup>18</sup> Hamsasandesa (*a*) by Vedāntadesika,<sup>19</sup> (*b*) by Rūpagoswāmin,<sup>20</sup> (*c*) by Bhatta Vāmana,<sup>21</sup> (*d*) by

1 *Mys OML*, 251

2 Printed Bombay and Calcutta He was in the Court of King Raghurāma of Nuddea and composed it in Śaka 1641

3 *IOC*, VII 1467

4 *Mitra*, III 27

5 *HPR*, II 158

6 *BR*, (1894), 354

7 *PR*, III 292, in Mālinī metre with antya yamaka In *BR* (1907), the manuscript is dated Sam 1942 He wrote also Jinaśāṭaka, *PR*, IV 90, V. *List of Authors*

8 Printed, Bombay

9 *Cat Trav* 195

10 Ed by W F Gunavardhana, New York.

11 This is mentioned in *Guruparamparā* (Mysore), 200, as also his Harīpa sandesa

12 *Tanī Cat*, VII 2863

13 See *Ceylon Antiquary*, IV pt. 111

14. See Cochin State Manual, 61, 73, Travancore State Manual, 480, *DC*, XX, 7469, 7910 This was in response to Bhṛngasandesa of Viśudeva, *DC*, XX 7914, 7942. In *CSC*, 1101, Bhṛngasandesa (Bhramarasandesa) is noted as the work of Jiva goswāmi. There is a Bhṛngasandesa, printed in *Sahridaya*, XXIV, 57 See para 251 supra

15 *CAL*, II 5

16 *TO*, IV 4487

17 Printed, Mysore *CAL*, II 16.

18 D C Sen's *Vangasahitya Paricaya*, 850

19 Ed Madras and Mysore and recently by Sambasiva Sastrī, Madras with commentary See para 121 *supra* There are several commentaries on it (i) by a disciple of Śrinivāsa of Keuḍikagorṭa (*DC*, XX 7974) (ii) by Parakīla Swāmī (Ed. Mysore) with a philosophical interpretation, and (iii) by Rāṅgarājācārya (Ed. with English Tr and Notes)

20 Ed Bombay and Calcutta There are commentaries on it by Nṛsiṁha, Rāmaśankara and Viśvanātha Čakravarti. See *JRAS* (1884), 450-1

21 *DC* XX, 7972 This is the same as Vāmana Bhatta Bāpa

Vidyāvidhāna Kavindrācāryasarasvati,<sup>1</sup> and (e) by Venkatesa,<sup>2</sup> (f) by Pūrnasarasvati,<sup>3</sup> and (g) two others anonymous<sup>4</sup>

Pikasandesa (a) by Ranganāthācārya<sup>5</sup> and (b) by Kocha Narasimhācārya,<sup>6</sup> and Pikadūta, anonymous<sup>7</sup>

Śūkasandesa<sup>8</sup> (a) by Lakṣmidāsa,<sup>9</sup> (b) by Rangācārya,<sup>10</sup> and (c) by Karingampalli Nambūdri,<sup>11</sup> Kiradūta (a) by Rāmagopāla<sup>12</sup> and (b) by Varadacārya, son of Vedāntadesika,<sup>13</sup> Bhramaradūta by Rudra Nyāyavācaspati Bhattācārya,<sup>14</sup> Cātakasandesa (anonymous),<sup>15</sup> Cakorasandesa (a) by Perusūri,<sup>16</sup> (b) by Vāsudeva,<sup>17</sup> (c) and by Venkatākavi,<sup>18</sup> Padmadūta,<sup>19</sup> Mayūrasandesa (a) anonymous,<sup>20</sup> (b) by Rangācārya,<sup>21</sup> and (c) by Śrīnivāsācārya<sup>22</sup>

1. *BTC* 163 He was the author of Kavindrakalpadruma and in his praise Kavindrācanārodaya was written *CC*, I 88

2 *CC*, I 758

3 See Int to *Triv Sans Series*, No 108

4. *DC*, XX, *TC*, IV 5042

5 Id. Srirangam. He was son of Raghunātha of Royadurga of Śathamarṣana gotra. He lives at Tanjore. He was born in 1884. He wrote also Hanumatprasāda stotra and a play Premarājiyam, an adaptation of Vicar of Wakefield

6 Ed Tirupati He is son Śrīnivāsāchārya of Tirupati and a living poet of talent. He also wrote Garudasandesa

7 The manuscript is in Chintaharan Chakravarti's private library

8 *CAL*, II, 16

9 *DC*, XX, 7964 There are commentaries on it by Dharmagupta (*TC*, II, 8925), by Gauridāsa (*Ibid.* 1049), and by Mānaveda (*DC*, XX, 7964). It is a long poem in 12 chapters describing many parts of Malabar. See *JRAS*, (1900) 768, (1884) 404 S. He lived in 10 and 11th cent A D and belonged to Karingampalli Ilom near Adoor in Cochin State.

10 *Eloc*, 2260

11. *Opp*. 2721, 6341, *JRAS*, (1900) 763 It was composed in 1480 A D

12 *JASB*, (N S) I 41. Notices, II, Series I, No. 67. Sanskrita Sabhyā Paribhā Library, Calcutta. He was probably in the Court of Rāmacandra of Nuddea.

13 This is mentioned in Guruparamparā, Mysore

14 *HPR*, II 158 *CO*, III 112 He is different from the author of Bhāvavilāsa (Printed, Kavyamāla, II 111 Bhandarkar's List, No 71). There is another Bhāvavilāsa in Bikaneer Library, see *Bk*, 229

15. *JRAS*, (1881), 451 The poet applies for the patronage of King Rāmavarman of Malabar

16 This is mentioned in the prologue to his Vasumangalanitaka, *DC*, XXI, 8487 *Tanj Cat* VII, 2866 Author had title Navina Pañjanali

17 He was the author of Śivodaya etc. The Ma is with M. Remakrishna Kavi.

18 *Mys OML*, 246

19 *CASB*, 102 Ed. Calcutta.

21 *CAL*, II 8

20. *TC*, IV 4198.

22 Printed, Madras.

## CHAPTER XIV

### Citrakavya

**324.** **Citrakavya** embraces all ingenious forms of poetic composition. Hemacandra says,

सरव्यञ्जनस्थानगलाकारनियमच्युतगूढादि चित्रम् ।

The ingenuity is displayed in the arrangement of letters or in the combinations of letters, making different words or different senses. These are *sabdālankūra*, or verbal figures of speech. The figures that make up a *Citrakavya* are *Anuprāsa*, *Yamala* and *Slesa*.

**325.** **ANUPRASA** or Alliteration is of two classes, *Sabdānuprāsa* and *Pañcānuprāsa*, or Alliteration of Letters and Alliteration of Words. The former is of two kinds, *Cheka* and *Vitti*, meaning the repetition of a single consonant and two or more repetitions of one or more consonants. There is a special kind called *Lātānuprāsa* where the letters and sense are the same, but there is difference in *anyaya* or syntactical relation.

**326** **YAMAKA** is a permutation or reverberation of words called by some 'Chime'. It occurs when the same letter is repeated or when the same word is repeated with different meanings with a regularity in the places of repetition, the beginning, middle or end of the foot or the whole foot or all the feet or in alternative feet by alterations of caesura. Caesurae are of three kinds. *Sankhalā* occurs on the transference of the caesura by the separation of an entire letter; *Parvarṭaka*, on the resumption by a letter of its own form on the cessation of its conjunction with another letter; *Curnaka* on the disappearance of a word on the disruption of conjunct letters.

**327** **SLESA** or pun is in letters or in words, *Sābdalesa* and *Arthalessa*. The latter occurs where the form does not vanish by a change in the position of words.

स्तोकेनोगतिमोयाति स्तोकेनायालघोगतिष्ठ ।

अहो मुसद्धमी दुर्विस्तुलाकोटे. सुलस्थ च ॥

In the former a series of letters may or may not be split into different words to make different senses, *abhangā* and *sabhangā*

सय च पङ्गवांताप्रभास्तकरविराजिता । (*Abhangā*)

प्रभास्तकरविराजिताप्रभास्तकलुभ्योहितमदा । (*Sabhangā*)

**328 Nitivarman** wrote the poem KICAKAVADHĀM. The poem is instanced by Premacandra in his commentary on Kavyādarsa, as a rare instance of a poem opening with āśih or benediction. It is a favourite of Pandits of Bengal. It is mentioned by Bhoja in Sṛngāraprakāṣa and quoted by Namisādhu and Sarvānanda and several lexicographers. It was probably composed earlier than the 9th century A D. In five cantos the poem describes the episode of the Kicaka's assault on Draupadi and his assassination by Bhīma as told in Virātaparvan of Mahābhārata, but adopts only such parts of the narrative of the epic as suit the purpose of his poem, śleṣayamaka. "In the history of Sabda-citra in Sanskrit" it has been said "Kicaka-vadha marks an important stage of development. Perhaps Nitivarman wrote this yamaka-kāvya, to illustrate the extent to which yamakas might be used as accessories in the delineation of a rasābhāṣa like Kicaka's Sringara"<sup>1</sup>. There is a commentary on the poem by Janārdanasena<sup>2</sup> probably of Bengal and an earlier gloss by Sarvānanda-Nāga<sup>3</sup>.

The benediction is in the name of Siva and Kṛṣṇa. "Then follows to the end of the first sarga, a eulogy of the poet's patron, whose name is not given, but who appears to have been a king of Kalinga, for whose delectation Nitivarman wrote his interesting tour de force in yamaka and slesha. The narrative does not commence till we come to sarga 11, which, like the first, fourth and fifth, is composed entirely in yamaka. The third sarga, which gives us Draupadi's long speech to Yudhiṣṭhīra and his brothers, illustrates slesha, with occasional lapses into yamaka at the beginning and at the end. Considerable skill is displayed in managing these verbal tricks, and some of them are indeed very happy, and not in the least laboured, like those of Nalodaya"<sup>4</sup>.

**329 Nalodaya**, a short poem in 4 cantos, describes the life of Nala. "The chief aim of the author is to show off his skill in the manipulation of the most varied and artificial metres, as well as all the elaborate tricks of style exhibited in the later Kavyas. Rhyme even is introduced, and that, too, not only at the end of, but within metrical lines. The really epic material is but scantily treated, narrative making way for long descriptions and lyrical effusions".

1 यतु रसवन्ति कानिचिथमकादीनि दृश्यन्ते तत्र रसादीनाभङ्गता यमकादीनामाङ्गितैव । रसामेसे च अङ्गत्वमप्यवेषुरद्धृ ॥—Dhvanyāloka, p 87.

2 Ed. by S K De, with an elaborate introduction and notes for the Dacca University. See also JRAS, (1929), 109.

3. I. c. Int. xxiv, 10, 1184.

4. Mitra's Notices, No 615, Haraprasad Sastri's Notices, 1905, 10, 1492.

There are commentaries on Nalodaya, by Mallinātha,<sup>1</sup> Prajnākara-misra,<sup>2</sup> by Kr̄na,<sup>3</sup> by Tīruvenkatasūri,<sup>4</sup> by Ādītvasūri,<sup>5</sup> by Haribhata,<sup>6</sup> and Nṛsimhasarma,<sup>7</sup> by Jīvānanda,<sup>8</sup> by Kesāvādītya,<sup>9</sup> by Gaṇesā,<sup>10</sup> [by Bharatasena, by Mukundabhatta, by Śivadatta, by Ravideva, by Hari-ratna, by Ātrevabhatta],<sup>11</sup> by Prabhakaramisra<sup>12</sup> and others anonymous.<sup>13</sup>

**330 Raksasakavya**<sup>14</sup> is a short piece of twenty verses in an enigmatic and alliterative style, containing a description of sylvan scenery around, by a person roaming about in the forest with his spouse. There are commentaries on it by Premadhara, by Śāmbhuḥbhāskara, by Kavirāja, by Kṛṣṇacandra, by Udayākaramisra,<sup>15</sup> and by Bālakṝna Pāya-gunda.<sup>16</sup>

**331** These two poems have been attributed to Kālidāsa and the latter also to Vararuci. Rāmarṣī in his commentary on Nalodaya says that it was the work of Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa.<sup>17</sup>

इति वृद्धव्यासात्मजभिश्चरामर्षिदाधीच्यविरचिताया रविदेवविरचितमहाकाव्यनलोदयटी-काया यमकबोधिन्या नलराज्यप्राप्तिर्नामि चतुर्थं आश्रास ।

(JASB, Extra No 1887, p 337)

1 DC, XX 7928

2 Printed, Calcutta DC, XX 7924 He was a native of Mithila and son of Mahāmādhopādhyāya Vidyādhara of Pupya-grāma (Poona) Earliest Ms. is dated Śaka 1785.

3 DC, XX 7926 Tan; Cat., VI 2787-94

4 DC, XX, 7927.

5 DC, XX 7981 Tan; Cat., VI 2795

6 CASB, 89

7 Ibid., Tan; Cat., VI 2807

8 Printed, Calcutta

9. PR, III 895

10 IO, 2584

11. CG, I 280, II 60, III 60

12 PR, IV 24

13 DC, XX 7928-30, TO, II 2591, Tan; Cat., VI 2797, 2798, 2800, IO, 8160

14 Ed. Bombay

15 Ed. Bombay DC, XX 7989, IO, 1493 contains a commentary also

16 CG, I 498, II 117

17 The commentary was composed in Sam. 1664 (1607 A.D.) JASB (1887) Extra number, page p 1887 Rāmarṣī was one of the three sons of Vṛddha Vyāsa, who lived at Dindavana near Pathan during the reign of Sultan Salim and who wrote a commentary on the Bhāgavata at Pathan See PR, III 20, App 887 840 and Keilhorn's calculations, IA, XIX. 84 A manuscript in Tan; Cat. VI. 2782 gives the name, Ravideva, son of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa

इति नारायणसुतश्रीरविदेवरचिते नलोदयकाव्ये चतुर्थोल्लास.

But Viśnu, another commentator, calls the author Vāsudeva, son of Ravi

इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थं परिच्छेदं ।  
रवितनुभूयमिताया कृतेर्गतिशशब्दचित्रभूयमिताया ।  
जनहासायमिताया धियश्च विवृता मयाधुना यमिताया ॥

A king Rāma is mentioned in the introductory verses as in Tripuradahana of Vāsudeva and A S Ramanatha Iyer therefore concludes that Nalodaya must have been the work of the author of Tripuradahana who lived in the beginning of the 9th century AD<sup>1</sup>

**332 Sobhana** was a staunch Jain and converted his brother Dhanapāla into his faith after prolonged effort. He was known as Sobhanamuni. He lived in the Court of Dhārā in the 10th century AD. His stuti also called Caṭurvimśatikā consists of 4 groups of verses, "the first in praise of 24 Tirthankaras, the second in praise of all the Jinas, the 3rd in praise of the Jain doctrine, and the fourth in praise of various deities". The verses are so constructed that the second and fourth line of each verse agree to the letter in sound, and bear different meanings. Dhanapāla wrote a commentary on it<sup>2</sup>.

**333 Srivatsanka** was the son of Rāma alias Vedavyāsa, the second son of Kurattālwar<sup>3</sup>. He lived about the beginning of the 12th century AD. His Yamakaratuṇākara<sup>4</sup> is a poem in āryā metre on Śrī Kṛṣṇa and is followed by his own commentary<sup>5</sup>.

**334. Dharmaghosa** was a sage who died in Sam 1357 (1301 AD.) He wrote verses capable of four different meanings. His Yamakaśṭūti is well known, on which his successor Somaṭilaka wrote a commentary<sup>6</sup>.

1. See para 65 supra. See *JMy*, XIV 802, *JRAS*, (1925), 865.

2. Translated and edited by Jacobi (*ZDMG*, XXXII 509). On the com see Buhler, *Sb Akad. Wien*, (1882), 570-2. See *PR*, I. 69, app 101, III ap 22, iv 121, Weber, *ISI*, II 944, Śantisuri's *Prabhāvakacarita*, xvii, 914.

3. See para 207 supra.

4. Printed, Madras *DC*, XX. 7797.

5. For instance

पञ्चाक्षमासमेत प्रसन्नतोयदगातिस्वभावस्थम् ।  
पञ्चाक्षमासमेत प्रसन्नतो यदगातिस्वभावस्थम् ॥

6. *PR*, III. 17, 810.

**335** **Mananka<sup>1</sup>** calls himself a King (Mabibhuj) in his gloss on Giṭagovinda<sup>2</sup> He is quoted by Rayamukuta in his commentary on Amarakosa (A D 1431) Besides a commentary on Mālatīmādhava,<sup>3</sup> he wrote Yamaka poems Bṛndāvana<sup>4</sup> and Meghbīshvudava<sup>5</sup>

**336** **Venkatesa** was the son of Śrinivāsa and grandson of Venkatesa of Ātreya-gotra He was born in Kali 4697 (1596 A D ) at Arasānipalai near Kāncī He was of the family of Venkatādhvāri In Rāmayamakārnava<sup>6</sup> and Rāmacandrodaya<sup>7</sup> he relates the story of Rāma, the former in the yamaka style Probably he is the author of Slesamālā<sup>8</sup>

**337** **Gopalaraya** or Gopālasāmy, son of Jinavalli Immadi Venkatarāja, was a descendent of Immadi Ankusa,<sup>9</sup> and must have lived in the latter half of 19th century His Rāmacandrodaya<sup>10</sup> in 5 Uchwasas gives the story of Rāma in Yamaka form

**338** The following works are in this style of composition, Dharmaghosha's a Yamakasṭutū<sup>11</sup> Srisayamakasṭaka<sup>12</sup> Acyutānlā,<sup>13</sup> Rāma-lilāmpita of Kṛṣṇamohana,<sup>14</sup> Rādhāprasāda,<sup>15</sup> Yamakasikhāmapu of Kṛṣṇa-kavīndra,<sup>16</sup> Yamakahārata of Ānandaśrītha,<sup>17</sup> Yudhishthiravijaya etc , of Vāsudeva,<sup>18</sup> Sauricarīṭra<sup>19</sup> and Raghūdaya of Śrikantha<sup>20</sup>

1 *CG*, I 452

2 See *PR*, III 11, 280, *CG*, I 154

3 *IO*, 158, 895

4 Printed, Kāvyasangraha, Calcutta

5 *PR*, I 119, III 11, 291

6 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2631 This was composed in Śaka 1578 (1656 A D )

7. This is a long poem of about 80 catus *Tanj Cat*, VI 2668 There is a commentary by the author himself (*Ibid*, VI 2664) composed in Kali 4736 (1685 A D )

8 *Mys OML*, 260

9 See *DC*, XX 7732

10 *DC*, XX 7889, *OAL* II 11 There is a commentary on it by the author The manuscript says it was written on the full moon day of Āsvayuja Kṛttikā, Seka 1706 (1684 A D )

11 *PR*, III 17, 810

12 *Mys OML*, sup II.

13 *TC*, IV 4531

14 *CG*, I 878

15. *IOC*, VII 1464

16. See para 218 *supra*.

17 *Opp*, 2261

18 Printed, Bombay. See para 65 *supra*

19 *Mys OML*, Sup , 10 It was composed in Malabar in 1700 A D

20. *TC*, IV 5059, with commentary by Rudramūrti, *TC*, IV, 4818 The poet praises the Yamaka compositions of Ravidēva and Kulaśākhadeva

Sleśacudāmanī of Śrinivāsa,<sup>1</sup> Slesollāsa of Sivaprasāda,<sup>2</sup> Slesa-campūrāmāyana of Venkatacārya,<sup>3</sup> Sleśacintāmanī of Cidambara,<sup>4</sup> Rāmāstaprāsa of Rāmabhadra,<sup>5</sup> Prāsabhārata of Sūryanārāyaṇa, son of Viśvanātha of Kāsyapagotra.<sup>6</sup>

Citraratnākara of Lakrakavi,<sup>7</sup> Viśesana-rāmāyana of Viśarāghava,<sup>8</sup> Somakunjara's Citrakāvya,<sup>9</sup> and Kṛṣṇamohana's Rāmalilāmṛta.<sup>10</sup>

**339** Citrakāvyas appear in numerous forms. In Nalodaya and Kīcakavadha there is the narration of a single story and the cleverness consists merely in the combination of letters which can form words of different senses. In Dvīsandhāna poems, the same verse gives two different meanings, and thus narrates two distinct tales. Besides those already noticed, there are Sandhayākaranandin's Rāmacariṇī which depicts at once the story of Rāma and the history of his patron Rāmapāla,<sup>11</sup> and Ānandakāvya.<sup>12</sup> Rāghava-yādava-pāndavīya has verses of three meanings, and relates three different tales. Pancakalyānacampū deals similarly with five different tales and Saptasandhāna with the lives of seven great men. Somaprapha has a Saṭārthikāvya, where a verse has a 100 different meanings. Rāmakṛṇnaviloma has the first half of each verse repeated backwards in the second half and narrates the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

In Nārāyaṇa's Niranuṇāsikacampū, Sūrpanakhā complains to Rāvaṇa of Rāma's assault and because her nose and ears had been cut off, the poet aptly eliminates all nasals, which Sūrpanakhā could not have pronounced.<sup>13</sup>

1 *TC*, IV 688

4 *Tanj Cat* VI, 2848

2 *CC*, I 677

5 Printed Kāvya-mālā, Bombay

3 *Bce*, 254

6 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2564.

7. *TC*, IV .5564. Here is another work of this name *DC*, XX 8054

8 *Tanj. Cat*, VI 2671      11 Ed *MASB* III 1 56 See para 189 *supra*

9 *Jes. Cat* 54

12 *CC*, I, 46

10 *CC*, I 518

18 *TC*, IV 4206 For instance

हा हा राक्षसराज दुष्परिभवग्रस्तस्य धिक् ते मुजा

विवुक्षिहृविपत्तिरेव सुकरा क्षुद्रप्रताप त्वया ।

वस्तापत्रप पश्य पश्य सकलैश्लुमिरेतादशी

जाता कस्यचिदेव तापसशिशोशश्चात्तैव ससा ॥

For Nirosthya verses, see *Tanj Cat*, VI 2729. An instance of Nirāntya, Nirmerūdhanya, Nirantastha and Niruṣmaka is in *Pratāparudriya* (vi. 29).

केकिकचा कोकुचा मञ्जुमुजा कापि कापि कामाज्ञा ।

कञ्जमुखी कुम्भगमा बमौ खगाङ्गाङ्गभागपङ्गजगा ॥

Also in *Sahityaratnākara*, VI 25 et seq.

Poets have exercised their intellect to frame verses of one or two letters only. For instance

कोकीकङ्गी कोककङ्गकाकाकोकुकाकिका । कोकाङ्गकाङ्गि किकाकुकाकुकेङ्गकिका ॥  
नानादानानि दीनानां ददानो नन्दनन्दन् । नदीननन्दनीनन्दी नुदेदेनो दिने दिने ॥

*Sahityaratnākara*, VI 81

न नोत्तुत्तो तुत्तोनो नाना नानानना नन् । तुत्तोत्तुत्तो नत्तोनो नानेना तुत्तुत्तुत् ॥  
*Kāvyañavāsana*, V.

**340 Nitthala Upamaka Venkatesvara** was son of Visava-nātha and Kāmāmbā and probably lived near Vizianagaram about the middle of 19th century A D He was a poetic genius of modern times of rare merit and has left an instance of poetic composition at once graceful and unique, a combination of acrostics of surprising ingenuity In the apparent garb of a poem on Rāmāyana, RAMĀYANASANGRAHA in 30 cantos in prose and verse (composed in 1866 A.D.), he has arranged the letters of verses, so as to form four more poems out of particular letters combined and read together from the verses It is therefore described as *Caṭubṛtiṣṭragarbha* He has imbedded his own name and description in one of such devices in his Bālakānda

The poem GAURITIVAHĀ is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the verses of kāndas from Avodhya to Yuddha and describes the marriage of Pārvatī

The poem ŚRIRANGADIKSETRAMAHATMYA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter in the second pāda of the verses from kāndas Ayodhya to Yuddha. Here thirteen shrines are described with their theological history

The poem BHAGAVADAVATARACARITA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the third pāda of the verses from kāndas, Ayodhya to Yuddha, and describes the incarnation of Viṣṇu

The poem DRAUPADIKALYANA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the fourth pada of the verses from kāndas, Ayodhya to Yuddha, and describes the marriage of Draupadī.

Above all a combination of the first letters of each of the verses in Bālakānda makes up RAMAKAVACA<sup>1</sup>

**341. Bandha** is the name given to verses in which the letters are arranged in the form of sword, lotus, car, serpent etc. So says Jammata

तथितं यत्र वर्णानां सूहगाथाकृतिहेतुता

1. TO, IV, 5081-5087.

There are Bandhas in various poems and works on rhetoric. They are numerous in Venkatādhvāri's *Lakṣmīśahāsra*. Venkatesvara's *Citra-bandharāmādyana* is wholly composed of verses of various designs, such as Kankapā, Chaṭra, Andolikā etc.<sup>3</sup>

**Kamalamalikastotra** of Venkatācāra, son of Nṛsimha of Śrī-vatṣagoṭra,<sup>4</sup> is another feat of alliterative ingenuity, a garland of lotuses in praise of Laxmī. It is accompanied by a commentary.

माभूसदारममभास रसासिताम्ब  
मातासि याजररमारजसामया मा ॥  
माया भवावननमानवमामयामा ।  
मा याम मे तततमा ततीयान भूमा ॥

Kankanabandha is the most ingenious in this class. In it the narrative is formed by rewriting a verse, for instance, of 32 letters backward and forward from a particular starting point and thus making 64 verses in all. The story of Rāmāyana has been so related.<sup>5</sup>

In Venkatesa's *Rāmacandroḍīva* the 26th Canto contains Bandhas and there is a Kankanabandha.

कामामामायासारामे हामामारादारागासा ।  
लापासेनापायासामा यानीषोमादायादारा ॥

**342 Vakrokti** is a clever diversion or subversion of a saying. The intended meaning of a word is wantonly not understood and the person addressed, most often reprimanded, perverts the meaning of the word to avoid an inconvenient answer. So says Mammata,

यदुक्तमन्यथा वाक्यमन्यथाऽऽन्येन योज्यते ।  
स्वेषे काकवा वा ज्ञेया सा वक्रोक्तिस्था दिवा ॥

There is the first verse of *Mudrārākṣasa* in illustration:

घन्या केय स्थिता ते शिरसि शशिकला किं तु नामैतदस्या  
नामैवास्यास्तदेतत्परिचितमपि ते विस्मृत कस्य हेतो ।

1. *Kāvyaprakāśa*, IX. 85 *et seq.*

2 *Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2728 85, with Yagnanārādayanā's commentary. See also *Prajāparudrāyaśibhusana* vii 6 3 *Sāhityaratnākara*, vi. 25 and all books on rhetoric in chapters on Śabdālankāra.

3 *DC*, XVIII, 6864.

4 See para 97 *supra*.

5 *Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2658 See para 289 *supra*.

नारी पृच्छामि नेन्दु कथयतु विजया न प्रमाण यदीन्दु  
देव्या निहोतुभिञ्चोरिति सुरसरित शाव्यमव्याद्विसोर्वे ॥

There are Ratnākara's Vakroktīpancāśikā,<sup>1</sup> Pambhāsukasamvāda,<sup>2</sup>  
Sivārāma's Lakṣmi-Sarasvatīsamvāda<sup>3</sup> and Girijākamalāvivāda<sup>4</sup>

On Vakrokti, as the essential of poetry, Kuntaka wrote a treatise  
Vakrotujīvita<sup>5</sup>

**343 Dyglott poems** consist of verses that can be read in  
any two (or more) languages<sup>6</sup>. Here is an instance of identity in Prakrit  
and Sanskrit:

सरळे साहसराग परिहर रम्भोर मुञ्च सरम्भम् ।  
विरस विरहायास बोडु तव विचमसह मे ॥

**344 Srinivasa** Kavīśārvabhaumia was a poet of the Court of  
Krṣṇa Rāja Udeyar, Mahārāja of Mysore, of the last century. Besides  
Kṛṣṇaparājaprabhāvodaya, a poem on his patron, he wrote Kṛṣṇarājaja-  
yotkarā in prose and verse in such a way that with an alteration in  
punctuation the work becomes Sanskrit or Kanarese

**345 Cyuta** is a species of composition in which the main word  
is indicated by the omission of a māṭra, half māṭra, bindu or varṇa.  
So Hemacandra says

भ्युत मात्रार्थमात्राविन्दुवर्णगतत्वेन चतुर्धा ।

For instance :

अर्थमात्राभ्युत यथा ।  
पयोधरमरकान्ते विद्युष्टेष्टाविराजिते ।  
कान्तस्सर्वजनामीष्टो बाले दु खेन लभ्यते ।  
अत्र 'न्दु' इत्यत्र नकारो व्यञ्जनं भ्युतम् ॥

**346 Gudha** is another species in which some word is concealed  
in the verses. Hemacandra says :

गूढ कियकारकासम्बन्धपादविषयत्वेन चतुर्धा ।

1. Printed, Bombay with commentary

2. *Mys OML*, 254.

3. *CC*, I 540

4. *PR*, III. App 293

5. Ed by S. K. De, with critical notes and Introduction, *PP*, II. 17, 19.

6. *Mys Arch. Rep.* (1918), 67.

For instance:

कारकगूढं यथा ।  
केनेमौ दुर्विदं धेन हृदये विनिवेशितौ ।  
पिबतस्ते शरावेण वारि कहारशीतलम् ॥  
अत्र “शरी” इति कर्मणो गृह्णत्वम् ॥

KRSNAKAVI, son of Raghunātha Dīkṣīta, wrote Kriyāgopanarāmāyaṇa or Candrakalāvīlāsa, a poem in 14 cantos, on the story of Rāmāyana. The merit of the poem is that the predicate is concealed in the verses.<sup>1</sup>

**347.** *Vidagdhamukhamandana* of Dharmadāsa, a Jain, is a collection of enigmatical verses, in 4 chapters, on different topics in Ciṭra varieties. There are commentaries on it by Tārācanḍra of Śivārājadhāni,<sup>2</sup> by Durgadāsa and by Gaurikānta and Narahari and one anonymous. Visvesvara's Kavindrakarnābharaṇa is a similar work.

**348** Vāgbhūṣaṇa of Rāmacandra of Bhārgavagoṭra is a group of periphrastic and curiously composed verses in praise of various Gods. He lived somewhere on the banks of Tāmraparapī in the Pāndya country.<sup>3</sup>

Durghatakāvya is a highly artificial poem of 80 verses in praise of various deities with an anonymous commentary. There is a poem of that name attributed to Kālidāsa printed in Bombay.<sup>4</sup>

1. *TC*, I. 10, 896, IV. 550b (with commentary).

For instance:

मवाभारायणस्तीतादेवीर्थं कमलालया । इति व्याख्यातत्वेन वेष्टा भैरिलीपति ॥

2. Printed, Bombay *TC*, III. 8277, *DO*, XX. 8090; *Mitra*, IV. 294.

For instance:

अनेकसुषिरं वाय कान्तं छीमुखपङ्कजम् ।

विद्धि तत् व्यक्तरं राजम् चमुरश्रोत्रमुखा वहम् ॥ वसीकम्

3. *TC*, III. 2747.

For instance:

एकान् द्विरूपान् विचतुर्भिरिडितान् पश्चास्यवद्वक्त्रमुतांशं सप्त च ।

वाषाभिराप्यावसिद्धैश्च्युतान् ब्रजामि नित्यं शरणं विमुक्तये ॥

4. *DO*, VII. 1488.

Kavirākṣhasiyam is a poem of 100 verses of involved meaning by an unknown author, calling himself Kavirākṣasa.<sup>1</sup> There are commentaries on it by Nāganarāya, son of Devanārādhya,<sup>2</sup> and two anonymous.<sup>3</sup>

**349 Nagaraja** was the son of Jalapa and grandson of Vidyādhara of Karpatigotra. He is spoken of at the end of his poem Bhāvatasataha as a King who was the ornament of the Taka race. "Taka race here mentioned is probably the same as that to which Madanapala, the patron of the author of the Madanaparijatha, (work on law) belonged. It was a family of petty Chiefs whose capital was as stated in the introduction to the latter, a town of the name of Kashtha situated on the Yamuna to the north of Delhi." Bhāvasataha "consists of 101 verses, some in prakrit in each of which a certain person is represented to be doing a certain thing in a certain condition and the reason why he or she does or the minor sense of the verse is meant to be found out by the reader. It is however given at the end of the verses."<sup>4</sup>

Camaṭkāracandrika,<sup>5</sup> (i) by Kavikarṇapūra, (ii) Narottamadāsa and (iii) by Visvesvara, and Vyajoktiṣatāka of Trivikrama<sup>6</sup> are similar.

**350 Sītarāmiya** or Sabdodāharapa of Bhāsharasūri, son of Rāmaśwāmi Dikṣiṭa, narrates the story of Rāma and is meant to illustrate grammatical forms like Bhāttikāya.<sup>7</sup> Sabhyābhārana is an anthology with double meaning, in 9 chapters, by Rāmacandra Bhatta of Attaladesa. The last verse interlaces the last sūtra of Panini अ अ with ingenuity. He was a great grammarian. There is a commentary on it by Govinda (yoṭīrvit), son of Nilakantha, of the family of astrologers of Śivapuri on the banks of Godāvarī.

1. *DO*, XX. 8024. Printed, Bombay. There is a fanciful reason given for the peculiar name.

साक्षरेषु भवतीह जगलां सर्वं पृष्ठं हृदि भत्सरयुक्तः ।  
साक्षरं कविजनेषु तमेन लोकं पृष्ठं कविराक्षसमाहृ ॥

2. *DO*, XX. 8025.

3. *Ibid*, 8026, 8027.

4. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, III. 91, 888, IV. 69, *BB*, 1892-3), 9, 198.

There are Bhāvavilāsa by Budrākavi (Printed, Bombay), Bhāvāśīṭaka by Venkatācarya (*Mys OML*, 680) and Bhāvānanjali by Rāma, son of Krṣṇagopala of Aṭreya-gotra (B. No. 2975).

5. *DO*, I. 188, III. 89.

6. *DO*, II. 147.

7. *DO*, IV. 5968.

Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* is a poem with double entendre describing the victory of Hari, while the same text directs the movements in chess play.<sup>1</sup>

## SECTION II

## Some Modern Poets.

**351** In the 19th century, **Gangadharasastri** Talinga of Benares wrote<sup>2</sup> the philosophical poems *Hamsāstaka* and *Alivilāśisalapa*, **Dukkhabhanjanakavi** of Benares wrote a biographical poem *Candrasēkhara-carita*, and **Paramesvara Jha** (*Mahāmahopūdhāyāya*)<sup>3</sup> wrote *Yakṣamulanakāvya*, a sequel to *Meghaduta*.

**352** **Subrahmanyā Suri**, son of **Sankara-Nārāyaṇa**, was born in 1850 at Kadayakludi near Pudukkota. He was 7th in descent from the famous Chokkanātha Dikṣita.<sup>4</sup> He was a Professor of Sanskrit in Raja's College at Pudukkota and passed away in 1913. His learning was versatile. He was very good at poetry and grammar and proficient in singing and painting. His *Harikāṭhās* attracted an enchanted audience and were known for their devotion and erudition. Besides the play *Valli-Bāhuśyam*, in seven Acts, depicting the marriage of Valli and Skanda and a bhāṇa *Manmathamanthana* and a prose piece *Sanṭanucarita*, he wrote several poems *Buddhisandesa*, *Padyapancaratha*, *Haratīrthesvarastuti*, *Sūkasūkṣisudhārasāyana* and stories adapted to music, such as *Rāmaवाटारा*, *Visvāmitrayāga*, *Sitākalyāṇa*, *Rukmini-kalyāṇa* and *Vibhūti-māhātmya* etc. His *Dolāgītās* and *Ilāllisamanjaris*, songs on various deities, are interesting, particularly those relating the whole story of *Rāmāyana*.

By far a very valuable poem is *Aśelanaka-Rāmāyana* in 199 verses in Arya metre where the first three padas narrate the story and the fourth pada impresses a moral. The work is unique and represents Vālmīki's work as a mine of ethical precepts.

**353.** **Kṛṣṇarama** was a professor in Ayurveda in Jaipur State about 1900. In his *Kachavamī* and *Jayapuravilāsa*, he described the greatness of the ruler of Jaipur. Among many poems he wrote are *Aryāñlankāraśāka*, *Palāndusataka*, *Muktaka-muktāvali*, *Holāmaḥoṭsava*

1. See *Cat. Q.P.* Int. IV, No 6864. For verses on cāṇūranga, see R. No. 14606.

2. Printed Benares and Darbhanga.

3. He also wrote a romance like *Vāsavadatta*.

4. Except the works printed by M. L. J. Press, Madras and the other manuscripts are with the poet's son, S. Sankara Narayana B A., Account Gondual's Office, Madras.

and Sārasatīka, a poetical epitome of several important Sanskrit works In metrics he wrote Chandaschaitāmandana.<sup>1</sup>

**354 Shankerlal Maheshwar Shastri**, Mahāmahopādhyāya of the Prashnora Nagar community lived in Jamnagar in 1844-1916 A D He commenced writing poetry at the age of 15 The Maharaja of Jamnagar bestowed upon him the title of Sīghrakavī i e an ex tempore poet He served in the Rawajiraj Pathasala of Morbi in Kathiawad for many years Among his many works Sāvitri-caritra, Candraprabhacaritra Dhruvābhūdayanātaka, Gopālacintīmāpi, Anasūyābhūdaya, etc

**355 Venkatesa Vamana Sovani** was son of Vāmana Viṭṭala He was Professor of Sanskrit at Meerut and Allahabad and lived in 1882-1925 His son V V Sovani is Professor, Rajkumar College, Raipur (C P) Among his many works, all printed, there are the minor poems, Indradyumna-pāvarga (philosophical), Divyaprabandha, Īsalahari, Rāma-candrodaya (in 4 cantos) and a biography of Sīvāji Chatrapati, Sīvāvatīraprabhāndha His admiration of Kālidasa is illustrated in his poem Kālidasaprasāmsā

**356 Mudumbai Venkatarama Narasimha Acharya**, lived in 1842-1928 A D He was the son of Virarāghava and Rangambā of Srīvasti-gotra The progenitor of his family was Mudumbai Ācāryā, one of the 72 Srīvai-pava Ācāryas set up by Rāmānuja One of his ancestors Krṣṇamācārya had two sons, versed in music and literature and they came to be known as Sangīṭa-Mudumbai and Sāhitya-Mudumbai and our poet was of the latter line His learning was all comprehensive and he was honoured as a poet laureate in the court of Vijayarāma Gajapati, Maharaja of Vijayanagaram (Vizagapatam District) He wrote about 114 works in different branches of literature Among his dramas are Gajendravyāyoga, Rājahamsīvanātaka, and Vaśavipāśāṇaprakarapa, and his Cītsūryāloka dramatises the story of the solar eclipse Among his major poems are Rāmacandrakāthāmṛti and Bhāgavata, which are long poems on the stories of Śrī Krṣṇa and minor poems are Khalāvala and Niṭurahasya He wrote a romance in prose a campū Ujjvalānanda, and a work on poetics, Kāvya-lankārasangraha

**357 Medepalli Venkataramanacarya**, was his pupil Born in 1862 at Anakapalli in Vizagapatam District, and educated under different teachers of great merit, he has been the senior Sanskrit professor in the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram His Girvāṇa Satha-gopasahasram is a rendering in verse of the sacred collect of Tamil

1 See Śivādutta's introduction to Naṭṣadha, Bombay.

Prabandhas and is a valuable treasure of devotional lore and exhibits a classical style rarely seen after the 15th century. Above all his narratives in prose of many plays of Shakespeare, on the line of Lamb's Tales are specimens of elegant simplicity.<sup>1</sup> His history of rhetoric written in Telugu<sup>2</sup>, which is an epitome of the results of literary research in the sphere of poetics.<sup>3</sup>

**358. Hemacandra Roy**, Kavibhūṣana, is the son of Jadunananda Roy of Varendra Kāyaṭha family of Gautama goṭra. He was born in the village of Rāmanagara in Pabna District in Bengal in Saka 1804 (1882 A.D.) on 18th Asvina. After a distinguished career in the Calcutta University, he has been professor of Sanskrit in Edward College, Pabna. His poems are remarkable for lucidity of expression and embrace thrilling themes of love and romance. They are Satyabhāmāparigrahām, Subhadrāharāgām, Haihayavijayam, Pāndavavijayam and Paraśurāmacariṭram.<sup>4</sup>

**359 Mathuranatha**, popularly known as Manjunāṭha, is the son of Dvārakānāṭha and was adopted by Sundaralāla, a Pandit of the Court of Jaipur. He is of Gautama Goṭra, born on Āśādha Krṣṇa Sapṭami Sam 1940 (1890 A.D.). His ancestor Bavijidikṣit was a Telugu Brahmin who settled at Benares, and a later descendant Manuladikṣit came away to Prayāg. The family was known as Devarṣyāvaṭāṅka, after the name of a village Devarṣī, gifted to him by his pupil there. About Sam 1700, Śrīkrṣṇabhatta was born. His scholarship is highly praised by Hariharabhatta in Kulaprabandha. Having been honoured by the Chiefs of Bundi and Amber, he was made the State Pandit of Jeypur. There at Jeypur he wrote the poems Īśvaravilāsa<sup>5</sup>, Padyamukṭāvalī<sup>6</sup>, Tripurasundāristavarāja<sup>7</sup>, and Alankārakalānidhi.

Maṭhurānāṭha is the Superintendent of Sanskrit studies in Jeypur State. In his Manjukaviṭānikunja (Bower of poetry) he has gathered

Printed Madras

1 For another rendering, see Index.

2 Printed, Madras.

3 Printed, Madras

4. Printed, Pabna

5 PR, III 898, OC, I 61

6 For another work of this name by Ghāśīrāma, see OC, I 824.

7 Taylor, I 102 For sṭohas on Tripurasundari by Jayadeva, Rāghavācārya etc., see OC, I 287. There are Tripurasundārikāvya composed by a Kālidāsa in 1752 A.D. (OC, I, 287) and Tripurasundarimahodaya by Śāṅkarānandanāṭha; (OC, I, 287)

minor poems Sābitravaihbava, Jayapuravaihbava, Samaskṛtagnīthāsapta-sati,<sup>1</sup> Sanskr̥tasarvasva, and Kāvyakālārahasya.

"The poem is divided into several sections," Says Gopinatha Kaviraj, "with verses on different subjects in each. The description of the seasons, the representations of the various moods of the human mind, the delineation with touches of humour at intervals of the darker phases of the modern social life, all these have a ring of freshness and spontaneity about them which mark them out as distinctive of true inspiration. The author is at his best in his manipulation of the metres not merely those which are current in the Sanskrit classics but even some new varieties coined by him in imitation of Hindi, Urdu and Persian."

**360. Srisailatatacarya**, better known as D. T. Taitacarya Sironmani, is the senior professor of Mīmāmsa, Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi, Tanjore Dt. He was born in 1892 at Tiruvarangam in South Arcot. His powers of Sanskrit elocution are remarkable. Among his poems<sup>2</sup> are Kapināmupavāsa and Mugdhānjali.

1. This is a literal reading of Hāla's Saptasati.

2. Printed, Kumbakonam.

## CHAPTER XV

### SECTION I

#### Subhasita

**361 Subhasita**, generally spoken of as anthologies, are various collections of verses as several topics, proverbial, erotic, ethical, descriptive and devotional etc. They may be the composition of one author or selections from other authors. In some of the collections of the latter class, the names of the poets are appended and they thus serve as valuable landmarks in literary history. Many of these poets are now only known by name and their works are not available. Treatises on rhetoric often serve the purpose of anthologies, for they quote verses in illustration from various poets and works by name. Works of single authors may be classed under Laghu Kāvya, while collections may stand apart as essences of the whole Kāvya literature.

**362 Kavindravacanasamuccaya**<sup>1</sup> is the earliest of anthologies now available. The author's name is not known, but among the authors quoted Mayūra, Vākpatirāja and Rājasekhara are the latest. It must have been composed about the end of the 10th century A.D. The value of the work has been enhanced by the excellent introduction of F. W. Thomas which contains information on many unknown authors and collects their verses quoted in other anthologies.<sup>2</sup>

**363 Nandana's Prasannasāhityaratnākara** is an anthology in 1000 stanzas. "The compiler is very proud of his knowledge of Panini and Sahitya. He says his work is beyond computation. He commences with Śivavrajā. This work is compiled in imitation of Kavivacana-samuccaya in which collections of verses on different subjects are called Vrajyas. That is Buddhistic, while the present is Hindu."<sup>3</sup>

**364 Amitagati** was a Digambara Jain ascetic and pupil of Mādhabavāna.<sup>4</sup> He wrote Dharmaparikṣā<sup>5</sup> in Sam 1070) and Subhā-

1 Printed, Calcutta

2 Such work has also been admirably done in the Introduction to *Subhāśitāvalī* by P. Peterson

3 Haraprasad's Sastri *Nan. Cat.* No. 1574,

4. PR, IV ix.

5. Weber, IST II, 1110,

śātaratnasandoha in Sam 1030 (994 A D) during the reign of King Munja of Dhāra<sup>2</sup>

**365 Sridharadasa** son of Vatudāsa, was a Mandalika or a governor under king Lakṣmanasena of Bengal His Saduktikarnāmpa composed in Śaka 1127 or 1205 A D comprises various topics from select authors whom it names<sup>3</sup>

**366 Jalhana** or Arohaka Bhagadatta Jalhapa Deva was son of Lakṣmīdeva They were ministers of the Śādava King Kṛṣṇa His Sūkṣmūltavālī was composed in Śaka 1179 (1257 A D) during Kṛṣṇa's reign by Vaidya Bhānu Pandita or Bhāskara at the instance of Jalhapa<sup>4</sup> The introductory verses give an account of Jalhana's family and are summarised by R G Bhandarkar thus<sup>5</sup>

"There was a person of the name of Dada who belonged to the Vatsa Gotra and appears to have been in the service of the Śādava king Mallugi, called in other places Mallugi Vijjana, of the Kalachuri race, who had usurped the throne at Kalyana in 1157 A D was not allowed to enjoy it peacefully Besides internal disturbances he had to face the attacks of the surrounding chiefs Mallugi appears from the above to have been one of those who were hostile to him, and Dada, who commanded his troops of elephants, fought a battle with Vijjana Dada had four sons named Mahidhara, Jahla, Samba, and Gangadhara who contributed to raise the importance of Mallugi's kingdom Mahidhara succeeded his father in the command of the elephants and had to conduct the war with Vijjana His son Ananta appears to have assisted his father and captured many elephants from his master's powerful enemies After Mahidhara's death his brother Jahla succeeded to his office and is said to have restored Bhillama's kingly power firm Bhillama was the son of Mallugi and acquired finally the paramount sovereignty of the Dekkan for his family, about the year 1187 A D Jahla led a maddened elephant into the army of the Gurjara prince and obtained fame as Bhagadatta Bhagadatta is a prince mentioned in the Mahabharata who fought with Arjuna with great bravery Jahla spread terror into the heart of Malla, frightened

<sup>2</sup> Ibid BR (1882-8) 45, ZDMG, LIX 926 Ed. Kāvyamīla, Bombay with a long introduction on the inscriptions of the Paramāra dynasty On Munja, See under Bhoja post

<sup>3</sup> Printed partly by Rāmīvaṭṭarāma, Calcutta, OSC (1903) 106., Mitra's Notices, No 1180, ZDMG, XXXVI, 861 88, 503-59 For author's names, see Aufrecht's Collections, No 578, JRAS (1908), 1028 1068

<sup>4</sup> DC, XX 8109

<sup>5</sup> Report (1897)

the forces of Mallugi, who must have been an enemy of Bhillama, and vanquished Munja and Anna. Who these chiefs were we do not know, and a great many of them had to be vanquished before Bhillama could acquire supreme power. The Munja mentioned here was not the celebrated prince of Dhara of that name. Jahla captured many elephants and gave them to his master Bhillama. Janardana was the son of his brother Gangadhara and he appears to have succeeded as commander of the troops of elephants. He taught Simha or Singhana the art of managing elephants and thus enabled him to conquer Arjuna. Singhana, called also, Simha was the son of Jaitrapala and Bhillama. If he was taught the art of managing elephants by Janardana, it must have been so when he was a young man and during his father's reign. Singhana himself came to the throne in 1210 A.D. Janardana's son Lakshmidēva succeeded to the office and contributed by his courage and bravery to consolidate the power of king Krishna. Krishna was the grandson of Singhana and ascended the throne after him in the year 1247 A.D. Lakshmidēva constructed a large-tank and had an extensive and beautiful garden. His son was Jahlana, who with his brother assisted king Krishna by his counsel and commanded the troops of his elephants. He compiled this collection of elegant sayings.

Sūkṣmumuktāvalī is in two recensions, short and long<sup>1</sup>. It is particularly valuable for its preservation of the famous verses of Rājasekhara enlogising great poets, of whom some are women. It begins with a summary of the contents.

**367. Sarngadharā** was the son of Dāmodara, grandson of Rāghava and great-grandson of Hammira Bhūpati of Sākambhāri country. It is an anthology of 4689 verses, some by the collator, and was composed in 1363 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

**368. Vallabhadeva's<sup>3</sup> Subhāṣitāvalī<sup>4</sup>** has 3327 quotations of

<sup>1</sup> DC, XX 8109, 8116, PR III No 870. For a full review and list of authors, see Peterson, JRAS, XVII 57-71. Keith, SL, 242, Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura*, 9 note.

<sup>2</sup> Ed by P. Peterson, BSS, Bombay and partly by Aufrecht, ZDMG, XXV, 455, XXVII, 1, 77, DC XX 8092. See Bohtlingk's notes, ZDMG, (1878), 625.

<sup>3</sup> He is different from Vallabhadeva, the commentator whom he quotes (see para 29 supra for further elucidation), PR, IV 110-1, and Peterson, Int to Subh. 118-4. A B Keith, Bull Or Studies, V (cannot be earlier than 15th century A.D.) S K De, JRAS (1927), D C Bhattacharya, JRAS (1928).

<sup>4</sup> Ed by P. Peterson, BSS, Bombay. For a review by Bühlner see JA, XV 240

very great value in literary history. He was a Kāshmirian and his authors are mostly of Northern India. He must have lived after Sultan Zamalad-din of Kāshmir (1417-67 A.D.), for he quotes Jonarāja, who was contemporary of that Sultan.<sup>1</sup>

**369** Nilakantha Dīksita was entitled Prabandhasāgara by King Rāmavarma of Vanci (Travancore) of the 15th century. In a poem of 18 stobakas called Varnanāśarasangraha he elaborately describes several objects, seasons, countries and deities.<sup>2</sup>

**370** Śrīvara was pupil of Jonarāja. Jonarāja continued Kalhana's chronicle till 1412 A.D. and Śrīvara followed till 1477 A.D. Besides Kaṭhākautuka and Jainarājatarangini, he wrote Subhāṣitāvali where he quotes about 400 poets.<sup>3</sup>

Vijayasenaśūri wrote Sūktiratnāvali in 54 verses in Sam 1647 (1591 A.D.)<sup>4</sup>. It appears from the Prasasti on the Vritti on Vijaya-prasastikāvya, that another Sūktiratnāvali was composed by Hemavijayagani. There is also a Sūktiratnāvali by Vaidyaraṇa, son of Rāmabhatta, but authors are not named.<sup>5</sup>

**371** Haridasa, son of Puruṣottama, of the Karana clan was an inhabitant of the Maharaja-Kharagada. Puruṣottama had four sons, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Dāmoḍara, Nārāyana and Haridāsa. Haridāsa was a worshipper of Gaṇeśa and was proficient in all sciences and arts. He composed Prasṭavarataṇākara in 1614 probably of the Vikrama samvat, at Jatapattana during the reign of Varavīrasahi in 21 chapters on various topics.<sup>6</sup>

**372** Harikavi was a poet of the Deccan. Cakrapāni was his brother. His anthology Hārāvali or Subhāṣitahārāvali shows an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the whole country from Kashmir to Deccan.<sup>7</sup> He quotes from a poet of Akbar's Court (called

1 See Jonarāja's Rājātarangini, 7.

2 *DO*, XX 8087. He wrote commentary on Saurikāṭhadasya, (*DO*, XX 7886) during the reign of kings Rāmavarma and Goḍāvarman of Calicut of the 15th century A.D. See para 169 supra.

3 Peterson, o.c., VI. vi *BKR*, 61, *BR*, (1888-4), 54.

4 Printed, Bhownagar.

5. *IOC*, 1908.

6 Haraprasad Sastri, *Nep, Cat.*, page 212, *Oudh*, VI, 4, *CC*, I 380.

7 For a full account, see *PR*, II 57-64. For a synopsis of quotations, see Thomas, *Int to Kap.* 14 authors are named. There is a Subhāṣitasuḍhā of Hari (*CC*, I, 728).

Akbariyakālidāsa) and from Jagannātha's Bhāminīvīlāsa and must therefore be assigned earliest to the latter half of the 17th century A.D. To the student of literary history this anthology presents many points of interest.<sup>1</sup>

Vrajanātha was in the Court of King Mādhava, son of Jayasimha who was a descendant of Pṛthvirāja, and lived about sam 1809 (1713 A.D.) His Padyātarangini with commentary in 12 tirangas is a large collection.<sup>2</sup>

Kāvyasangraha is an anthological collection of verses from various sources enumerating groups of nine, eight, seven, six and five noted persons, things and qualities, possessing similar characteristics.<sup>3</sup>

**373** The following are other anthologies Padyāmṛtaśarangini of Hari Bhāskara,<sup>4</sup> Padyāvali (i) of Rūpagoswāmin,<sup>5</sup> (ii) of Mukunda<sup>6</sup> and (iii) of Viḍabhūṣaṇa<sup>7</sup>, Paṭamuktavali of (1) Ghāśirāma,<sup>8</sup> Govinda-bhatta<sup>9</sup> and (ii) Padyāmṛṭasarovara,<sup>10</sup> Padīasangraha by Kavibhatta,<sup>11</sup> Padyavenī of Veṇidatta, son of Jagajīvana.<sup>12</sup>

2 He mentions a Bhojaprabandha by Rājāsekharā and quotes two verses from it and one of these authors is Pancānana. On this, Peterson (ic CO) infers that the author of the Bālaśāmyana etc may have composed a Bhojaprabandha and says Rājāsekharā was a contemporary of Somadeva author of Yaśīśvīlaka (composed in 859 A.D.) and of King Bhoja whose date of accession he puts at 966 A.D. There is a Hāravalli by Puruṣottama, (PR, III 363)

3 PR, IV. 26-32 Author's names are not given For references, see Thomas, *Int to Kavī*

4 DO, XX, 8090

For instance.

मित्रमर्थस्तथा नीतिर्थर्मकापणमूर्खका ।

लीणि विद्वान् तथोत्सातान् नवरनभिद क्रमात् ॥

5 BR, (1884-7) No 856, PR, III 895, CSC, (1908) 62, OC, I 824, It contains 880 quotations from various Vaiṣṇava authors, such as Yogesvara, Lakṣmi-dhara, Śrīdharaśwāmi, Śubhāṅga etc. There is a commentary by the author's son Jayarāma. Authors are named. For list, see BR, (1887-91) lxii see Aufrecht's article in ZDMG, XXXVIII, 544-7

6 Ibid

7 PR, IV 27

8 PR, III 895

9 OC, I, 824.

10 BR, (1884-7)

11 OC, I 824

12 Printed, Berlin, 529

13 BR, (1884-7) No 875, PR, (1887-91) lx Authors are named. It was composed in the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan (1625-56 A.D.)

(Prastāvācintāmanī of Candracūḍa, Prastāvātarangipī of Śripāla, Prastāvamukṭāvalī of Kesava Bhatta),<sup>1</sup> Prastavaśarasangraha of Rāma-sarma,<sup>2</sup> Prastavaśāra of Laūhiṣṭavirāsesena,<sup>3</sup> Prastāvaratnākara of Hari-hara,<sup>4</sup>

Subhāṣitakaustubha of Venkatādhvāri,<sup>5</sup> Subhāṣitamultāvalī (i) of Purusottama<sup>6</sup> and (ii) of Mathurānātha,<sup>7</sup> Subhāṣitāvalī of Śakalakirti,<sup>8</sup> Subhāṣitaratnabhāndagāra by K P Parab,<sup>9</sup> Subhāṣitaprabandha or Bhojakṛtisubhāṣita,<sup>10</sup> Subhāṣitapratnakosa of Bhatta Śrīkrṣṇa,<sup>11</sup> Subhāṣitaratnāvalī of Umāmaheśvara Bhatta,<sup>12</sup> Sārasangraha of Śāmīludhāsa,<sup>13</sup> Sārasangrahasudhārnava of Bhatta Govindajī.<sup>14</sup>

Subhāṣitaratnalosā by Bhatta Śrī Kṛṣṇa,<sup>15</sup> Subhāṣitanīvi of Venkatānātha,<sup>16</sup> Subhāṣitapadāvalī, anonymous and by Śrinivāśacārya,<sup>17</sup> Subhāṣitamanjari by Cakravarti Venkatācārya probably of Kalyānapuram,<sup>18</sup> Subhāṣitasuradruma<sup>19</sup> (i) by Keladi Basavappa Naik and (ii) by Khanderaya Basavayatīndra,<sup>20</sup> Subhāṣitasarvasa by Gopinātha.<sup>21</sup>

Subhāṣitasudhānidhi by Śāvanācārya,<sup>22</sup> Sūktivānidhi by Peddabhatta,<sup>23</sup>

1. *CC*, I. 859

2. *HPR*, II. 185

3. *HPA*, I. 286

4. *PR*, (1887)

5. *DC*, XX. 8096 On the author, see Chapter on *Campu post*

6. *CC*, I. 728, *PR*, III. 897 IV. 81, IV. 81, VI. 867. *SKG*, 175.

7. *NW*, 696

8. *DC*, XX. 8108

9. Printed, Bombay

10. *CC*, I. 728 Thomas, *Int to Kav*, 12 Authors are not named

11. *CC*, I. 728, *BR*, (1888-4), No. 98, 56, 860. Authors are not named.

12. *CC*, II. 174.

13. *IO*, 2458, *CC*, I. 728

14. Also called Sabhyālenkāra Samyogaśringāra, *BR*, (1884-7), No. 417, *BR*, (1887-90), ixii Authors are named.

15. *CC*, I. 728

16. Printed in part with commentary by Narasimha (*DC*, XX. 8098)

17. *DC*, XX. 8099, 8101

18. *TC*, I. 800 He also wrote Muṣikapancaka (*TC*, I. 878) and Vṛṣikapancaka (*TC*, I. 828)

19. *TC*, II. 2568, where author's names are not given.

20. *Baa*, 246, *CC*, I. 728

21. *PR*, IV. 81.

22. *DC*, XX. 105, *TC*, I. 1054, *TC*, IV. 5241, 5644 Written at the instance of King Kampa of Vijayanagar in 84 padhhati contains an account of Śāyaṇa's family.

23. *DC*, XX. 8117 in 18 śāṅkas He was of the family of Mahāmahopādhyāya of Elīśvara City

Subhāśitaratnākara (i) by Munidevācārvā<sup>1</sup> (ii) by Kṛṣṇa,<sup>2</sup> (iii) by K. S. Bhatawadekar,<sup>3</sup> (iv) by Umāpati, son of Nirmalanātha,<sup>4</sup> Sūktimuktāvali (i) of Viśvanātha, son of Vidyānīvāsa Bhāttācārya,<sup>5</sup> (ii) of Purusottama and (iii) of Mathurānātha<sup>6</sup> Subhāśita by Harihara,<sup>7</sup> Sabhāśitarangasāra of Jagannāthamisra,<sup>8</sup> Sūktijvali by Lakṣmana,<sup>9</sup> Subbhāśitāvali<sup>10</sup>

Subhāśita,<sup>11</sup> Subhāśitamuktāvali,<sup>12</sup> Subhāśitasamuccaya,<sup>13</sup> Subhāśitasudhānandalahati,<sup>14</sup> Subhāśitasuradruma,<sup>15</sup> Subhāśitaratnamālā,<sup>16</sup> Subhāśitamanjari,<sup>17</sup> Subhāśitārnava,<sup>18</sup> Subhāśitasangraha<sup>19</sup>

Cātudhāra,<sup>20</sup> Cāturaṇākara,<sup>21</sup> Cātuslokas<sup>22</sup>

1. PR, I 74
2. PR, III 85, 54
3. BR, (1887)
4. Printed Bombay.
5. Ibid. Cat
6. CC, I 728.
7. Ibid

8. Maṭra, V OC, I 728
9. CC, I 696 Composed in 1867 A.D

10. Kuppusami Sastrī's Rep. (1916-9), 40 Of the rare authors and works are Viśvādhika, Purandara, Udhama Dandin's 2nd verse of Avantisundarikathā, Tarunavacaspāti, Bṛhaṭkāthā, Vyāsa Sātakarpi, Sundarapāṇḍya, Vallabhadeva, Gajendra simha, Ravigupta, Amṛjavardhana, Cappatadeva, Suvarnaviṣṭara, Ankāvali, Rāmābhūdaya It quotes Somēvara and must have been composed later than 1180 A.D For another work of this name, see IOC, 1518

11. BR (1888-4), No 91 Authors are named Thomas, Inf to Kav 12, 14

12. Ibid No 92, PR, VI 867, Ulwar, 1094. Authors are not named. Another larger work of this name is in Aufrecht's collection, No. 61 in 84 Mukṭāmaṇis Authors are not named See Thomas, Inf to Kav. 18, for contents

\* 13. CC, I 728 Authors are not named

14. DG, XX 810-3-4; Taylor, I 140.

15. TC, II. 2569

16. TC, I 794, CC, III 150

17. CC, I 728, DG, XX 8099-8102, TC, I 800, 871, II 1681 Thus is probably the same as the work of Cakravarṭi Venkatachārlar TC, I 800

18. TC, I 468

19. PR, III 397, HPR, II 249

20. DG, XX. 8092. This contains 6 Paddhatis with 915 verses. There is a commentary on it, DG, XX. 8095

21. DG, XX 8085 This mentions Kākeñandra and must be later than Prati-parudra

22. DG, XX 8086-1052 These are different collections.

Padyaracanā by Laksmapabbhatta,<sup>2</sup> Rasikajīvana by Gadādhara-bhatta,<sup>3</sup> Subhāśitasārasamuccaya,<sup>4</sup> Sārasangraha by Sambhudāsa,<sup>5</sup> Sabhyālankaraṇa by Govindājī or Govindjīt,<sup>6</sup> Sabhbhūṣapamanjari by Gauḍama.<sup>7</sup>

**373-A** Sundaradeva's *Sūktisundara*<sup>8</sup> was composed about the beginning of the 17th century. His anthology is valuable in that it contains verses of various poets<sup>9</sup> of the 16th and 17th century in praise of the rulers of that period, particularly Mussalman. Among these are Ākbar (or Jallāladīna or Kābilendra), Muddapharasāha, Nizamasāha and Shah Jehan. He must have been very familiar with those Courts and here is a verse in which he has used some Urdu terms

जीमी कपाति सिभ्यति प्रतिवन बीबी गनीमब्रजा-  
स्योग्रस्य प्रतनोति च स्सखलनतामारात्प्रभुर्मरत ।  
दयांवा प्रचलन्ति वीचिनिवहैर्धूलामिरफत्ताबमा  
अस्थाने प्रतिहन्यती तव चमूशानेऽभिजाने प्रमो ॥

Emperor Akbar is thus praised by Akbariyakālidāsa

वीरं त्वं कार्षुकं चेत् अकबरं कलयस्युग्टङ्कारधोषं  
दूरे सद्य कलका इव धरणिसृष्टो यान्ति ककालधेषा ।  
शकापञ्चश्च किं कारणामिति मनसा भान्ति पकायितेन  
लक्ष्माङ्कारमकाद्विसृजति गृहिणीं किं च लङ्घाधिनाथ ॥

1 Printed, *Kavyamala*, Bombay *ZDMG*, (1888), 545

2 *Annals*, XII 896-9. *CC*, I 49, II 116 (composed 17th century)

3. *HPR*, Cat VII No. 5454.

4 *HPR*, Cat VII No 5448 Here Muddafar Shah, who ruled in Gujarat about 1561 A D is praised

5 *Collected Works*, II, 825

6 *TC*, VI 6984

7 See Article by Har Datta Sharma, *COJ*, III 183, *PO*, I, 52

8 Ākbariya Kālidāsa, Kavīvara I (*CO*, 88), Keśavādikīta, Gaṇapati, Gauri, Candracuda, Ghanaśyāma, Jagajīvana, Dharaṇīdhara, Bṛājibhatta, Bhayyabhatta, Bhānukara, Mauni, Ranganātha, Śrī Yaśmīka, Rāmacandrabhatta, Lakṣmana, Venidatta, Śāṅkaramūra, Hanumat, Harinārāyaṇamuni.

Of these CANDRACUDA was son of Bhātiśa Puruṣotama author of *Anyokṭikanthībhāṣapīṭa*, Candraśekharavivāhakāvya, Kārtjaviryoḍaya and *Prasṭāvacintāmaṇi* (*CC*, I 180) BHAYYABHATTA was son of Krishnabhaita and brother of Advaitabhatta. The latter wrote *Rāmalīngavarpana* or *Takrarāmīyaṇa* at Benares in 1628 A D. (*HPR*, Cat. VII No. 5214) RAMACANDRA wrote *Rādhācarita* (*CC*, III 1107)

and Emperor Shah Jehan is praised by Harinārāyaṇamīśra

भूमौलितटीषु वर्णते महाधाराधरेस्मिन्नसौ  
जाता भूमिसरस्वती विजयनी कष्टोलिनी पावनी ।  
श्रीमत्साहिजहा ब्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्या कथ  
यस्या मञ्जति पक्षजीयते शिवस्तम्भुर्धजे लीयते ॥

Virasimha (1500-1540 A D) and Rāmacandra (1555-1592 A D), Kings of Rewah, are praised here by poets Rāmacandra and Albarīya-Kālidāsa<sup>1</sup>

**373-B Acarya Kavindra or Kavindra** (which is only a title) "was originally an inhabitant of some town on the banks of the river Godavari. He had studied the Asvalayana sakha of the Rgveda and had mastered other branches of learning also. In his very childhood he lost his interest in the world and having taken Sannyasa made Benares his abode. The Sannyasin must have met Shah Jehan when the persecution of Hindus was at its highest and the Pilgrim-tax was re-imposed on pilgrims to Allahabad and Benares. The Sannyasin seems to have exercised wonderful influence on the emperor in order to make him abolish the tax. The joy of Hindu India knew no bounds and congratulations poured from all quarters. Addresses after addresses, verses and prose eulogies, were presented to the Sannyasin, the Defender of Faith. Titles of Kavindra, Vidyānidhana and Acarya were conferred upon him. These addresses in prose and verse along with the names of their authors who were scholars of repute or holy men have been preserved for us by Sri Krṣṇa Upadhyaya in an anthology (Padyavalī) called the Kavindracandrodaya."

धक्रेण मोचयांचके नकाच्छकातुजो गजम् ।  
प्रयागेम करग्राहात् करग्राहात् कवीन्द्रवित् ॥

Sriśwāmin

1. See Imperial Gaz. of India, XXI 279 ff King Virasimha was patron of Rāmacandra, son of Lakṣmīya Bhāṭṭa, who wrote Rādhācarita, Raṅkaranjana and Romāvalīśājaka, (See para *supra*) King Virabhānu (1540-1555 A D) of Rewah was patron of Bhanukara and as such is mentioned by Mohanadāsa in his Rasodāshī (CC, I 468, 495, 498)

In a small poem of 75 verses, the last 6 verses appear to be eulogy of Emperor Akbari for the verse हस्तामोजालिमाला is ascribed to him in Rasukajivana ('Annals', XII 896-9) and Pañcaya cāna. The Colophon mentions the name of Gangādhara as having written it. Har Dutt Sarma guesses that *Gangādhara* might be the name of Akbariya Kālidāsa

येन श्रीसाहिजाहा नरपतितिलकस्सस्य वश्यः कृतोऽभूत्  
 किञ्चावश्य प्रसन्नः पुनरपि विहित स्ताहिदाराशकोह ।  
 काशीतीर्थप्रयागप्रतिजनितकरथाहमोक्षैर्कहतु  
 सोय श्रीमान् कवीन्द्रो जयति कविगुरुस्तीर्थराजाधिराज ॥

Hīrarāma Kavi

Kavīndra was a friend of Visvanātha Nāyapancānana. He was very rich and he had a treasurer Kṛṣṇa Bhatta. He utilised his wealth for the enrichment of Sanskrit literature and had a library of immense merit embracing all branches of learning. The catalogue of his library has been printed in Baroda and contains the names of many works now unknown. His asceticism and spirituality commanded the respect of Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jehan and Prince Dara and a manuscript of Vāmana's Kavyālankārasūtra bears a seal with the name 'Salim' a name by which Emperor Jehangir was fondly known to his contemporaries. Kavīndra wrote works in all branches of learning. His commentary on Dasakumāracarita has a memorable colophon.

इति श्रीसकलशास्त्रार्थसार्थककृतशेषुषीविलासरसादप्रवर्तितासस्ययदस्तमुद्विद्वित्परिषद्वद-  
 यर्तीद्रवर्विद्यानिधान (श्रीमत्) कर्वीद्रावार्यसरस्वतीकृतायाम् ॥

**373 C** His collections of Rāmāyaṇa were very valuable and his list mentions Mṛkandurāmāyaṇa, Saṅgraharāmāyaṇa, Vyāsaraṁmayapa or Kākabhr̄asundirāmāyaṇa, Vālmiki's Nāṭakarāmāyaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa-rāmāyaṇa, Brahma-rāmāyaṇa, Śīvaraṁmāvana, Agastīrāmāyaṇa, Svaraṁmāyaṇa or Sevaraṁmāyaṇa, Āgama-rāmāyaṇa, Karmarāmāyaṇa, Skanda-rāmāyaṇa, Pulastyarāmāyaṇa, Aruḍarāmāyaṇa, Bharata-rāmāyaṇa, Dharmarāmāyaṇa, Adbhuṭarāmāyaṇa, and Gāyatrīrāmāyaṇa. There are also the poems Kṛṣnavilāsa, Corakāvya, Kalpita-Kēdambari, Meghavinoda, Śekharakāvya, Hāsyasanaka, on poetics, Bharatasūtra with commentary, Ratiniśūmukula, Kāmasamohana, Kolanāyikā-khyāna, and in drama, Sarasvatīkanthabharataṇātaka, Kṛṣnabhaṭṭī-rāsāyaṇa, Bhillana, Āsthānabhūṇa, Nepāla's Hāsyānātaka, and Meghaduyūḥi, Māṭhavāvilāsa, Bhojarājatarangīni and Prājyabhatta's Rājatarangīni, and various books on the different arts (64 Kalas).



## CHAPTER XVI

### SECTION 1

#### Poetesses

Among the authors of the hymns of the Rg Veda, We have some women. The Ātreya house produced the poetesses, Visvavarā (V 28) and Āpalā (VIII 91). In the Kalsivat house, there was a line of poetesses and of these Ghoñā was the greatest. She was the daughter of Kak-īvan. She calls herself a princess and probably her father was a ruler. She remained unmarried to a late age, when she was favoured with a husband by the grace of the Asvins. She wrote in Jagatī metre and her verses are easy and well balanced (I 117, 122) Juhū (X 109), Saśvatī (VIII 1), Māndhātri (V 134), Mādhavi (I 91), Sāsiprabhā (IV 4), Aṇulakṣmi (II 78, III 28, 63, 74 and 76), Revā (I 87), Pahāyi (I 83) and Rohā (II 63) are also poetic seers of the hymns. Asvalāvana mentions Gārgī, Vūcalnavī and Badavā Prātiṣṭheyī along with the ancient venerable Rsis. Lōpāmudrā is referred to in the Anukramanī (I 179-192).<sup>1</sup>

**374 Dhanadeva's verse is quoted in Śāṅgadharapaddhaṭi :**

श्रीलालिकामारुलामोरिकाधा काव्य कर्तुं सति विज्ञास्त्रियोऽपे ।  
विद्या वेतु वादिनो निर्विजेतु विश्व वक्तु य. प्रवीणस्स बन्धू ॥

Rājasekhara praises some poetesses, Sīla, Vijayīnkā, or Vijā or Vijikā, Subhadrā, Prabhudevi, Vikatanīṭambā

शब्दार्थयोत्समो गुरुः. पाचाली रीतिरूच्यते ।  
श्रीलालिकामारिकाधाचि वाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥  
के वैकटनितन्मेन गिरा गुर्मन् रञ्जिता ।  
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानां न मौख्यमधुर वच ॥  
सरसतीव कर्णटी विजयाङ्का जयस्तां ।  
या वैदर्मेगिरा वासः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥  
सूक्तीनां स्मरकेळीनां कलानां च विलासम् ।  
प्रभुर्देवी कविलीटी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥

<sup>1</sup> See *Women Poets of the Rig Veda* (IA, I. 118), *Poems by Indian Women* by N. Macnicol (*Htr. of India Series*), *Jl. of Sans. Sah. Parishat*, XVI 4

पाथस्य मनसि स्थान लेमे लघु सुभद्रया ।  
 कवीना च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥  
 नलोत्पलदलश्यामा विज्ञाकां ता मजानता ।  
 दृथैव दण्डना प्रोक्ता सर्वशङ्का सरस्ती ॥

Sīlā's expression followed her imagery,<sup>3</sup> Vikatanitāmīlā's verse was elegant in simplicity.<sup>4</sup> The style of Subhadrā appealed to the poetic mind and stuck to it for ever. Mōrikā and Mārulā excelled in suggestions of ideas.<sup>5</sup>

Vijjā was Sarasvatī incarnate except that she was dark in complexion.<sup>6</sup> Vijjakā has been identified with the queen of Cadrāditya, son of Pulakesin II, from the Nerur and Kochre grants dated 659 A D.<sup>7</sup>

Bājasekharacarita mentions poetesses, Kāmalīlā, Sunardā, Kanakavallī, Madhurāngī, Iṣṭītingī and Vimalāngī (of Malava).<sup>8</sup> Ballāla's Bhojcarita mentions some poetesses too, but it is doubtful if these were not fictitious names.<sup>9</sup>

The anthologies also quote verses of Jaghanacapalā (*Padyav*), Avilambītasarasvatī (*Padyav*), Indulekhā (*Subh*), Kunṭidevī (*Subh*), Candālavidyā (*Skm*), Nagamā (*Sp*), Padmāvati (*Pmt*), Madālasā (*Sp*), Rajakasarasvatī (*Skm*), Laksnī (*Sp*), Virasarasvatī (*Padyav*), Sarasvatī (*Skm*), and Sīta (*Bhojapī abhandha*)

1 Vāgbhata in his *Kavyānuśīla* quotes a verse as of Sīlā's. Is it Sīta? See Peterson, *Subh*, 180.

2 See Peterson, *Subh* 117, Thomas, *Kav* 104, Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII 85, CC, I 569, Bhandarkar Rep. (1895) xix, xlvi.

3 Peterson, *Subh* 94.

4 See Peterson, *Subh*, 119 Thomas, *Kav* 104 Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 85, CC, I 571, Bhandarkar, Rep. (1897) xix, xlvi Bhoja quotes from Vijjakā and Vikatanitāmīlā.

5 IA, VIII 44, 169. B Bhattacharya (*Brief Summary of Sahitya Sastra, Journal of Dep of Letters*, Calcutta, IX) says that he was contemporary of Dandin.

6 DC, XXI 8167, JMy, XI 7679.

7 Some of these verses are very good. For instance

धरु पौष्प मौर्वी मधुकरमयी चथलदशा  
 दशा कोणो बाणसुहदपि जडात्मा हिमकर ।  
 सय चैकोञ्जङ्गिभुवनमपि व्याकुलयति  
 कियासिद्धिस्सत्त्वे भवति महता नोपकरणे ॥

SILA

प्रियाविरहितस्याद् हृदि विन्ता ममागता ।  
इति मत्वा गता निशा के कृतञ्चमुपासत ॥

*Subh 1197*

JAGHANACAPALA

दुर्दिननिशीथपवने निस्सञ्चारासु नगरवीधीयु ।  
पल्लो विदेशयाते पर सुखं जबनचपलाया ॥

*Kav 318*

INDULEKHA

एके वारिनिधीं प्रवशमपरं लोकान्तरालोकनम्  
केवित्पावकयोगिता निजगदु क्षीणेऽहि चण्डार्दिष ।  
मिथ्याचैतदसाक्षिक प्रियसखि प्रलक्षतीव्रातपम्  
मन्येह पुनरध्वनीनरमणीचेतोऽधिशेते रवि ॥

*Subh 1904.*

MARULA :

कुशा केनासि त्वं प्रकृतिरियमङ्गस्य ननु मे  
मलाधूमा कस्मादगुरुजनगृहे पाचकतया ।  
स्मरस्यस्मान् कच्छिबहि न हि न हीलेव मगमत्  
स्मरोत्कम्प बाला मम हृदि निपत्त्वं प्रखदिता ॥

*Subh. 1326.*

MORIKA

मा गच्छ प्रमदाप्रिय प्रियशैर्भूयस्त्वमुक्तो मया  
बाला प्राक्षणमागतेन भवता प्राप्नोति निष्ठा पराम् ।  
कि चान्यत्कुचभारपीडनसहैर्यत्नप्रबद्धेरपि  
शुद्धत्कन्तुकजालकैरनुदिन निस्सत्रमस्मदगृहम् ॥

*Subh 1053*

VIKATANTAMBA :

अन्यासु तावदुपमदेसहाद्य भृशं लोल विनोदय मनस्सुभनोलसासु ।  
बालामजातरजस कलिकामकाले व्यर्थं कदर्थयसि किं नवमालिकायाः ॥

*Subh 735*

VIDYA OR VIJJA :

किञ्चुककलिकान्तर्गतमिन्दुकलास्पदिकेसरं भाति ।  
रक्तनिचोलकपिहित अनुरिव जनुमुद्रितमनक्षस्य ॥

*Subh Inv 118.*

## BHAVADEVI

सजन्मानौ तुल्यावभिजनभुवा जन्म च सह-  
प्रदृढौ नाम्ना च स्तन इति समानावुदयिनौ ।  
भिष्टसीमामात्रे यदिदमनयोर्भण्डलवतो-  
रपिस्वर्धीयुद्ध तदिह नमस्यः कठिनिमा ॥

Kav 62

**375 Priyatmava** was the daughter of Sivarama and wife of Raghunātha. She lived in Faridpur, East Bengal, soon after 1600 A.D. She wrote the poem Śyāmarahasya and her earliest verse was in praise of Kṛṣṇa

कालिन्दीपुलिनेषु कोळिकलन कसादिदेल्याद्विष  
गोपालीभिरभिशुतं ब्रजव्यैनव्रोत्पलैरचितम् ।  
बहालइकृतमस्तक मुलिलैरङ्गैङ्गिमङ्ग भजे  
गोविन्द ब्रजसुन्दरं भवहर वशीधर श्यामलेष ॥

**376. Vaijayanti** was the daughter of Mūrabhatta of the village of Dhanuka in Faridpur District. She married Kṛṣṇanātha, son of Durgādāsa Tarlavāgīśā of Kotalipada. She lived in the middle of 17th century A.D. She learnt Sanskrit under her father and was proficient in Mīmāṃsa. Once when her husband could not make out a passage अत्रतुलोक तथापिनोक्तम् and taught his pupils wrongly as meaning, "Here too not said, and there too not said," but dissatisfied with the interpretation appeared to be troubled over it, Vaijayati gave the correction construction अत्रतुला उक्तम् तत्र थपिना उक्तम्. She wrote fine poetry but it is all merged in Anandalīlācampū composed by her husband Kṛṣṇanātha, and her collaboration there is mentioned by Kṛṣṇanātha himself आनन्दलिलाकाचम्पूर्येनाकरि खियासह. Once it is said while Kṛṣṇanātha was composing verses descriptive of a nāyikā, Vaijayanti composed a verse at once

अहिरयं कलबौतिगिरिप्रभात् स्तनमगातिकल नामिहदोषित ।  
इति भिवेदित्यु नयने हि यत् श्रवणसीमणि किं समुपस्थिते ॥

**JAYANTI** is mentioned in an article by the editor of Visvalośa in an old magazine, Bangavashi, East Bengal. She has written a fine poem, said to have been seen by Pandit Amulyacaran Vidyābhūṣan, Assistant Secretary, Bengal Sahitya Parishat.<sup>1</sup>

1. For an account see *Sah*, XXI 112

2. I am indebted for this information to J N C Ganguly, M.A

**377 Uppaya**,<sup>1</sup> Manoramā and Subhadrā of Malabar, Avantisundarī, wife of Rājasekhara, and Sundarī and Kamalā, wives of Ghanasvāma, were poetesses of renown<sup>2</sup>

Gangūdevī, Madhuravānī and Tīrumalāmbā have already been mentioned

**378 Lakhina** Thakurani is the famous poetess of Mithila. A verse of hers is repeated

अकान्ता दशमध्यजस्य गतिना सम्भूच्छिता निर्जल  
तुर्यद्वादशमद्वितीयमतिमधेकादशामस्तनी ।  
सा षष्ठी कटिपञ्चमी च नवमभ्रूसप्तमीवर्जिता  
प्राप्नोत्त्वं भवेदना त्वमधुना तूर्णं तृतीयो भव ॥

Here is an indirect from of the signs of the Zodiac numbered in serial order from mesa<sup>3</sup>

"Attacked with the severe onslaught of the God of love is she Distraught like a craft or a fish in a dry place is she Oh, Thou bull-minded one, the damsel round of arms as a water jar, with arched eyebrows (the destined wife of thou who art like a lord amongst kings and who is not\* (gross) like a shop-keeper's wife who plies the scales (who has no equal) She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite Surely, let the result of married life relieve her ""

**379 Triveni** was the daughter of Udayendrapuram Anantācārya and was so named because she was born immediately after her father completed his poem Yādava-Rāghava-Pāndaviya. She lived in 1817-1883 A D. She was married to Praṭivādi-Bhayankaram Venkatācārya of Śriperumbudūr. Her poetic instincts manifested themselves even before her marriage and after her marriage, she studied philosophy under her husband. She had a son who predeceased her and after she became a widow she wished to erect a temple for some idols

1 JRAS, O S I Index

2 See para 166 *supra*

3 Pandit A M Srinivassacharya of Agaram near Conjeevaram has a similar verse

भेषारोहनिम निरीक्ष्य वृषभं भत्वा त्वया दृन्दूमा-  
वास्यै कर्तवत् प्रतीपगमना सिंहावलभास्त्रिता ।  
काया सावतुलापि वृश्चिकसमैर्बणैर्धुष्यापितै-  
रामुक्तामकरञ्जेन कलित् कुम्भस्तनी भीनदृक् ॥

4 As translated by G. A. Grierson 14, XV, 818.

discovered in her place and presented to her by the Collector, who was pleased with her Hāratipancaka For that purpose she went to the courts of Travancore and was well received there Dewan Rangācārya of Mysore was her admirer and by his patronage she completed the shrines She was prolific in her writings and her capacity to make up *samasyas* ex tempore was remarkable Among women she stands foremost in poetic contributions to Sanskrit Literature Her poems of devotion are Lakṣmisahasra and Ranganāthasahasra, her lyrics, are Sukasāndesā and Bhṛngasandesā, her poems are Rangābhūdaya and Sampaṭkumārvijaya and her plays Rangarātsamudaya and Tattvamudrābhārodaya, the latter of which is allegorical

**380** **Lakṣmi Rājnī** was a princess of Kadathanadu, Ikalavalam Kovilogram, Malabar She lived about 1890 Her Santinagopālakāvya in 3 cantos relates a story that a brahmin lost his ten children successively, Arjuna promised to save the last and when he was unable to do it and resolved to enter the fire Kṛṣṇa intervened and from Vaikuntha brought back all the ten lost children The last canto has Yamaka composition<sup>1</sup>

**381** **Sundaravalli** lived about 1900 A D She was the daughter of Narasimha Iyengar of Mysore, and studied under Kasturi Rangācārya She wrote Ramāyanacampū in 6 cantos corresponding to the Kāndas of Rāmāyana<sup>2</sup>

**382** **Jnanasundari** was a dancing girl of Kumbakonam She lived there and passed away about 1910 She was the pupil of Kuppuswami Sastri of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra and was, as she says, the author of several works, of these however only one Hālāyacampū in 6 Śabakas has been traced There are old gentlemen living in the southern districts who remember her discourses, dancing and recitals, well and with delight and R Fisher, Bar-at-law, of Madura was her particular patron She visited the Mysore court and there received the title KAVIRĀMA Her narration of the wedding of Minākṣi and Sundaresa makes a pleasant reading In verse she is fond of alliteration<sup>3</sup>

मधुरीकृतगरलत्वात् मधुरामिरस्या तदादि सा नगरी ।  
निजसीमस्थफणित्वात् विमाति हालास्यनामतश्चेह ॥  
तस्या ललाटलीनसाहापतिरंव शान्तसन्ताप ।  
रेजे कुरुभतिलकव्याजान्मन बुधा हि कालविद ॥

**383** Kamaksi married G A, Muthukrishna Iyer of Koundinya-gotra. She was born in 1902 and is the daughter of Pancāpagaśāstra of Ganapati Agraharam in Tanjore District. She is the Sanskrit tutor in the Girls' School in Cuddalore N T. She has mastered Kalidasan literature and her RAVACARITA is a small poem composed with words and phrases used by Kālidāsa an epitome of Rāma's story.

**384** Sister BHAKTI lives at Madras. She is a well-known nationalist of South India. Her Āryārāmāvāna is likewise a summary of the story, in easy verse, much, read by beginners in Sanskrit study.

#### S E C T I O N 2

#### Royal Poets

**385** The early Vedic literature has an instance of a royal hard Visvāmitra. The epic literature describes kings as highly learned and it is not unlikely that many of these patrons of poets were themselves poets. Vikramāditya is mentioned as a poet and some of his verses are quoted in the anthologies, though the identification of Vikramāditya is impossible. Samudragupta is called a Kavirāja in the inscriptions. Dynasties of kings of several parts of India had royal poets, so far as it is known, from about the 6th century B C. Kings whose works are now extant have been mentioned elsewhere in the several chapters of this book. The anthologies quote verses ascribed by name to royal authors. Of these a few are now known to history.

**386** Dharmasoka was the third in ascent from Kaniska of the first Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir. Kalhana says that this king freed himself from sins by embracing Buddha's religion and built the city of Srinagar with ninety six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth.<sup>3</sup>

स धण्वत्या गेहाना लक्ष्मलभीसमुज्ज्वलं ।

गरीयसी पुरीं श्रीमान्के श्रीनगरीं दृपैः ॥

*Raj I 104,*

Dharmasoka appears to have been a poet and his verse is enchanting.

For instance

अहमहमिकाबद्वोत्साह रतोत्सवशसिनि

प्रसरति मुहु प्रौढलीणा कथमृतद्विदिने ।

कफितपुलका सध स्तोकोदूतस्तनकोरका

बलयति घनैर्बला वक्षस्थले तरङ्गा दशम् ॥

*Saduk II 4-3*

1 Raj I, 101, et seq

**387 Gonanda**, the poet, was one of the three early Kings of of Kashmir, who lived according to Kalhana before 240 B C Here is a humorous verse

संग्वि कलित् सखलितो सौ नैव प्रणाममालेण ।  
चिरमनुभवतु मवसा बाहुलताबन्धन धूर्ते ॥

*Kar* 385

**388 Gopaditya** was the son of Akra He founded several temples and agraharams He ruled over Kashmir for 60 years in the 3th century B C Sunanda, the fourth ancestor of Gopaditya wrote a work on erotics,<sup>3</sup> and Gopaditya himself appears to illustrate it

अथ धूतजिताधरप्रहविद्वावीशोऽसि तत्पवण्डना-  
द्याधिक्षे वद् को भवानिति मृषाकोपा॑च्चतश्चूलतम् ।  
सधस्त्वकरात्कुन्तलकरायतीकृतसास्य मे  
मृग्धाक्षी प्रतिश्छत्य तत्कृतवती धूतेऽपि यन्नार्जितम् ॥

*Subh* 2110

**389 Ranaditya** Tunjina was the son of Yudhisthira and came to the throne after his brother Narendraditya<sup>4</sup> He ruled over Kashmir somewhere before 522 A D He takes a simile from an umbrella thus

यथगृजतवशबाक्षवसुधाधामामिराम वपु  
सप्रासोऽपतिश्ययस्त्वभावसुभगच्छायस्ता तापहृत् ।  
तत्वाप्येष विसंस्थुलस्थितिरहो लक्ष्मीं निजात्मोचितां  
प्रायश्चकिकया विना न लभते पश्यतपत्र यथा ॥

*Subh* 3075

**390 Samudragupta** is traised by Harisena, where the king is described as a prince of poets " His is the poetic style which is worthy of study and his is the poetic verse which multiplies the spiritual treasures of poets "<sup>5</sup>

**391 Muktapida** (Lalitaditya) was the son of Durlabhavardhana of Karkota dvnasty of Kashmir He ruled in 699-735 A D Sakleshwani was his minister He wrote didactic poetry<sup>6</sup>

१ वसन्त्वरणयेत् चरन्ति दूर्वा पिबन्ति तोयान्वयपरिभ्रहाणि ।  
तथापि वद्या हरिणा नराणां को लोकमाराधयितु समर्थ ॥

*Saṅga*

1 *Raj* I 896 846 See under Kalhana *supra*

2 *Raj* III. 879 *et seq*

3 See para 11 *supra* 14, XLII 172, 188, 280, 248, *JRAS*, (1897), 20,

4 *Raj* VI 146 *et seq*, Vaidya, *MI*, 202, S P Pandit, *In*<sup>1</sup> to Gaudavaho, lxxx gives date 645-782, M Duff gives 726 760 A,D But Cunningham gives date 594 A D

11 लक्त जन्मवन तृणाङ्कुरवती मातेत्र मुना स्थली  
विसम्भस्थितिहेतो न गणिता बन्धूपमा पादपा ।  
बालापलविषयोगदु खविष्युरा नापेक्षिता सा मुगी  
मार्गान्तं पदवीं तथाप्यकरणा व्याधा न मुञ्चन्त्समी ॥<sup>1</sup>

Subh 954

111 छित्वा पाशमपास्य कूटरचनां भङ्गक्षवा बलाद्वागुरी  
पर्यस्तामिशिखाकलापजटिलाशिर्गत्य दूर वनान् ।  
व्याधानां शरणोचरादपि जवेनोत्पलुत्य धावन्मृग  
कूपान्तं पतित करोति विष्वेरे किं वा विष्वौ पौरुषम् ॥

Subh 655

**392 Yasovarman**, King of Kanouj, was the patron of Bhavabuti and Vākpati. He was defeated by Lalitāditya Muktapida. Yasovarman's exploits are described in Vākpati's Gaudavaho. So says Kalhana.

कविर्वाक्यतिराजश्रीभवपूर्णदिमेवित ।  
जितो ययौ यशावर्मा तदगुणस्तुतिवन्दिताश् ॥

Ray IV 144

Yasovarman's play Rāmābhuyadaya is mentioned by Dhanika to illustrate chalana and quoted by Abhinavagupta.<sup>2</sup>

He compares himself with Asoka thus

रत्नस्त्वं नवपल्लवैरहमपि शार्दूले प्रियाया गुणै-  
स्त्वामायान्ति शिलीमुखास्त्वमरधनुर्मुक्तास्सखे मामपि ।  
कान्तपादतलाहतिस्तवं शुद्धे तद्वन्ममाप्यावयो  
सर्वं तुल्यमशोक केवलमह धात्रा सर्वोक्त कृत ॥

Subh 1364

**393 Jayapida** was son of Vajrāditya and succeeded his brother Sangramapida. He ruled over Kashmir in 751-782 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Kalhana calls him a pandita.

क्षीरामिधाच्छब्दविद्योपाद्यायात्समृतश्वत् ।  
इवैस्तव्यौ दृढिं स जयपीडपण्डित ॥  
तावत्पण्डितशब्दोऽभूत् राजशब्दादपि प्रथा ॥

1 Compare Menha's verse quoted para 85 *supra*

2 See Levi, II 9, Keith, SD, 220-4, Aufrecht, ZDMG, XXVII 75, XXXVI, 521, CC, I 174 and JBRAS, XVI 177, BR, (1897) xli Peterson, Subh. 95, JOR, III 267, (for extracts). For another Yasovarman of Paramāra dynasty, see under Bhoja post

3 M Duff gives dates 779-813 A.D.

In his court flourished Udbhata, Kīraswāmi, Manoratha and other poets. So says Kalhana <sup>1</sup>

विद्वान् दीमारलक्षणं प्रत्यहं कृतवेतनं ।  
 मद्भोऽभुद्भूतस्य भूमिमर्तुस्समापति ॥  
 स दामोदरगुप्ताख्यं कुट्टिनीमित्तारिणम् ।  
 कविं कविं बलिरिव धुर्य धीसचिव व्यधात् ॥  
 मनोरथशङ्कदत्तश्चटकस्सन्धिर्मात्तथा ।  
 नपूरु. कवयस्तस्य वामनाधाश मन्त्रिणः ॥

His description of nature, says Kalhana, was even in his times oft remembered <sup>2</sup>

अवस्थावेदिकास्तत्र मधिता पृथिवीमुजा ।  
 आद्रान्त करणैश्लेकास्मर्यन्तेऽध्यापि सूरिमि ॥

For instance

पुरो रेवा परे गिरिरितिद्वारारोहथित्वर  
 सरस्सब्य वामे दवदहनदाहव्यतिकर ।  
 धतुप्याणि पश्चाञ्छवरहतको धावतितरा  
 न यातु न स्थातु हरिणशिशुरेष प्रभवति ॥

*Subh 661*

**394 Avantivarman**, the first of Utpala dynasty, ruled over Kashmir in 855-884 A D. In his court flourished Muktakana, Sivaswāmin, Anandavardhana and Ratuñkara <sup>3</sup>. His similes are often drawn from nature

असारो निर्णुणो वक्षश्चित्ताख्यपतयानित ।  
 अवाप न चिराद्वद्य शक्त्वाप खलो यथा ॥

*Subh 1802*

दुस्सहस्रनापमयात्सम्प्रति मध्यस्थिते दिवस्तनाथे ।  
 आयामिव वाञ्छन्ती आयापि गता तस्तलानि ॥

*Subh 1693*

1. *Raj*, IV 403, *et seq.* IV 469 497, 548

2. See also *BKR*, 65, 78, *PR*, I 65 II 28

3. *Raj*, V 1—127. See para 56 *supra*

**395** *Vakptiraja II*,<sup>1</sup> also known as *Munja*, *Līpalaraja*, *Prabhūvallabha*, *Srīvallabha*,<sup>2</sup> was a poet and patron of poets. He was the son of *Siyaka*. He ruled at *Dhāra* in Marwar in 974-995 A.D. He was defeated and executed by the *Cālukya* king *Tailapa II*.<sup>3</sup>

*Munja* is praised by *Sambhu*, *Halāj udha* and *Kavirāja*. His treatment of *Bhoja*, his nephew, is the theme of the works entitled *Bhojcaritra*.<sup>4</sup> *Dhananjaya* and *Padmagupta* flourished in his court and *Kāmendra* instances his verses as of particular merit.<sup>5</sup> Remnants of his poetry now extant eminently attest the appreciation.

For instance :

देवि त्वं कुपिता त्वमेव कुपिता कोऽन्य पृथिव्या गुरुं  
माता त्वं जगता त्वमेव जगता माता न विहोऽपर ।

देवि त्वं परिहासकेलिकलहेऽनन्ता त्वमेवैस्तथ  
शातानन्तपदो नमञ्जलधिजाँ शौरीश्चिर पातु व ॥

*Subh. 20*

क्रतस्त्वमनु क खत खमिति किं न यत्कस्यचिन्  
किमिच्छसि पदवय ननु भुवा किमिलव्यया ।

द्विजस्य शमिनो मम त्रिभुवन तदिलाशयो  
हरेर्जयति निष्मुन प्रकटितश्च वकोवितमि ॥

*Saduk 43-2*

जयति समदलेखोऽच्छुद्धुलप्रेमरामाललितमुरतलीलादैवत पुण्यचाप ।  
त्रिभुवनजयसिद्धौ यस्य शूक्ळारमूर्तेश्पकरणमपूर्वे मात्यमिन्दुर्भयूनि ॥

*Saduk 93-3*

**396** *Kalasa* was the son of *Ananṭarāja* and father of *Harsa*. He ruled over *Kashmir* about 1080-1088 A.D.<sup>6</sup> *Silpaśāstra*'s description of him as a man of letters is delightful.

1. *Vākpati*, author of *Gaudavaho*, was a different writer;

2. 14, VI 48, XIV 159 *EI*, V vi, I 227, IX 171; *Bhāskaradeva* *Mādīmagupta* para 61 *supra*. For an account of *Munja*, see *Maratangā's Prabandhaśeṣīñjāmaṇi* (I xi) and *Introduction to Dasarupa* (*OUS*), by G. O. G. Mage.

3. 14, XII 270, XVI 18, XXI 167, *EI*, II. 412.

4. See under *Bhoja post*.

5. *Suvṛttatilaka*, II, 6, *Kavikāthābhāṣya* p. 125, *Adyayavicāracarca*, p. 16, (*Kavyamala Edn.*).

6. *Bai*, VII, 281, et seq.

यस्योदारा परिकल्यतशशङ्खशास्त्रप्रतिष्ठां  
द्वे भ्रेयस्यौ जगति विदिते श्रीश्च वाग्देवता च ।  
एका भेजे भुजमभिनवाम्बोजलीलातपत्रा  
श्वेतच्छ्वायथितसितयशश्चन्द्रिकान्या मुखेन्द्रम् ॥

*Vikrama* — XVIII 56

Equally worthy is Kalhana's description

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।  
सूरी तस्मिन् क्षणे तु ल्य द्वावास्ता कविबान्धवौ ॥

*Raj*, VII 259

Ksemendra quotes a verse as an instance of prosodial merit

अङ्गतौ जलमधीरलोचना लोचनप्रतिशरीरशारितम् ।  
आचमाचमपि कान्तमैक्षितु कातरा शफरशङ्किनी जहौ ॥

The following verses, besides others found in the anthologies suggest that Kalasa must have written plays and poems from which they have been culled for quotation.

दैत्यारिपञ्जरविदारणलब्धरन्त्ररक्ताम्बुनिक्षरसरिद्धनजातपञ्चाः ।  
कालेन्दुकेटिकुटिलाशुकचञ्चुभासो रक्षन्तु सिंहवपुषो नखरा हरेव ॥

आदित्या किं दैते प्रलयमयकृतस्तीकृताकाशदेशाः  
किं वोल्कामण्डलानि लिमुवनदहनायोधतानीति भीर्तै ।  
पायासुनरसिंहा व्युरमरगणैर्विभ्रतशशार्ङ्गपाणे  
हस्तूवा हस्तासुरोरत्तलदरणगलद्रक्तरक्ता नखा व ॥

*Subh* 52, 53

दयिताबाहुपाशस्य कुतोऽयवपरो विधि ।  
जीवयत्पर्वितं कण्ठे मारयत्पवर्जित ॥

*Subh* 15 29

**397 Arjunavarman**, son of Subhatavarman, was a successor of King Munja. He ruled in Malva about Sam 1272 (1216 A D). In his commentary on Amaruka,<sup>1</sup> he quotes a verse of "his ancestor Munja-deva". There he says about himself

क्षिप्ताशुभस्मृष्टवर्मनेन्द्रमूर्तुः  
वीरव्रती जगति मोजकुलप्रदीप ।

1. See para 808 *supra*. In an inscription it is said (*JAGS*, VII, 24)

देवभूय गते तस्मिन्नन्दनोऽर्जुनभूपति ।  
 दोषणा धर्तुना धात्रीवलय वलय यथा ॥  
 बाललीलाहृते यस्य जयसिंहे पलायिते ।  
 दिक्षपालहामव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भिन् ॥

Peterson, *Suhk*, 6,

Jalhana quotes a verse of his about Amaruka's poetry

अमरुककवित्वडमरुकनादेन विनिहनुना न सञ्चरति ।  
 शङ्खरमणितेरन्या धन्यानां श्वरणविवरेषु ॥

Here is another verse

नीतोऽस्मि येन महतीं सलिलेन वृद्धिं सयोजितश्च सतत गुरुणा फलेन ।  
 तच्छोष्यते दिनकृतेत्यतिचिन्तयेव शोकानत कलमशालिवन विपाण्डु ॥

*Suhk* 1822

**398 Laksmanasena** was the Vaidya King of Bengal who ruled at Lakṣānāvati. His era began 1119-1120 A.D. Śridharadāsa composed his anthology in during his reign<sup>1</sup>. In his court flourished Jayadeva, Umāpati, Govardhana and Śarapa<sup>2</sup>. His description of Kṛṣṇa is alluring

तिर्थकन्धरमसदेशमिलित श्रोत्रावतस स्फुरद्-  
 बहौर्चसितकेशपाशमनृज्ञवृक्षरीविभ्रमम् ।  
 गुणद्वेषु निवैशिताधरपुरुष साकृतराघानन-  
 न्यसामीलितदृष्टि गोपबुद्धो विष्णोमुख पातु व ॥

*Saduk* 57-2,

नेपथ्य भूतमर्तुखिदशपरिषदां जीवन यामिनीना-  
 मुत्तस पांचुलानां कुलरिपुरमृतक्षोतसाभाद्वैल ।  
 आतङ्क पङ्कजाना जयति रतिकलाकेतनं भीनकेतो-  
 सिन्धुनामेकवन्धु कुसुमसमुदयानन्दकन्दोऽयमिन्दु ॥

*Saduk*, 87 1.

**399 Anandagajapati**, Zamindar of Vizianagaram (1850-1897 A.D.), was a great poet. Many stray verses are now repeated. For instance

प्राचां रीति पौनशक्तप्रदात्री नव्या शिष्याचार्यमाधुर्यधुर्या ।  
 तस्मादस्तु क्षान्तिशीलाय तस्य त्वत्सबोध्य स्तोत्रमन्यापदेश ॥

1. See para 291 *supra*

2. See paras 291 302 & *supra*.

**400** The following royal poets are also quoted in the anthologies Aciṭṭadeva, Ananṭadeva,<sup>1</sup> Anurāgadeva, Amṛṭadeva, Arthavarmā, Bhramaradeva, Bhāskaraśena, Dhanaḍadeva, Kumāradattī, Karnāṭadeva, Nānyadeva,<sup>2</sup> Prabhākaraṇadeva, Rūpadēva, Vasantadeva, Vijayapāla, Vinayadeva,<sup>3</sup> Viṣamādītya, Vikramādītya, Vikrantivarman, Sankara-deva, Suravarman, Hariharadeva, Harivarman, Vāsudeva, Purusotṭama-deva,<sup>4</sup> Harṣapāladeva, Kesavasena, Sankaradeva, Pravarasena,<sup>5</sup> Kusumadeva.<sup>6</sup>

## SECTION 3

## Unnamed Poets.

**401** The anthologies ascribe verses to poets whose real names are not known, but who have acquired new names such as Sabdārṇava or Lalīṭānugraha as if they were titles conferred on them from attractive ideas exhibited in their compositions. So were other poets known by phrases Dīpasikhā-Kālidāsa, Ghantā-Māgha, Chatra-Bhāravi and the like. In the case of the following poets, for instance, it is only the titular name or sobriquet and stray verses that have come down to us.<sup>7</sup>

DAGDHAVADANA<sup>8</sup>

यदि प्रियावियोगेऽपि रुद्धते दीनदीनकंप् ।

तदिद दग्धमरणमुपयोग क्व यास्ति ॥

*Subh* 1255,

## DARSANIYA

सखि विवृणुते सन्तापस्ते तनुस्तनुतां गता कठिनहृदये धैर्यक्षेपाद्रतिर्गलितकमा ।

कथय विषमान्तर्दहव्यथां सहते न तां मदनदहनज्वालावङ्गीचिलीढिमिद मनः ॥

*Subh* 1172

## CANDRODAYA

प्रसीद गतिशब्दयता ब्रजतु राजहसी सुख स्मित च परिमुच्यता स्फुरतु कुन्दुप्प्रभा ।

निमीलय विलोचने भवत् हारि कण्ठेत्यल करथगितमानन कुरु विमात चन्द्रोदय ॥

*Subh* 2035

1 There is Ananṭadeva Silhāra, whose grant is dated Śaka 1016 (J. I. IX 269).

2 See chapter on Music post,

3 Probably the same as Viṣayaprabha (page 367 *supra*). Author of Candraḍuṭa, CO, II 36.

4 Probably King of Orissa whose grant is dated 1488 A.D. (J. I. I 355)

5. See page 32 *supra*.

6. Author of Drṣṭāntāśṭaka or Drṣṭāntakalikā, printed Haberlin, 917 CO, I. 368, *Subh.* 297 207

## DHAIRYAMIRA

दिव्यचक्षुरह जातस्सरागेणापि चेतमा ।  
इहस्तो येन पङ्यामि देशान्तरगतां प्रियाश् ॥

Suhk 1208

## NIDRADARIDRA

जाने कोपपराङ्मुखीं प्रियतमा स्वानेऽथ हृषा मया  
मा माँ मस्पृश पाणिनेति रुदती गन्तु प्रवृत्ता तत ।  
नो यावत्परिरक्ष्य चाटुकगतैराश्वामयामि प्रियाँ  
आतसावदह शठेन विधिना निद्रादरिढ कृत ॥

Suhk 1362

## PRIVASIRAH

पञ्चावृतक्षिपति क्षितौ निपतति क्रोड नर्खेस्त्रिक्षिख-  
त्युद्वाप्येण च क्षम्भुषा सहचरीं ध्वायन्मुहुर्बीक्षते ।  
चक्राह्वा दिवसावमानसमेये तत्त्वकरोत्युभ्यना  
येनालोहितमण्डलोऽपि कृपया नास्त रविर्गच्छति ॥

Suhk 1921

## MURKHA

नैवा वेगं मृदुतरतनुस्तावकीन विसोहु शक्ता मैनां चपल सुभृश भेदयेन्दीवराक्षीप् ।  
रत्युभ्यास विदधत इव प्राणनाथस्य गत्वा कणोपान्ते निश्चतनिश्चत नूपुर शमतीव ॥

Suhk 2107

## VAGINA

अतन्त्री वाग्नीणा स्तनयुगलम्प्रीवकलसावनञ्ज दृग्नोलोतपलदलमपत्रोहकदली ।  
अकाण्डा दोर्वक्षी वदनमकलक्ष्यश्याघर तदस्यात्माण्यं भुवनविपरीत स्फुटयति ॥

Saduk 3-2,

## VIRASARVATI

मधुरापथिक मुरारेष्ठेय द्वपरि वक्ष्वीवचनम् ।  
पुनरपि यमुनासलिले कालियगरलानलो ज्वलति ॥

Saduk 62-5

## BHERIBHRAMAKA

रम्भोहु क्षिप लोचनार्थमभितो ब्राणान् वृथा मन्मथ  
सन्धत्ता वनुरुज्ज्ञातु क्षणमितो भ्रूवल्लिमुक्षासय ।  
किंचान्तर्निहितानुरागमधुरामव्यक्तवर्णकमाँ  
मुग्धे बाचमुदीरयास्तुं जगतो वीणासु भेरीअम ॥

Saduk 49-1

## CANDALACANDRA

अन्मोरह वदनमन्बकमिन्दुकान्त पाथोनिधि कुसुमचापमृतो विकार ।  
प्रादुर्बूषूव सुभग त्वयि दूरमस्ये चण्डालचन्द्रधवलासु निशासु तस्या ॥

Saduk 36-2

## JAGHANACAPALA

दुदिननिशीथपवने निसंचारासु नगरवीथीषु ।  
पत्यौ विदेशयाते पर सुख जघनचपलाया ॥

Kav 518

**402 Kankana** may be King Kremagupta surnamed Kankana-varṣa who ruled over Kashmir in 958-968 A D (*Ray VI* 150-180) But it looks as if the poet got his name from the following verses and is a different author

कण्ठप्रहे शिथिलाँ गमिते कथञ्चित् यो मन्यते मरणमेव सुखाभ्युपायम् ।  
गच्छन्स एष न बलाद्विधृतो युवाभ्यामित्युज्जिते भुजलते ऋलयैरिवायाः ॥

Subh 1015

वीणाक्वाणलयोङ्गासिलोलदक्षुलिपल्लव ।  
मारत्वा पातु भूतानि पाणिर्लेसितकङ्कण ॥

Saduk. 71-1.

The following verse attributed to him in Śārasamuccaya, commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa, (*PR*, II, 15) is playful.

लीलापङ्कजमादधाति दचिरे गम्भीरनाभ्यन्तरे  
कस्तूरीद्रवचर्चित वपुरपि श्यामीकरोत्यादरात् ।  
ताटङ्क च करे करोति कुतुकाक्षकानुकारं तदा  
लक्ष्मीः कीडति पीतवस्त्रकलिता रिमत्वा सखीनां पुर. ॥

## CHAPTER XVII

### Desavrita

**403** **Vidyāpati** was the son of Ganapat and grandson of Jayadatta<sup>1</sup>. In L S<sup>2</sup> 291 (1410 A D) a copy of Kīvīaprakāśa was copied under Vidyāpati's order and in L S 309 (1428 A D) Vidyāpati himself copied Bhāgavata Purāṇa<sup>3</sup>. There is a copper plate grant of Mahārāja Śivasiṁha to Vidyāpati dated LS 293 (1412 A D)<sup>4</sup>. His Kīrtilaṭā, a poem in Avahittha language, mentions Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur (1401-1440 A D)<sup>5</sup>. Vidyāpati lived in the first half of the 15th century A D<sup>6</sup>. Vidyāpati was one of the earlier Padavalī poets whose songs in the vernacular charmed the people of Northern India<sup>7</sup>.

His Durgābhaktitarangini<sup>8</sup> is a poem of one thousand verses on the ceremony of the autumnal worship of Durgā famous in Eastern Bengal. It was written under the patronage of Dhiraśiṁha (son of Narasiṁha) who was the ruling king in Mithila in L S 321 (1440 A D).

Likhānāvalī<sup>9</sup> is a Sanskrit work on forms of letter-writing composed under the patronage of Purāditya, a Jagirdar in North Mithila. It mentions L S 299 (1417-8 A D) frequently in the letters.

Vidyāpati's name is equally known by his two gazetteers in prose, Bhūparikrama and Puruṣaparīksā. Bhūparikrama covers Balarāma's journey round the earth, describing 56 countries. Passing along the banks of the Sarasvatī, the poet mentions various historical events, down to his own times, including the battle of Hammīra with Allaudin. Puruṣaparīksā contains moral or political tales for the instruction of children. It is on the plan or Pancaṭantra, but the characters

1. Sir G A. Grierson gives a genealogy in *Marthal Chrestomathys*, 89. A similar list was published by Rājkrīṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya in *Bangadarsan* a few years ago. See Basantkumar Chatterjee, *Padavalī Literature* [Jl Dept of Letters Calcutta University, XVI 28 84] which gives a complete account of Vidyāpati.

2. L S is Lakṣmanasena Era which commenced in 1119 A D.

3. India Govt Ms fol. 117 a See B. Chatterjee I, c. 86.

4. B. Chatterjee, I, c. 88, quoting from Bangiya Sah Part Patrika, where V. Rāmatūrīha gave the text.

5. Elphinstone's *History of India*, (748 9)

6. Nagendranath Gupta (*Introduction*) thinks that Vidyāpati died in 1448 A.D.

7. I c. 828 There is another work of this name by Mādhava (CC, I 256))

8. CSC (1903), 445, CSC (1895), No. 29.

are men, some of whom are historical. It was written under the orders of Sivasimha of Mithila, but the king died before the work was finished.

**404** **Pattubhatta** or Poṣaryārya of Vadhlālagotra was born in the village of Kākamrāṇipura near Masulipatam. His Prasangaratnāvali written in Saka 1338 (1466 A.D.) is a collection of miscellaneous descriptions and comprises stanzas on moral and social duties, rules for particular ceremonies and personal conduct and sketches of individual biography and character. The 77th chapter gives short accounts of princes from the great Vikramāditya to Simhabhūpaṭi, Raja of Pittapur. Proverbial expressions are abundant.<sup>1</sup>

**405** **Jaganmohana** wrote Desavalivīṛṭi at the request of King Baijala of Chohan race who died in Saka 1570 (1648 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> It describes the 56 kingdoms of India with the names of rulers, ancient and modern, and contains much historical information.<sup>3</sup>

**406** **Mahesa Thakkura** wrote Ākbarnāma or Sarvadesavīṭṭāntasangraha in prose and he was presented by Emperor Akbar with the Darbhāṅga Raj.<sup>4</sup>

**407.** **Ramakavi** wrote Pāndavadigvijaya<sup>5</sup> in the court of Rāja of Sekharabhūmi in the 18th century A.D. It describes the conquest of India by Pāndavas. It is very voluminous, probably bigger than Malābhāraṭa. "Like Desavalivīṛṭi, it is rather a geographical work describing the most noted places in India with historical or Paurāṇika events associated with them. The chief interest of the book consists in the accounts which it gives of the manners, customs, laws, religions, institutions and other social particulars of different parts of India before and after the Mahomedan conquest. The stories of Vikramāditya, Śālivāhana, Bhartṛhari, Śankarēcārya, Prabhākara Bhatta, Jumar Nandi, Jayacandra (king of Kambhoja), Pratāparudra (ruler of Orissa), Surabhātta, etc., find a place in it. The authorities quoted are Bhavisya Purāṇa, Skanda Purāṇa, Rudravijaya, Viśvagunādarsa, Mahābhojaprabandha, Śākāvali etc."

1 *TC*, III, 8771. *DC*, XX 8065, where contents are given.

2 *CU*, I 840, Big 708, P. R. III 895. See B. Chatterjee, *I.C.*, 25

3 *OSO* (1908), 48-5. It contains an interesting account of Kalyāṇavarman killed at Puri in Kali 4600. Haraprasadi Sastrī (*JBORS*, III 14) mentions Vikramāsāgara of Jaganmohana.

4 See para 96 *supra*, All Un Studies, Vol V *Gazetteer Literature of India*.

5 *CSC*, (1896) No. 72.

**408 Cambhucandra Nṛpati** wrote *Vikramabhārati* at the beginning of the 19th century, incorporating various stories about Vikramaditya and from Purāṇas<sup>1</sup>

**409 Padmanandī** wrote *Jambūdvīpapragñapti* in 18 chapters, describing the various divisions of Jambūdvīpa and their measurements according to Jaina Siddhānta<sup>2</sup>

*Jambūdvīpavarnana* is a geography with maps and drawings according to Jain authorities The author's name is not known<sup>3</sup>

**410 Venkatakavisvarabhuma** was the son of Jogibhukta and Pārvatī He appears to have lived in Godāvari District about the end of 18th century He says he was a master of all arts and sciences and as indicative of his wide learning, he planned his *PRAPANCADARPANA*<sup>4</sup> It is a huge encyclopaedia in three parts, Dharmakhanda, Arthakhanda and Kāmakhana and under these heads it embraces various topics on Manṭras, Purāṇas, astrology etc, poetry and poetics etc Often he makes quotations, but there is much there that is his own composition References to authors and works seem to be so incorrect and unknown if not queer, that we are led to doubt their authenticity<sup>5</sup>

**411 Ramakṛṣṇa Sastrī's Bhuvanapradipikā** written at Hassan in 1808 under the patronage of Krisna Raja Odeyar III of Mysore is an encyclopaedia,<sup>6</sup> "on a variety of subjects such as creation time, the Manvadis, geography, astronomy, history of Southern India and of Mysore with many details about his patron Krishna Raja Odeyar III, the Puranas, duties of the four castes and religious orders, Yoga and Vedānta Among the Jaina kings of Tundira-desa are named Satvandhara, his son Jivandhara, his son Yasodhara, his son Gunapala, his son Yasahpala, his son Prajapala, his son Lokapala, his descendant Himasitala who ruled from Kali 1125 Pingala and in whose reign Akalanka vanquished the Buddhas, then followed Harivikrama, Simhavikrama, Satyaratha, Nyayaratha and Dharmaratha whose son

1 OC, I 569

2 Cat C P, No 7217

3 " No 728

4 TC, III, 4091, See Kuppuswami Sastrī's Rep (1916 19) 86

5 For instance, he mentions Prasannarāghava of Murāli, Candragup'a's Sringārasāra and Rasasāgara, Janakipariṇaya of Gopāla, Śringāracandrika of Sāhaśāṅka, Buhpa's Bhojacarita, Dandin's Vasanṭakusumākara, Mayura's Vasanṭanātaka, Goniputra's Smaracandrikā, Allasam Peddanna's Rasamanjarī and Saṭyāparṇeya et al.

6 Mys, Arch. Rep. (1918), 67,







## CHAPTER XVIII

### Kathanaka

(Fables and Fairy Tales)

#### SECTION 1

**412** Closely allied to Gādja Kāvya in the style of prose and to Nitī Kāvya in import are the Fables. They are generally called Kathā. But to distinguish these tales from the species of Romance called technically Kathā, I have used the term Kathanaka. In these fables and fairly tales, "the abundant introduction of ethical reflection and popular philosophy is characteristic, the apologue with its moral is peculiarly subject to this method of treatment."<sup>1</sup>

"The controversy that was carried on towards the end of the last century between the advocates of the Eastern and the Northern origin of European fiction had reference especially to a particular class of creations—to those of chivalric romance—to the marvellous exploits magnified out of the traditional achievements wrought by the companion Knights of the Round Table or the Paladins of France. With all confidence, a different class of fiction that, at a later age, found accession into European literature can be traced back to oriental sources. Sir William Jones, in his discourse on the Hindus, observes that they are said to have laid claim to three inventions—the game of chess, the decimal scale of notation and the mode of instructing by apologetics. The universal prevalence among the Hindus of the doctrine of metempsychosis was calculated to recommend to their belief the notion that beasts and birds could reason and converse and consequently the plan of such dialogues originated with them. Despite the questionability of the evidence in favour of the originality of the Hindus in the art of instruction by apologetics, the purposes to which the Hindus directed it are peculiarly their own. Fable is with them practical ethics—the science of *mithi* or polity. Each fable is calculated to illustrate some reflection on worldly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct."

The oldest Aryan fables, dating from centuries before Christ, have, according to Dr Rhys Davids, travelled to different parts of Europe and have assumed various modern shapes. Otto Keller maintains the

Indian origin of fables common to India and Greece and suggests an ancient Assyrian channel of communication. The substantial link of connection with the west is the literature of the beast-fable. The *Mahavipulya* sutras of the Buddhistic literature appear to contain the earliest Sanskrit legends in prose styled *Ityuktha* and *Vijakarana* (corresponding to the *Ithasa-puranas* in the *Brahmanas*) or legends in the form of parables styled *avadana* exhibiting many elements of the later animal fables and further tales of presages and wonders *adbhuta-dharma* and lastly special instruction in and discussion of definite topics, denominated *upadesa* and *mdana*. All these tales, partly mythical, partly didactic and partly allegorical, reappear in a more archaic dress in the *Brahmanas* in the *puraṇa*. The poetry does not point to any close similarity with the language of Kalidasa's. The prose passages are devoid of all lucidity or simplicity. The verse and the *Aranyakas* as well as in the prose legends interspersed in the *Mahabharata* which, in the general tenor of their language, present many salient points of similarity with the style of the Buddhistic sutras. Most conspicuous among these are the *Jataka* tales, which treat of the prior births of Buddha and the Bodhisattwas."

In the Rk Veda are the stories of Man and the Fish, Indra's metamorphosis into birds Markata and Kapinjala. In the Chāndogyopaniṣad "we have the allegory or satire of the dogs which search out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of the two flamingoes whose remarks call attention to Raivaka and the instruction of the young Satyakā finding a bull, then by a flamingo, then by an aquatic bird." Fables were directly known to Paṭanjali.<sup>1</sup>

Early Sūtra works of Jainas, contain impressive tales illustrative of their ethics and philosophy. Saśitanṭra consisted of stories explanatory of the subtleties of Sāṅkhya philosophy.

## SECTION 2

### *Brhatkatha*

**413** The earliest regular collection of Fables was Brhatkathā of Gunādhyā.<sup>2</sup> But to us it is only the name that has survived. Gunādhyā has almost become mythical. He was placed in the same pedestal as Vālmīki and Vyāsa. Gunādhyā was inspired and was the third of the

1 See *ISI*, XIII, 486, Weber, *IL*, 211, Keith, *SL*, 242

2 See S Oldenberg's *Materials for the study of Indian Tales called Brhatkatha*, Tr of Buss Or. Society, 1888

Epic Triad Govardhana salutes them all in a strain and compares their poetry to a river with three branches. He feels that Gunādhyā was Vyāsa incarnate. Kālidāsa mentions old men of Ujjam well-versed with the stories of Udayana.<sup>1</sup> Bāna compares Brhatkathā with Haralīlā.<sup>2</sup> Subandhu names it in a simile.<sup>3</sup> Dandin instances it as a class of Kathā.<sup>4</sup> Daśarūpa names Brhatkathā and Dhanika calls it the source of Mudrārākhsasa and quotes two verses as 'Brhatkathayām'

Nepālamāhātmyā draws a parallel between Valmīki and Gunādhyā "Both come to Nepal, Valmīki because Narada, instructed by the gods, points out to him, to the north of the hill of Changu-Narayan, the confluence of the two branches of the Virabhadra as the 'sacred spot worthy to be the cradle of a poem as pure' as the *Ramayana*, Gunādhyā, because Civa has imposed upon the demi-god of whom he, Gunādhyā, is the human incarnation, as condition of his deliverance, after the composition of the *Brhatkatha*, the erection of a lingam on a sacred spot difficult of access, both before leaving Nepal, Valmīki, to return to his hermitage, and Gunādhyā to heaven, erect commemorative lingams, the *Valmukicvara* and the *Bhūngicvara*<sup>5</sup>

**414** In copper plates discovered at Gummāreddipura, Kolar Dt<sup>6</sup> dated 40th year of King Dūrvinita (early part of the 6th century A.D.) it is said. शब्दावतारकरेण देवमारतीनिबद्धवृहत्कथेन किरातार्जुनीये पश्चदशसर्गीकाकारेण दुर्विमीतनामध्येन

A Cambodian inscription of the 9th centry A.D. mentions Brhatkathā "That inscription is one of the five steles of the Thnal Barav, consecrated to the eulogy of King Yacovarman (Bergaigne Insc sanscrites de Camp et due Cambodge, 2e fasc Nos LVI-LX)

पारदस्तिस्थरकस्याणो गुणात्र्य प्राकृतप्रिय ।

अनीतियों विशालाक्षशश्वरोन्यकृतसीमक ॥ LVIII C, 15

'A Paradah out of which the Kalyana subsists (willing to help but always happy) Gunādhyā who did not like the Prahrat (rich in virtue

1. *Megha*, I.

2. समुद्दीपितकम्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।

हरलीलेव नो कल्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥ *Harasooriṇī*, Int.

3. बृहत्कथालभैरिव सालमजिकानिवहै । *Vasat*.

4. *Kavyādarsa*, I 88

5. Lacote, *Essays*, 14. S Levi, *Le Nepal*, I 828, 887

6. See *Mys Arch Rep* (1912), 65 9, 14, XLII, 204, *JRAS*, (1918) 889.

but not loving harshness), Vicalakṣa, a stranger to the *nihi* (with big eyes but without the torments of exile) He was Cura having humbled Bhimaka'

Mr Barth has pointed out (I c p 313) another allusion

गुणान्वितस्तिष्ठतु द्रूषितोऽपि स्थानार्पितो येन पुनर्युणाद्य ।  
गदोऽथल चारु विमूषणाय हरप्रयुक्त किमुतामृताशु ॥

LIX B, 26

'It matters not if a virtuous man is even vilified, because he was really a virtuous man. Gunadhyā was reinstated in his place, even the poison that is closely united with Civa serves sufficiently as a graceful ornament, what to say of the moon?'

I still suspect a third allusion

यस्य कीर्तेर्युणाद्याया शूद्रदूचनरथादिव ।  
पतितामृशमुद्रादीन् क्षमागाम्भीर्यदिक् ॥

LVIII, C, 9

**415** It is possible therefore that the work was extant so late as the 12th century, it is a wonder that no trace of it is visible anywhere. Somadeva and Ksemendra have made translations and epitomes in Sanskrit *Kaṭhasaritsāgara* and *Bṛhatkaṭhāmanjari*, and these represent the original Pāsachi text to a great degree though these poems read by themselves disclose an originality of poetic narration. These two poems are from Kāśmir. Later has been discovered Budhasvāmin's *Bṛhaṭkathā-Slokasangraha* representing the version of *Bṛhaṭkathā* current in Nepal. Vāmanabhatta's *Bṛhatkathāmanjari* is a South Indian production, but only the 24th *Betala* is available there.

**416** The stories forming *Bṛhaṭkathā* had a divine origin. There are two versions of it, Kāśmerian and Nepalese. Somadeva thus recounts the story "Siva once narrated to Parvati the marvellous history of the seven Vidyadhara Cakravarṭins. He was overheard by one of his attendants, Pushpadanta, who communicated it to his wife Jaya, a servant of Parvati. The latter again spread it amongst her fellows and the indiscretion of Pushpadanta soon became known to the divine pair. Parvati, filled with anger, then cursed Pushpadanta and condemned him, in punishment of his fault, to be born as a mortal. His brother Malyavan, who dared to intercede for him, received a like sentence. But when Parvati saw Pushpadanta's wife, her faithful attendant, overwhelmed by distress, she relented so far

as to set a term to the effects of her curse. She decreed that when Pushpadanta, on meeting a goblin or Pisacha called Kanabhuti, in the Vindhyaas, should remember the great tales and his former birth and should tell them to Kanabhuti, he should be delivered from his mortal body. Malyavan also should be allowed to return to heaven when he had heard the Vibhaktaas from Kanabhuti and had spread them on the earth. Agreeably to this order, Pushpadanta was born in Kausambi, as Vararuchi-Katayana, and became a great grammarian and the minister of Yogananda, the last of the Vandas. After an eventful life he retired into solitude and on a pilgrimage to the temple of Parvati Vindhavasini, he met Kanabhuti in the forest. He remembered his former life and communicated to the Pisacha the seven great tales. Having accomplished this he re-obtained his celestial nature, according to Parvati's prediction. Malyavan, also, who in his human birth had become Gunadhyā of Pratishthana and had served King Satavahana as minister, came accompanied by his two pupils Gunadeva and Nandideva, to the dwelling place of Kanabhuti. He received from him the seven stories in the language of the Pisachas and wrote them down in 100,000 Slokas each, with his own blood. By the advice of his pupils, he sent the whole to king Satavahana, hoping that the king being a man of taste might preserve and spread them. But that monarch rejected with disgust a work that was written in the language of the goblins and with blood. On receiving this news Gunadhyā burnt six of his stories, the seventh was preserved with difficulty through the entreaties of his pupils. King Satavahana, who accidentally learned that the recitation of the remaining book charmed even the beasts of the forest, repented of his former conduct, repaired to Gunadhyā's habitation and obtained the manuscript of the remaining story. He studied it with the help of Gunadeva and Mandideva, and wrote the introduction, detailing its origin, likewise in the language of the Pisachas. The book then became one of the stories that are famed in the three worlds.<sup>1</sup>

NFPATAMAHATMYA (Chap 27-29) has a different story.<sup>2</sup>

"It begins like the Cashmerian legend with a conversation between Parvati and Siva. The Goddess asks the God for a story that has not been told before and while Siva relates it, all the doors being closed, the Gana Dhrngin, under the form of a bee, enters through the key-hole, overhears Siva's tale and repeats it to his wife

1 F Lacote, *Essays*, 80 81

2 Levi, *The Nepal*, I 203 4

Vijaya Some other day Parvati starts relating the tale to her maids, but Vijaya knows it already 'Who is guilty of that indiscretion' Civa, through the intensity of his meditation, discovers the culprit, sends for and curses him Bhrngin asks the God to have pity, the God complies and forgives him under the following conditions, he must become a man, learned virtuous and skilful, he must write down in 900,000 verses, full of poetical feeling, the story he had overheard, he must erect a *linga* in a place difficult of access, and then only, will he be delivered from human condition and allowed to reascend the Kailasa In this preamble we find again the notion of the originality of the *Bhaktatha* and besides, a precise detail on the nature of that poem it is to be a love poem, the purpose of which is to produce a dramatic feeling, it must be *rasavamanvitah* But one can see that the Nepalese version differs from the other in two particulars, the gana who is cursed is called Bhrngin and there is only one Bhrngin is born at Mathura under the name of Gunadhya Having become an orphan he sets out for Ujjavini where King Nadana, the consort of the learned Lalavati, daughter of the king of Gauda, is ruling The Pandit Caravarman, who is in the king's service, appreciates the talents of Gunadhya and obtains for him a place of pandit at the Court Then comes the story of the king's mistake on the word *modaka* Gunadhya asks for twelve years to teach him grammar, Caravarman only two There is a bet as in the other version of the legend Caravarman wins it, thanks to the revelation of the grammar Kalapa (Katantra) Gunadhya is condemned to silence, he goes to live as an ascetic in a hermitage The ascetic Pulasty a passing by, advises him to write his tales in the Paicaci language, he will afterwards go to Nepal, erect a *linga* in honour of Civa and thus obtain deliverance from the curse which has made him a man Gunadhya writes his poem with minerals on the leaves of trees, as he composes he recites the verses aloud, the wild animals surround him to listen to him and they forget to eat, the game served at the royal table is so lean that the king complains, the cooks blame the hunters, these in exploring the woods meet Gunadhya surrounded by the attentive animals, they themselves, falling under the spell, remain to listen There is no longer any game for the king's dinner, enraged, he goes to see what has become of the hunters, sees Gunadhya and presses him to come again to Court, Gunadhya refuses, 'Sire, I have composed 900,000 delightful verses in Paicaci, you must have them written in Sanskrit, as for myself I will go to Nepal' He goes to Nepal, sees

the Pacupativara, then setting forth for the temple of Pacupati he performs around the valley the *pradakshina* which the Nepalamahatma describes at great length, it is the guide book of the modern pilgrim Having returned to the temple, Gunadhyā gathers all the munis who live in Nepal, establishes the Bhrngīvara and in an aerial chariot (*vimana*) reascends to the kailasa to resume his place among the Ganas Even at the present day, under the form of a bee, Bhrngīn returns, at each phase of the moon to have a look at his linga ”<sup>1</sup>

**417** Gunādhyā was born at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvari, “ says Ksemendra Somadeva mentions the city of Supratistha, capital of Pratiṣṭhāna, or at times calls it Pratiṣṭhāna on the banks of the Godāvari It is the capital of the Āndhra dynasti of Sātivāhanas of which Hāla or Sātivāhana or Śālivāhana was an illustrious scion According to Puranas Hāla was the son of Arista Satakarṇi and ruled between 2644-2649 Yudhishtira Saka, that is, 493 to 490 B C On an identification of Sātivāhana and Śālivāhana it has been said by modern scholars that the patron of Guṇādhvā lived about 78 A D , the date of the Śālivāhana era <sup>2</sup>

**418** Budhasvamin’s Brhatkathaslokasangraha, comes from Nepal, and this led to its being called a Nepalese version of Gunādhvā’s original, a version according to some orientalists, earlier than the works of Somadeva and Ksemendra

1 See Essai sur Gunādhyā et la Brhatkatha by F Lacombe, Paris (Translated JMy XII XIII) See G H Tawney’s Review in JRAS (1909), 112

2 Ksemendra (Avan 187) calls city of Prasenajit Supratistha, and Mahābhārata (III 8214) notes Pratiṣṭhāna as a tīrtha at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges

F Lacombe thinks that Guṇādhvā was born at Mathura and lived at Ujjain or Kaushambi (Essays, 26)

3 On Hāla, see note on para 505 svf; a

On his Saptasati or Kośa, Bāṇa says

अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत्सातवाहन ।

Harsavarita, Int 18

On the identity of Śātivāhana with Śālivāhana, see Wilson’s Col Works, III 181 note and Seshagiri Sastrī, II I 814

Buhler (Kash Rep 47) places Guṇādhvā in 1st or 2nd century, and Weber (IL, 218, 1st I 858) in 6th century A D (Id, I 307) Keith (SL, 263, JRAS, 1901, 145) and Levi (TII, 817, Le Nepal, II, 68) give the date 2nd or 3rd century A D Speyer (Studies) says Brhatkatha lies between 400 and 600 A D , nearer the latter Tawney (JRAS (1909), 908) agrees V Smith, (EH, 19<sup>o</sup>) dates it in the latter half of 1st century A D See also S. Krishnaswami Iyengar on Brhatkathā, JRAS (1906), 688.

*Slokasangraha* is now available as a fragment. It is a poem of sargas meant obviously to be an extensive book, but the fragment gets us only 28 sargas of about 4,539 verses. Either the work was left incomplete or the manuscript has been lost to us. In estimating the dimensions of the whole collection, Lacote says, "Naravahanadatta must relate the conquest of his twenty-six wives (IV, 3), and yet, at the end of the twenty-eighth book, that is of 4,539 verses, he has only come to the sixth one. The history of the first five has taken up 3,622 verses, the proportions being the same—and one does not see that he abridges more as he goes on with the narration, far from it—the history of the twenty-sixth spouse would take us into about 19,000 verses, to it one must add the whole history of the conquest of the empire. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to estimate the whole length of the poem at 25,000 verses at least, divided into more than 100 sargas."<sup>1</sup>

The poem begins with an encomium of Ujjayini and the death of Mahāsena or Pradyota. Gopāla, his son, succeeded him, but afflicted with the talk that he was a patricide he abdicated in favour of his brother Palaka. Warned as if by a heavenly sign, he gave up his throne and Gopāla's son Avantivardhana ascended the throne. Then comes the story of his love with Surasamanjari. The 28th canto leaves us with Naravahanadatta in the company of Bhagirathayasas.

F. Lacote thinks that Budhasvāmin must have lived about the 5th or 6th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> He remarks, "The differences with regard to the other two versions are enormous. The subject announced at the beginning of the fourth sarga, after the three sargas which form the introduction, is the history of Naravahanadatta, son of the king of the Vatsas, Udayana, and emperor of the Vidyadhara. It is the same as the principal subject of the *Kathasavitsagara* and of the *Bhāskarathamanjari*, but the arrangement of the matter and, in some parts, the matter itself are altogether different. The spirit in which the subject is dealt with is also quite new. It is no longer a question of slight differences in the order of the books, like those one notices between the *Kathasavitsagara* and the *Bhāskarathamanjari*, which, in spite of the various readings, show a common original. Here we have a poem entirely different, if it has the same ancestor as the other two, which to me seems to be certain, its relation to them is several degrees removed."<sup>3</sup>

1. Ed and Tr. by E. Leroux, Paris

1. Essays, 110, 114

1. Essays, 10-11.

**419 Ksemendra Brhatkathamanjari** comes next<sup>1</sup> Ksemendra was in the Court of King Ananta of Kāśmir (1029-1064 A D) His writings have been noticed in a prior chapter<sup>2</sup> His three Manjari are in reality distinct pieces of poetry and they can be called epromes only in respect of the narrative of their originals

Ksemendra's poem like Somadeva's "is divided into eighteen 'lambhakas' the names of which are the same as those of the corresponding Books in the Kathasaritsagara Besides, we find in the Brhatkathamanjari a double system of subdivision Most of the accessory tales and some of the principal episodes of the hero's history are followed by a colophon which resumes the substance of the tale—something like the marginal sub-titles found in the translation of the Kathasaritsagara by Mr Tawney It is a kind of index of the several incidents found in the text, and it is most convenient for ready reference This method of subdivision, being found in all the manuscripts of the Manjari, must be rather ancient'

**420 Somadeva**, son of Rāma, was a Brahmin poet of the Court of King Ananta of Kāśmir who ruled about 1029-1064 A D Ananta's son was Kalasa and Kalasa's son was Harṣa For the amusement of Sūryāvati, queen of Ananta, Somadeva wrote KATHASARITSAGARI in 15 Books of 124 Jārangas and 24,000 verses, the earliest large collection of stories extant in the world, about 1070 A D Somadeva declares that his work is a condensed Sanskrit version of Gupādhyā's Paśūci Bhātakāthā

In his prospectus of the Edition of Tawney's Translation of this work N M Penzer says '

"Turning to the work itself, one is amazed by the mass of stories of every conceivable kind it contains Animal stories dating back hund-

1. *DC*, XXI 8165 Ed Bombay by Sivadatta & Parab, by S Levi, *J.A.*, (1885) 897 479, (1886) 178-222 with translation of Bks I, VI and part of Bk IX Translated in part by L Von Mankowski

2 See para 68 *supra*

3 *Essays*, 84-5.

4 See *Raj* VII 945

5 Hoernle [*J.R.A.S.*, (1903), 120] gives this date. Wilson (*SL*, I, 158) fixes the date at 1030 A.D Seshagiri Sastri (*I.J.*, I, 385) gives Somadeva 1059-1071 in the time of King Harṣa Buhler (*IA*, I, 902) gives the date 1068-82 A D

6 Ed Bombay El and translated by H Brockhaus, Leipzig Translated by C H Tawney, *Bibl Ind* now being recited with introduction and elaborate notes by N M Penzer.

reds of years BC, wild legends of Rig-Veda days explaining the creation of the earth, harrowing tales of blood-sucking vampires, beautiful and poetic love stories and vivid descriptions of terrible battles between gods, men or demons. All these are found in this storehouse of romance. Nor should it be forgotten that India is the true land of Romance, more so indeed than either Persia or Arabia, for India's own history is a romance hardly less exaggerated and enthralling than the tales themselves.

The collector of these stories, Somadeva, was a man of genius who rightly ranks next to Kālidāsa among Indian poets. His power of telling a story in a clear, entertaining and absorbing way is only equalled by the richness and diversity of his subject-matter. His knowledge of human nature, the elegance of his style, the beauty and force of his descriptions and the wit and wisdom of his aphorisms, are masterly in their execution.

On the other hand, in most Eastern collections of tales (especially Indian), the way in which fresh stories are embedded in other ones and the bewildering rapidity with which one follows another, makes the reader long for Ariadne's thread to lead him safely out of the labyrinth. The Editor, therefore, has taken special care to provide an efficient thread in this new edition. A system of numbering the stories has been introduced, that not only makes the reading easy, but acts as a guide to students of Comparative Folk-lore.

The Kathā-Saṁit-Śagara is, of course, a much older book than *The Thousand Nights and a Night*, and is the origin of many tales in the *Nights*. Through them it has given ideas not only to Persian and Turkish authors, but also to the western world through the pens of Boccaccio, Chaucer, La Fontaine, and their innumerable imitators.

Mr Tawney's excellent notes, supplemented by those now added, afford an enormous amount of information which will prove interesting not only to the student of Comparative Religion, Folk-lore, Magic (both black and white), Ethics, Sociology and Anthropology, but also to the intellectual lay reader, who wishes to increase his store of out-of-the-way and esoteric knowledge".

"Its literal translation is 'The Ocean of Streams of Story'. Somadeva felt that his great work united in itself all stories, as the

---

— See generally, J. S. Speyer's Studies about [Kathāsaṁit-Śagara, JRAS (1908) 907, Lassen, Ind Alt III 1034, IV 871, Wilson, SL, I. 156, II. 109; Weber, SL, 218, Keith, SL, 281-7,

ocean does all rivers. Every stream of myth and mystery flowing down from the snowy heights of sacred Himalaya would sooner or later reach the ocean, other streams from other mountains would do likewise, till at last fancy would create an ocean full of stories of every conceivable description -tales of wondrous maidens and their fearless lovers, of kings and cities, of statecraft and intrigue, of magic and spells, of treachery, trickery, murder and war, tales of blood-sucking vampires, devils, goblins and ghosts, stories of animals in fact and fable, and stories too of beggars, rascals, drunkards, gamblers, prostitutes and bawds.

This is the *Ocean of Story*, this the mirror of Indian imagination that Somadeva has left as a legacy to posterity."

#### 421 Somadeva thus dealt with the original Brhatkatha

यथा मूलं तथैवैतत्तमनागच्छतिकम् ।  
आैचिलान्वयरक्षा च यथाशक्ति विधीयते ॥  
कथारसाविवातेन काव्यांशुस्य च योजना ।  
वैदरध्यरूपातिलोभाय मम नैवायपुष्टम् ॥  
किन्तु नानाकथाजालस्मृतिसौकर्यसिद्धये ।

In the preface Somadeva gives the following account of his work "The first book in my collection is called Kathapitha, then comes

1 "As in the original work, so also in this one, there is not anywhere the least omission, only the language is more compact in order to avoid the book becoming too large. I have endeavoured as much as possible to choose the most suitable expressions, and while describing in the stories the various movements of the passions (raas), a work has been produced which may be considered a piece of poetry. My work did not spring from the desire to secure the fame of learning, but simply to facilitate the memorizing of that many coloured net of myths"—Brockhaus

"This book is precisely on the model of that from which it is taken, there is not even the slightest deviation, only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work, the observance of propriety and natural connexion, and the joining together of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, are, as far as possible, kept in view, I have not made this attempt through desire of a reputation for ingenuity, but in order to facilitate the recollection of a multitude of various tales"—Tawney

"As is the original such is the copy, it does not deviate from it, even by one line, I simply epitomize the primitive work and I translate, that is all the difference. Careful to observe, as far as possible, the literary propriety, and the logical sequence, in doing my best not to break off either the narrative or the spirit of the sentiments expressed, I am no less careful to arrange a portion of a regular poem"—Iacobi

Kathamukha, then the third book, named Lavanaka, then follows Naravahanadaitajanana, and then the book called Caturdarika, and then Madanamancuka, then the seventh book named Rainaprabha, and then the eighth book named Suraprabha, then Alankaravati, then Saktivasis, and then the eleventh book called the Vela, then comes Sasankavati, and then Madiravati, then comes the book called Pancha, followed by Mahabhiseka, and then Surasamanjari, then Padmavati, and then the eighteenth book Visamasila”<sup>1</sup>

Somadeva then gives the wonderful origin of the tale at great length (Kth I 1-13-18!)

“Each book comprises a number of stories loosely strung together by being narrated for the recreation or information of some individuals or arising out of their adventures. There are Vatsa, King of Kausambi, and his son Naravahanadatta. The marriage of the latter with various damsels of terrestrial or celestial origin and his elevation to the rank of King of the Vidyadharas a class of heavenly spirits are the leading topic of most of the books but they merely constitute the skeleton of the composition, the substance being made up of stories growing out of these circumstances or springing from one another with an ingenuity of intricacy which is in reality one of the great charms of all such collection”<sup>2</sup>

“The stories all wind up at the end of each book or not infrequently sooner. The action is never suspended for any prolonged interval and the complication is not of such a nature or extent as to convert variety into confusion. The stories are always characterised by the features of Hindu nationality and are illustrations of Hindu opinions, usages and beliefs. They exhibit, in a striking and interesting manner, the peculiarities of the social condition of India, and in the exposure of its follies and vices furnish those delineations of the similar imperfections of all civilised society of which the general applicability and truth have recommended their imitation to the satirists and story-tellers of Europe. The greater number of them turn upon the wickedness of women, the inconstancy, profligacy, treachery and craft of the female sex. These attributes no doubt originate in the feelings which have pervaded the East unfavourable to the dignity of the female character, but we are not to mistake the language of satire or the licentiousness of wit, for truth, or to suppose that the pictures which

1 CSC, (1896) No 148

1 Wilson, SL, II p 112-119

are thus given of the depravity of women owe not much of their coloring to the malignity of men".<sup>1</sup>

**422** The well known Arabian nights are a similar composition. They were rendered into Sanskrit under the title Āravyavāminī by JAGADBANDHU PANDITA at the request of Sambhucandra, Zamindar of Kathmaya.<sup>2</sup> In his introduction to the translation of Arabian Nights, Sir R F Burton thus sums up the subject-matter of Kathāsaritsāgara in comparison with the Arabian nights "The thaumaturgy of both works is the same—the Indian is profuse in demonology and witchcraft, in monsters as wind-men, fire-men and water-men, in air-going elephants and flying horses (I 541-543), in the wishing-cow, divine goats and laughing fishes (I 24), and in the *speciosa miracula* of magic weapons. He delights in fearful battles (I. 400), fought with the same weapons as the Moslem uses, and rewards his heroes with a "Turband of Honour" (I 266) in lieu of a robe. There is a quaint family likeness arising from similar stages of society, the city is adorned for gladness, men carry money in a robe corner and exclaim "Ha, Good!" (for "Good, by Allah!"), lovers die with exemplary facility, the "soft-sided" ladies drink spirits (I 61) and princesses get drunk (I 476), whilst the eunuch, the hetāra and the bawd (Kuttini) play the same preponderating parts as in the *Nights*".

JAGANNĀTHAMISRA'S KATHAPRĀKASA borrows the tales of Kathāsaritsāgara (ix-xii and xiv-xvii).<sup>3</sup>

### SECTION 3

#### Pancatantra

**423** Pancatantra,<sup>4</sup> the famous collection of fables, has, it has been said, a circulation in the world, next only to the Bible. Hertel records two hundred (and more) versions in about fifty languages some of which are extra-Indian. During the reign of King Chosran Anosharwan (531-579 A.D.) a Persian Physician Burzoe or Burzuyeh translated it into Pahlavi and incorporated it into his Book of Stories called Karatala and Damanaka. This Pahlavi translation is lost as also its Sanskrit original and we have now an old Syriac version made by Bud in 570

1. Wilson, *SL*, II 114

2. *CSO*, (1908), 110

3. *I.O* No 4105

4. For a full history of Pancatantra, see Hertel's *History of the Beast Fable in India (HOS)*.

A D and an Arabic version made by Abdallah Ibn al Mogaffa about 750 A D.<sup>1</sup>

Pancatantra is so called because it is divided into five Tantras or sections, and is as such known also as Pancopākhyāna. Viñusarman extracted the essence of all the most celebrated works of this class and composed it as Nīti Śāstra for the education of the sons of King Amara sakti of Mahilāropya in the Deccan. The prefatory invocation is addressed to Sarasvatī and all authors on ethics, Manu, Vācaspati, Uśanas, Parāsara, Vyāsa and Cānakya. The use of the word *dīnāra*, it is said points to its date as somewhere after the Christian era, and therefore, says Keith, "it is not sufficient to assign it to the 2nd century A D, at the earliest."<sup>2</sup>

Speaking of the priority of Kautilya's Arthasāstra, it has been said 'The titles such as separation of friends, winning of friends, war and peace, the loss of one's acquisition, and hasty action, given to the 5 books of the Panchatantra are political ideas explained in no earlier work than the Arthasastra. They are adumbrated with appropriate illustrative stories in the Panchatantra. There is reason to believe that the author of the Panchatantra is indebted to the Arthasastra for the use of the word Prakṛiti in the sense of a friend or an enemy (Mitraprakṛiti and Aśiprakṛiti). A friend or an enemy inside a State is called abhyantaraprakṛiti and outside a State, bahyaprakṛiti. In the 15th book entitled Tantrayukti of the Arthasastra, Chanakya says that use of the word Prakṛiti in the sense of a friend or an enemy is his own device (svasanjna) which he explains as parair asamitas-saibdah, a word not used by others. Besides making use of the technical terms devised and political ideas taught in the Arthasastra, the author of the Panchatantra not only mentions the name of Chanakya as a writer on Nripa-sastra or Nītisastra, but also makes verbatim quotations sometimes wrongly and sometimes rightly from the Arthasastra in support of his views.'<sup>3</sup>

**424 Purnabhadra**, the pupil of Jinapati Sūri, was a Svetāmbara Jain monk.<sup>4</sup> He revised Pancatantra at the instance of Somamantrin in

1 Ed and Tr by G Bickell, Leipzig. See for these other versions, Edgerton, I, 412. W Norman Brown, *The Pancatantra in modern Indian Folklore*, JAOS, XXXIX. I.

2 Keith, *SL*, 245 et seq., *JPIAS* (1925) 504. There are Pancatantrakāvya of Dharmapandita and Pancatantrakāvya adigruppa (*CC*, I, 814).

3 *Mys Arch Rep.* (1927), 16

4 For his poems, see para 101 *supra*. See *PR*, IV 27

1199 A D<sup>1</sup>. It is marked by the appearance of twenty-one new stories, including a famous one of the gratitude of animals and the ingratitude of man<sup>2</sup>.

Pūrnabhadra used an earlier Jain recension whose author quotes Mīgha and Rudrata must have therefore lived after the 9th century A D<sup>3</sup>.

In Sam 1716 (1600 A D), Meghavijaya composed Pancākhyānoddhāra, a modified version of these various recensions<sup>4</sup>.

The south Indian Pancatantra is a careful and slight abbreviation and preserves the narrative and the language with faithfulness<sup>5</sup>. Very often its sentences agree with Tantrakhvāvīkā and it is later than Bhārati<sup>6</sup>.

The Nepalese version has all the verses, particularly of the South Indian recension. "We may agree with Hertel in thinking that the South Indian Pancatantra and the complete text on which the Nepalese is based," says Edgerton "were not identical, nor directly derived one from the other, but that they are closely related offshoots of the same archetype"<sup>7</sup>.

**425 Tantrakhyanā** or Tantrakhvāvīkā is a form of Pancatantra, manuscripts of which come from Kasmīr and is itself in two sub-recensions, in one of which there are more verses and more prose. According to Hertel "it is the only version which contains the unabbreviated and not intentionally altered language of the author,<sup>8</sup> which no other Indian Pancatantra version has preserved, while the Pahlavi translation distorts it by numerous misunderstandings<sup>9</sup>.

But according to Edgerton, "In short, the difference between the Tantrakhyanā and the other versions, in their relations to the original,

1 Ed (HOS) by Benfey, J Hertel with English translation by P E More, Leipzig. The Prasasti gives the date as Sam 1255. See IO, 2648, BR (1897), vix. For an analytical account, see Wilson, SL, II 1.

2 Keith, SL, 261.

3 Keith (SL 260) places it in 1100 A D.

4 Keith, SL, 260. On Meghavijaya, see para 98 *supra*.

5 Ed by Haberland it, and again by J Hertel, Leipzig.

6 See Edgerton, *Aśva Or Series*, III 17, Keith, SL, 262.

7 Ed by J Hertel in *Anmerkungen* AOS, III, 20.

8 Ed by J Hertel, Berlin Tr Leipzig, HOS, Vol 14. See *Abhandlungen of Saxon Society*, Vol 22.

9 ZDMG, LXIX 118. See also Zacharias, *K7 Schriften*, 170. Winternitz on Tantrakhyanā, TOJ, XXIV 49.

is a difference of degree and not a difference of kind All are to a considerable extent original All are to a not inconsiderable extent unoriginal On the whole, the Tantrakhayayika contains more of the original than of any other In this respect it is surpassed by the Southern Pancatantra, which has much less unoriginal material than the Tantrakhayayika, and probably less than any other version, except the greatly abbreviated and versified Somadeva”<sup>1</sup>

**426** It is said that there has been an unbroken tradition of narratives in the style of Pancaṭanṭra from time immemorial with ramifications in various times and countries and these versions “all go back to a book of fables and stories consisting of five books or sections and a brief introduction The introduction provides the “frame” or setting, and at the same time suggests what must have been to the author's mind the key-note of the whole work it was supposed to be a kind of *Furstenspiegel* or *Mirror for Magistrates* teaching worldly wisdom to princes, by entertaining examples, as well as by cleverly phrased precepts The precepts are principally found in the verses which are abundantly scattered through most parts of the work The examples consist in the stories themselves, which are told mainly in prose Each of the five sections or “books” forms a dramatic unit in itself, and all five are, as I said, set into the introduction as a frame In the introduction a wise brahman undertakes to enlighten three ignorant princes He does so by narrating to them, one after another, the five books of the Pancatantra Each of the five books contains not only a primary story, which we call the “frame-story” but also at least one, and usually several, “emboit” stories, that is, stories represented as told by one character in the frame story to another Sometimes there is a double “emboitent”, a character in an “emboit” story tells a story to another character (In some of the late versions of the Pancatantra this process was carried even further, so that we have a sort of “Chinese nest” of stories) Most of the stories are beast fables, that is, their principal actors are animals decked out with human properties but a number of them have only human characters, while some have both men and animals, and even though rarely—gods and other supernatural beings The stories are in general very well told and of a high artistic quality”

Among several scholars that have investigated the history of Pancatanṭra there are preeminently two, J Hertel and F Edgerton In

1 *HAOS*, III 16 See Keith *SL*, 259, 60

2 Edgerton, *HOS*, III, 4

Hertel's view there are only two different sources of Pancatantra tradition, one Tantrākhyāyikā and another "K", archetype of all other versions and an intermediate archetype to which the Southern and Nepalese and an intermediate archetype to which the Southern and Nepalese versions and Hitopadesa go back<sup>1</sup>. But Edgerton says there are four independent streams of the tradition flowing from one single old source Southern Brāhatkatha of which Somadeva's and Kṣemendra's are epitomies, (ii) Tantrākhyāyikā (iii) Southern Pancatantra (iv) the original of Pahlavi version Pūrṇabhadra's recension is a combination of Tantrākhyāyikā and Southern Pancatantra.

Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara contains the five books of Pancatantra, "separated from one another by extraneous materials, but preserves considerably more than Kṣemendra does of the bulk of the narrative and Kṣemendra's text of Pancatantra<sup>2</sup> is the most drastically abbreviated among all versions"

From a comparison of these various versions Edgerton made up the text of what he considered the original of Pancatantra<sup>3</sup>.

**427 Hitopadesa** is a far later version of Pancatantra and has been more popular with the students of Sanskrit Literature. Avowedly based on Pancatantra, Hitopadesa is a work with a plan original in itself of Nārāyaṇa<sup>4</sup>. Instead of five books, Hitopadesa has only four. Its third book has as its frame a story which is only a remote reflex of Pancatantra Book III. The frame of its fourth book is wholly new, though evidently intended as a companion piece to Book III and suggested by the title of the original Pancatantra's third book. Book IV of the Pancatantra is wholly omitted, the stories of Book V, including the frame story, are included as emboxt stories in Hitopadesa Books III and IV. Several of the emboxt stories of Pancatantra Book I are transferred to the Hitopadesa's new Book IV, those of Pancatantra Book III are impartially divided between Hitopadesa Books III and IV,

1 See on this Hertel, *ZDMG*, LVI, 817, LIX, 118, 118, Winternitz *DLZ*, XXXI, 2760

2 This has been separately edited, *Der Aussugana des Pancatantra in Kṣemendra's Brāhatkathāsanjari*, Leipzig

3 "Pancatantra reconstructed," *HOS*, Vol 2 Text and critical apparatus and vol 3 Introduction

4 Ed everywhere, by F Johnson, London, by P Peterson, Bombay and in *Handbooks for the study of Sanskrit* by Max Müller with an interlinear translation On Hitopadesa, see Edgerton, *AOS*, III, 20-22; *PR*, III, 997. There is a Hitopadesapadyasangraha (*CC*, III 158)

not a few stories of the first three books of the Pancatantra are omitted altogether, and various stories not found in the Pancatantra are inserted in all four books of the Hitopadesa, presumably from the unnamed "other works" referred to by Narayana."<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 4

**428 Ananta Bhatta** who describes himself as son of Nagadeva Bhatta, a Brahmin of Kanya caste. In his *Pancopākhyānasangraha* or *Kaṭhāṁṛtinidhi* he professes to preserve the whole of the narrative Pancatantra.<sup>2</sup>

"Each fable is designed to illustrate and exemplify some reflection on wordly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct, and the illustration is as frequently drawn from the intercourse of human beings, as from an imaginary adventure of animal existence and this mixture is in some degree a pecularity in the Hindu plan of fabling or story telling."<sup>3</sup>

**429 Simhasanadvatrimśika** or *Vikramārkacarita*<sup>4</sup> is a collection of thirty-two tales. The throne was a gift from Indra to Vikramāditya and when Sālivāhana vanquished him and killed him in battle, the throne was buried in the earth. King Bhōja by chance unearthed it, and as he was ascending the throne, images of maidens sculptured on the throne became animated and related the tales in praise of Vikramāditya to Bhōja and regained their liberty.<sup>5</sup>

There are various versions of the work, attributed to Kālidāsa, Rāmacandra, Siva and Siddhasena Divākara.<sup>6</sup> Kremankara, a Jain, who lived at the beginning of the 14th century A.D. wrote in prose, with verses at the beginning and condensed the tales. The South Indian version is generally known *Vikramarkacarita*. There are North Indian versions, one in verse and are considerably different, and are both anonymous. In Bengal, the recension is ascribed to Vararuci and is mostly Kremankara's.

1 Edgerton, *I e* 21-2 Garcin de Tassy, *Hist de la Lit Hindoue*, II 448.

2 *CC*, I 78 *IOC* VII 1560.

3 Wilson's *Essays*, II 79 *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes* by M A Loiseleur Des Longchamps, Paris,

4 It is also known as *Dvāṭrimśāṭ putjalikā*, *OAL*, II 1, 2 and *Dvāṭrimśāṭ sūlabhanjikā* (*OC*, I 717).

5 *IOC*, VIII 1566, Ed Madras, Bombay, Calcutta *PR*, V 189, and Harvard Sec Weber, *ISI*, XV 185, F Edgerton, *AJP*, XXXIII 249, Keith, *SL*, 292, *BRI*, 98, *PR*, IV 81. R. F Burton's *Vikrama and the Vampire*, London.

6 *CC*, I 717, III 148.

**430 Sukasaptatikatha** is a collection of 70 clever stories of erotic nature but of ultimate didactic import. It is said that this story was related to Indra in his assembly by Nārada in the form of a parrot and that any one who hears the story attains all ends. One Devadāsa kept a parrot and when the King sent him away to a distant country with intent to seduce his wife, the parrot to whom Devadāsa entrusted the care of his family began to relate each night one story to her, keeping her interested in it till dawn and by the end of 70 stories the husband returned and all was well.<sup>1</sup>

There are three recensions of this work, *ornatus* and *simplicior* of R. Schmidt (who has edited a Mahrati version), the first by Cintāmaṇi Bhatta and second later by a Svetambara Jain,<sup>2</sup> and a third by Devadatta, son of Puruṣottamadeva.<sup>3</sup>

**431 Vetalapancavimsati** is a series of 25 stories, very old in origin.<sup>4</sup> Kremendra and Somadeva relate the same stories in their poems. Independently we have versions by Śivadāsa in prose and verse<sup>5</sup> and by Jambhāladatṭa in prose<sup>6</sup> and one anonymous in prose.<sup>7</sup> Vallabhadāsa's work is an abbreviation.<sup>8</sup> There is also Vetalavimsati of Venkatabhatta.<sup>9</sup>

**432** Tales relating to Vikrama are found in Ananṭa's Viracarita and Śivadāsa's Śālivāhanacarita,<sup>10</sup> in the anonymous Vikramodaya,<sup>11</sup> in the Jain work Pancadandachatra-prabandha<sup>12</sup> and Nandiśayāgnika's Vikramārkacaritra.<sup>13</sup> Vikramasenacarita is a collection of stories like

1 Ed Madras *DC*, XXI 8172 Keith, *SL* 359

2 Ed *AKM*, X 1, *ZDMG*, LIV, 515, LV 1, *ABA*, XXI 2 Tr Kiel and Stuttgart

3 Hertel, *Festchrift Wendisch*, 188 Keith, *SL* 290-2

4 See Keith, *SL*, 288-90 *IOC*, VII 1563-5 Levi *JA*, VII 191, *PR*, V 886

5 Ed by H. Uhle, Leipzig, *AKM*, VIII 1 See Bosch, *De legende van Junuṣavahana*, 22 ff Kathārpava of Śivadāsa has 85 stories. For other Śivadāsas, see *CC*, I 649

6 Ed Calcutta *IOC*, 8108

7 Ed *AKM*, VIII 1 See for another version *BSGW*, (1914), 66, where the manuscript is dated 1487 A.D.

8 *IOC*, I 1564, *PR*, III, 896, III. 30

9 Opp 4544

10 See para 204 supra

11 *IOC*, I 8960, Ziebarth, *KL Schriften*, 152, 186,

12 Ed and Tr *ABA*, (1877)

13 *CC*, I 757 Mys 293 Printed, Madras

Vikramārkačariṭa narrated to King Vikramasena of Prathisthāna by a vampire stationed in a simsupa tree<sup>1</sup>

**433** Merutunga's Prabandhaçintāmanī and Rājanekhara's<sup>2</sup> Prabandhakōsa contains quasi-historical narratives<sup>3</sup>

Hēmacandra's *Trishashtisalākāpurusacarita* and its supplement *Parīṣṭaparva* contain much folklore besides tales mythical and biographical<sup>4</sup>

Siddharṣi was the pupil of Saddarsin. His *Upamitabhāvaprapancakaṭhā* was written in the year 962 (*Viranirvāṇa*) which would mean Sam 492 (436 A D) This tallies with the date of Haribhadra (who died in Sam 585) who wrote his *Lalitavistara* for Siddharṣi's edification<sup>5</sup>. Peterson says (*PR*, IV 5), "Of the fact that Siddha and Magha were cousins there appears to be no reasonable doubt. Their common grandfather was Suprabhadeva, minister of the king of the time of Śrimala in Gurjara desa. Suprabhadeva had two sons, Datta and Subhankara. Magha (who tells us himself that he was the son of Dattaka and the grandson of Suprabhadeva) was the son of the one, and Siddha the son of the other"

Prabhācandra's *Prabhāvakacarita* was revised by Pradyumnasūti<sup>6</sup> about 1250 A D It is a collection of stories in verse, mostly biographical notices<sup>7</sup> in 22 chapters, probably based on a similar work of Hemacandra<sup>8</sup>

**434.** **Somacandra** was pupil of Rājanekhara of Īapā Gaccha. He wrote his *Kaṭhāmahōḍaṭhi*, a collection of 126 Jain stories, in 1504 (1448 A D) beginning with the story of *Karpūraprakara*<sup>9</sup>

Bharatakadvāṭrimsikā are 32 stories of Jain origin, satirical of Brahmin usages<sup>10</sup>

1. *DC*, XXI 8592

2. Ed by J Hertel, Leipzig

3. See paras 119, 201 supra

4. Ed H Jacobi, *Bib Ind* Tr J Hertel, Leipzig and by Helen M Johnson, *GOS*, Baroda. See Keith, *JRAS*, (1908) 119, *SL*, 204

5. Id *Bib Ind* Calcutta *PR*, IV 129, III. App 146

6. Printed Bombay

7. See *PR*, IV, 79-81. He wrote *Samarāḍḍiyacarita*, in Sam 1884

8. Among such stories are those relating to Bāṇa and Mayura, see Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura (Col Un series)*, 17-19.

9. *PR*, III. 18, 317, IV, cxxxiv

10. *Oxf*, 155.

**435 Jagannathamisra's** Kathāprakāśa is a collection of tales taken from various sources and contains interesting episodes. The fourth story relates the sufferings of Bhāravi during his sojourn in his father-in-law's home. Jagannātha was the son of Lakṣmana of Rādhavamsa and lived about the 17th century A D.<sup>1</sup>

Kathīkosa<sup>2</sup> is a collection of twenty-seven tales, illustrating in simple prose the usual fruits of different actions of men, such as kindness, worship, anger, avarice etc.

**436** In Citrasenapadmāvatikathā,<sup>3</sup> a small poem, Rājvallabha pāṭhaka, pupil of Mahimacandra or Mālucīndrasūri, gives the fable of Citrasena and Padmāvatī. "These were a pair of swans in their previous birth and dwelt in a lake in a Campakavana on the boundary of Campa. Once upon a time in middar, a merchant came up to the bank of the lake and put up there with his caravan. The merchant bathed in the lake, worshipped Jina and after having prepared food, waited for a guest, when a sage fasting for more than a month happened to pass by him. The merchant was exceedingly glad to meet with such a guest, and took him to his place and supplied him with the best food sufficient to satisfy his hunger. The pair praised this action of the merchant with all heart and in consequence of that virtue they were born as prince Citrasena and princess Padmāvatī in their next birth and became husband and wife. This was composed in Sam 1524 (1580 A D)".<sup>4</sup>

**437 Kalikacaryakatha**<sup>5</sup> in prose gives the tale of Kālikācarya, a Jain Sthavira. It was composed by Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra. It narrates also the ancient tales of the establishment of the Vikrama and Śāka era. According to it, Śāka kings took their name from the Śāka Coast or bank and were defenders of the Jaina faith until they were conquered by Vikramādīta. But 135 years after that conquest, there was a Śāka King who destroyed the successor of Vikramādīya and set up an era of his own.

**438 Kavikunjara's Rājasekharaçantra or Sabhāranjanaprabandha** is a poem inculcating morals by means of stories abridged from those which are said to have been originally related in the Court

1 IO, 948, 1426 where a summary of its contents is given

2 OSC, (1909) No 56. Translated by C H Tawney, London

3 Ibid., No 58 PR, III. Ap. 215, IV lxxxix

4. OSC, (1910), 96 gives date ग्रे युगे च युमे रमरवाणचन्द्रे सवत्सरे चात्किनमासके च

5 PR, III 92 See also Jacobi, ZDMG, XXXIV, 266, CSC, No 57 (1910), 94.

of Rājaśekhara and which were afterwards repeated by Rājaśekhara to Subuddhi.<sup>1</sup>

**439.** Viḍvāpāṭī's Purusaparīksā is a collection of 44 stories and has been noticed.<sup>2</sup> Ānanda's Mādhavānalakaṭhā relates in prose the story of Madhavānala and Kāmakandalā.<sup>3</sup>

Muktācarita is anonymous. In simple prose it narrates the story of the miraculous power of pearls sown and grown by Kṛṣṇa on arable fields for the delectation of Satyabhāma.<sup>4</sup>

Srīvara's Kathālautuka gives the story of Yusuf and Zulaika from the well-known poem of Jainī. It was composed during the reign of Sultan Anulabdin in 13th century A.D.<sup>5</sup> The Sanskrit translation of "Aladin and Wonderful Lamp" from the Arabian Nights by Appasastri Rashiṇadekar excels the original in narration. Nārāyaṇa Bālakṛṣṇa has a Sanskrit rendering of the Aesop's Fables, Isabanītlathā.<sup>6</sup> Sulematcarita by Kalyānamallī relates the story of Solomon and David from Old Testament.<sup>7</sup>

**440** There are the following Jain stories in prose

Sripālacariṇī of Jayakirtisūri, Hiraprasna of Kīrtivijayagāṇī, Amaradattamitrānandacariṇī of Bhāvacandrasūri, Cauryāśiprabandha of Rajasēkharasūri, Dhanadattacariṇī of Bhāvacandra, Bhāvanābhānukevalicariṇī of Hamsagāṇī, Rupasenacariṇī Kāmaghatanākaṭha, Raṭṇaselharacanta of Dayavardhanaganī,

And the following in verse Ambālacakariṇī, Uṭtarakumāracariṇī of Cārucandra, Padmacariṇī of Sūbhavardhana, Balabhadracariṇī of Sūbhavardhanaganī, Vimalanāthacariṇī of Jñānasagara, Vimalasahacariṇī of Indrahamsagāṇī (*all printed*), Udayanarājacariṇī of Mallisena (*Opp II. 421*), Vasumatīcīrasena of Gangādhara (*Opp 4714*), Vijayacandra-cariṇī of Candraprabha Mahattara (*PR, VI 46 written in Sam 1127*), Sūhavāṅkacariṇī of Mahesvara (*Opp 181*)

1 *DC, XI* 8167

2 See para 403 *supra*

3 Ed by Pavolini *GSAI, XXII* 818,

4 *CSC* (1908), 126 The story begins with a query by Satyabhāma

लतास्ते मधुरा कस्मिन् जायन्ते धन्यनीवृति ।

नाथ मत्कङ्कण-यस्त यस्तो मृत्तापत्ते फलम् ॥

5 Ed and Tr by R Schmidt, Kiel See para 188 *supra*

6 Printed, Bombay

7 *DC, XVI* 8150

**441** The following are other books of tales:

Kāthālatāmanjari of Nārāyana Śāstrin, Kāthāvālī of G. Rāmīswāmi Sāstri, Purusparikṣā by Lakṣmaṇasīva,<sup>1</sup> Kāthākubumāmanjari (anonymous),<sup>2</sup> Mādanasukhacarita of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa,<sup>3</sup> Sudāmacaritra of Śrīnivāsa,<sup>4</sup> Sūryacarita of Candrasekhara,<sup>5</sup> Kātbhūrnava of Śrivadāsa,<sup>6</sup> Ārakābrahmaṅkāthā (anonymous)<sup>7</sup> and Pramathacaritra of Brahmadīvyādhvarin.<sup>8</sup>

In Kāthāpancaka,<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Kṛṣṇarao of Bombay depicts five careers of sinness and despair and inculcates the high Indian ideal of pity and forgiveness "In the pathetic tales of the dejected young widow and the fisher folk, the blame seems to be thrown on the hard tyranny of social laws and customs rather than on the individuals. The old widow in whom the motherly instinct triumphs over vengeance, and the generous youth who rises above nature and self-interest to rid the people of a heartless tyrant are full of tragic dignity."

Aryacarita is a symposium of stories illustrating Hindu ideals selected from the epics and Purāṇas prepared at the instance of V Krishnaswami Iyer, Judge, High Court, Madras.<sup>10</sup>

**442** Ratnasiṁha's Maithilesacarita is a poem on the present dynasty of Darbhāṅga.<sup>11</sup> Rudrasiṁha's Vignānaṭarangīpī describes the life of a mythical king Sāṅkaradāsa. It was composed in 1411 A.D.<sup>12</sup> Sāṅkara's Sāṅkaracetovilāsa is a poetical biography of Zamindar Ceṭasiṁha.<sup>13</sup> Pāndurāṅga's Vijayapurakaṭhā, composed in 1808 A.D., contains an account of Bijapur and its Musalman soversigns Uḍayarāja's Rājavinoda describes the greatness of Mohammad Begadha of Ahmedabad, a king of Gujarat.<sup>14</sup>

1 Printed Madras For Purusparikṣā, see *CC*, I. 840

2 Printed, Srirangam

3 Printed, Calcutta

4 *CAL*, II 26.

5 *BRI*, 76

6 *Orf*, 158, *CC*, II 15 (mostly in prose.)

7 IO, 1558 Mys 688 There is a Mādhavāñalanātaka by Ānanḍabhatta (PB, V) and another by Kavīsvāra, *CC*, I. 456.

8 Mys, 688

9 Printed, Sahakari Granthakar, Bombay

10 Printed, Madras

11 Jayasvāl's Cat. of Methila, I. No. 206

12 Mys Arch. Rep (1924), 12

13 *Orf*, 121

14. For a critical notice, see Buhler's Rep. (1874-75), 9-10 The lives of Gujarat kings (Gurpacaktināpatis) is given in the colophon

**443** In *Colavamsavalicarita*,<sup>1</sup> otherwise known as *Brahmavararamahatmya*, the origin, construction and development of Brahmasvara temple in Tanjore is described. Incidentally the work gives the history of 16 Cola kings of the Solar race who ruled at Tanjore for about 12 centuries beginning with Kulottunga Cola and ending with Bhadra Cola.

**444** EKĀMBARA DIKSITA's *VIRALHADRAVIJAYA*<sup>2</sup> is a poem meant to describe the festival of Virabhadra but contains also an account of the Kempe Gowda Chiefs of Mysore. Ekāmbara was a poet of the Court of Kempe Gowda III, known more fully as Mummuḍi Kempe Virappa Gowda who ruled in 1705-1728 A.D.

Jayarāma's *Rādhāmādhabavilāsacampū* describes mainly the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and incidentally the court life of Sahāji Bhonsle.<sup>3</sup> There is an introductory essay in Mahratti on the rise of the Mahrattas and their kingdoms. Puruṣottama's *Sivakāya* describes the Mahrata rule from Sīvāji to the abdication of Bajirao II.<sup>4</sup>

**445 Tritantri.** I saw the manuscript of a work called *Tritantri*, some years ago, at Rajahmundry, but I lost touch with it. It was the work of Venkatārya. The first *tantra* is named *Śraddhātantra*. It is quasi-dramatic. Nārāja enters the stage and says, I shall create a war between the three worlds. In the second *tantra* there is a story of the marriage of Sukumari, daughter of Raṇākara, Emperor of Delhi. Then there is the story that the emperor offered the hand of his daughter to one who would bring a pearl of the size of Āmalaka and a person who posed himself as mad obtained a pearl of a bigger size by the grace of the Lord of the Occans, when the Emperor proposed the marriage the person said that he had no intent to marry the princess, but only to falsify the verse written at the gate of the palace. In the third *tantra* there is the story of Prabhāvati.<sup>5</sup>

**446 Avadanas** of Buddhist literature are illustrative stories appended to ethical and religious precepts. They were well-known

1. A summary of the work is given by P. P. S. Sastri in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

2. For an account of this dynasty by B. Puttayya, see *JMy*, XIII 728

3. Ed by V. K. Rajavarde

4. Ed. by J. B. Modak, Bombay

5. It is regretted that the information given above is very meagre perhaps inaccurate, and it is based on mere recollection.



## CHAPTER XIX

### Gadyakavya

(Romance)

#### SECTION 1

**447 Romances** Kāvya are of two kinds, Sravya and Dravya, audible and visible. Of the former, some are in verse and some in prose. Works in verse have been noticed under the heads of Mahākāvya and Laghukāvya, major and minor poems. Now come works in prose—Gadyakāvyas, commonly called Romances.

Gadya has been thus defined as वृत्तगन्धोऽस्ति गद्यम् what is not in verse, that is, prose<sup>1</sup>.

Of romances there are two classes, KATHA and AKHYĀNIKA. Earlier authors recognised a distinction between them; and Bhāmaha wrote in his Kāvvälankāra

प्रकृतानाकुलश्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना ।  
 गदेन युक्तोदाचार्थी सोच्छवासरस्यायिका मता ॥  
 वृत्तमास्यायते तस्मां नायकेन सचेष्टितम् ।  
 वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च काले भाव्यर्थश्चासि च ॥  
 कवेरभिप्रायकृतै कथनै कैश्चिदङ्गिता ।  
 कन्याहरणसङ्क्रामविप्रलम्बोदयान्विता ॥  
 न वक्त्रापरवक्त्रान्यां युक्ता नोच्छवासवलापि ।  
 संस्कृत संस्कृताचेष्टा कथाप्रश्नमाकृ तथा ॥

1 Generally, see Keith's *Origin of Tragedy and Akhyāna*, JRAS (1912), Gray's *Literary Studies on the Sanskrit Novel* (WZKM, XVIII, 40, 50), Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction*, McCulloch's *Childhood of Fiction* and Gadyādarśa of Varada Kānta Vidyālankāra, Calcutta.

Gray, 'The Hindu Romance,' in Princeton University Bulletin, XIII. 99-100 'The Sanskrit Novel and the Arabian Nights,' pp 39-48, 'The Sanskrit Novel and the Sanskrit Drama,' pp 58-54 'Reincarnation as a Novelistic Device,' pp. 54-58.

For reincarnation in a modern western novel, see Margaret Potter's *Flame-Gatherers* (London, 1904), and Bair's *Descent of the Sun* (London, 1903). The earliest example known is *The Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers*, written in the nineteenth dynasty (1875-1202 B C, tr. Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne*, 3 ed., pp. 8-20, Paris, 1906).

अन्यैस्सचरित तस्या नायकेन तु नोच्यते ।  
स्वगुणाविष्कृति कुर्यादभिज्ञात कथ जन ॥

"Akhyāyikā is a literary composition, which is written in prose in words pleasing to the ear (*sravya*) and agreeable to the matter intended (*prakṛitānukūla*), but which may contain metrical pieces in *raktīa* and *aparavaktra* metre, the object of these verses being to give a timely indication of future happenings in the story, which should have an exalted substance (*udātiśātha*) with some characteristics supplied by the poet's imagination as a special mark and having for its theme the abduction of a girl (*kanyā-harana*), a fight (*samgrāma*), a separation (*vibhālambha*) and the (final) triumph (*udaya*), apparently of the hero, in which an account of his deed is given by the hero himself in which the story is divided into several pauses called *ucchvasas*. In the katha, on the other hand, there are no *vaktra* or *aparavaktra* verses, no division into *ucchvasas*, and the story should not be narrated by the hero, but by someone else. It may be written in Sanskrit or in Apabhramsa, which indicated by implication that the akhyāyika should always be composed in Sanskrit" <sup>1</sup>

But Dandin denies the distinction

अपाद पदसन्तानो गथमास्यायिका कथा ।  
इति तस्य प्रमेश्वी द्वौ तयोरास्यायिका किल ॥  
नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा ।  
स्वगुणाविष्कृत्या दोषो नात्र भूतार्थशसिन् ॥  
अपित्वनिवसो दृष्टस्तथाप्यन्यैस्सदीरणात् ।  
अन्यो चक्ता स्य बेति कीदृग्वा मेदकारणम् ॥  
कल्पौ चापरवत्कृ च सोच्छ्रासत्वं च मेदकम् ।  
चिह्नमास्यायिकायाश्चेत् प्रसङ्गेन कथालयि ॥  
आर्योदिवत्प्रवेश किं न वत्सापरवक्र्यो ।  
मेदव्य दृष्टो लम्मादिरुच्छ्रवासो वास्तु किं तत ॥  
तत्कथास्यायिकेनेका ज्ञातिस्साद्याह्विता ।  
अन्नैवान्तर्भविष्यन्ति शेषाश्चास्यानजातयः ॥

"A succession of words not amenable to division into metrical feet is called prose. Chronicle and Tale are its two varieties. Of these chronicle, we are told, is what is narrated by the hero himself exclusively; the other by the hero as well as by any other person. The

1 S K De, "Akhyayika and Katha in Classical Sanskrit"

showing forth of one's own merits is not here, in view of his being a recorder of events that have actually occurred, a blemish. This restriction, however, is not observed in as much as there (in akhvavika) also other persons can narrate. That another person narrates or he himself does it—what kind of a ground for distinction is this? If (the metres) Vaktra and Aparavaktra and the having of the title Ucchvasas (for a subdivision) are to be the differentiating mark of an Akhvavika, occasionally even in Kathas, why, as in the case of Arva and other metres, should there not be scope for Vaktra and Aparavaktra? Tambha and other (titles for sub-division) are observed (in Kathas) as a distinguishing characteristic. Let Ucchvasas be one of them, what matters? Hence Katha and Akhvavika constitute just one species denoted by two names. Herein also are comprised the remaining species of narration. The abduction of a maiden, battle, deception, somebody's rise in fortune and such other topics are common to it (Akhvavika) no less than to compositions-in-cantos, they do not form its differentiating characteristics. Any peculiar mark that the poet might affect according to his fancy (in a Katha etc.), he could without impropriety affect in other composition. For accomplished persons, in the attainment of their desired ends, can there be any occasion that may not (just as well) serve as an opening?"

Rudrata, says S K De, "accepted and generalized the characteristics of Bana's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the Katha and the akhvavika respectively. According to him, we have in the katha an introductor namaskrava in verse to the devas and gurus, and a statement of the author's family and the motive of his authorship, the prose narrative written in Sanskrit (or in verse in other languages) in light alliterative words, the plot including pura-varnana, etc., (as in the case of the Utpadva-kavya, vi, 3), a kathantara at the beginning, which is immediately connected with the main story, (4) a theme consisting of the winning of a girl (kanya-labha), which being the main issue, the sentiment of love is developed fully in it (vinyasta-sakala-sringara). In the akhvavika on the other hand (1) we have the namaskrava to devas and gurus in verse together with an incidental praise of older poets, a confession of one's own inability and a statement of the poet's motive in writing notwithstanding these drawbacks, which motive may spring from the poet's devotion to a particular king, his addiction to the praise of other people's merits or from some other special causes, (2) the story should be written in the manner of a katha,

<sup>2</sup> See S K Belvalkar's translation of Kavyadarsha

but emphasis is put on the injunction that an account of the poet himself and his family must be contained in it, written in prose and not in verse, there are divisions into ucchvasas and two arva-verses should occur at the beginning of each chapter, excepting the first ”

It will be therefore noticed that the earliest traditional forms are described by Bhāmaha, but as later poets did not conform to these rules,—for instance, the definition of Katha did not suit Kādambarī—<sup>3</sup> facts had to be faced Dandin, an admirer of Bāṇa, repudiated the distinctions and probably offered an apology for Bāṇa’s indifference to the accepted canons of classification Rudrata submitted himself to things as they were and adapted his definition to suit Harṣacarī as an Ākhyāyikā and Kādambarī as a Kathā and later rhetoricians do not dilate on this topic, though the orthodox view was not yet forgotten by Viśvanātha

Hemacandra says Kathā may be in verse or in prose and instances Līlāvati<sup>4</sup> as पद्यमयी कथा and gives other classes of Kathā thus —

प्रबन्धमध्ये परप्रबोधनार्थं नलाशुपास्त्यानामिकोपास्त्यानमभिनयन् पठन् गायन्  
यदैको ग्रन्थिक कथयति तद्विन्दवत् आस्त्यानम् ।

1 Peterson says — “ This is a description wholly inapplicable to Kādambarī, but it is an exact description of Yasashilakacampu I conclude that the definition of Katha was drawn up at a time when the literary pantheon of India opened its doors to adherents of all creeds and that Kādambarī was dragged into the explanation by later fanatics who abhorred the Jain and his works and would find no better illustration among the books left to them of a definition which they were too conservative to abandon ”

2 Bhoja in Śringāraprakāśa (XI) says

या नियमितगतिभाषा दिव्यादिव्योभयेति वृत्तवती ।

कादम्बरीव लीलावतीव वा सा कथा कथिता ॥

and quotes verses from it, all in prākṛt In Oh XXVII under दूती, he says

सहपाठिकीडा यथा कुवलयावली महागुणवला लीलावती ।

Līlāvati is mentioned in Vāgbhāṭa’s Alankāraṭilaka On the story of Līlāvati, see M R Kavi’s Līlāvatīkathā, Bharati (1926), 8

In Vallabhācārya’s Nyāyālīlāvati (p 69) we have

यथा वा सेष्णास्मृतपदार्थसार्थे भवति शालिवाहनो वृपतिरिदार्नी शृङ्खारसरसीतीरे  
देव्या लीलावला सह ललितमधुर सहीतकमनुतिष्ठतीति ज्ञातम् ।

In Jess Cat (50-51) it is given as the work of Bhūṣṇabhattaṭaṭanava See para 106 note supra

निरशामनिग्रहां ग्रा चेष्टाभिर्वक् कार्यमसार्य वा निशीयते तपश्चन्नादिवत् प्रर्णविश्वकृष्ण-  
नीभन्सग्रमा जांगदिवद्वा निर्दर्शनम् ।

प्रधानमधिकल्प यत्र ड्यंतिवाऽपि माऽर्धप्राकृतगचिता चेटकादिवत् प्रवक्षिका ।

प्रेतमहाराष्ट्राभाषया श्वर्गस्था गोगेचनानङ्गवच्यादिवत् मनक्रिका । यस्या पुरोहितामाल्य  
तापभार्दीना प्रारब्धानिर्वाहे उपहासम्मापि मनक्रिका ।

यस्या पूर्व वस्तु न लक्ष्यत पश्चात् प्रकाशयते मामन्यहमितादिवत् मणिकूल्या ।

एक धर्मादिपुस्तार्थपुष्टिग्रंथ प्रकारवैचित्रेणानन्तवृत्तान्तवर्णनप्रधाना श्वर्गस्थादिवत् परिकथा ।  
मायादिपालनो वा ग्रन्थान्तरप्रसिद्धमितवृत्त यस्या वर्णयते सेन्द्रमलादिवत् श्वण्टकथा ।

समस्फलान्तेवृच्छवर्णना समरादित्यादिवत् सकलकथा ।

एकतरचरिताश्रयेण प्रमिद्धकथान्तरोपनिबद्धा उपकथा ।

लम्भाक्षिताद्युतार्था नरवाहनदत्तचरितवत् बृहत्कथा ।

**448 Indian and Greek Romance** It has been said that "of the Romance particularly the Fropic Romance of the Milesian school one finds likeness in the Indian novels written in the 7th century A D by Bana and Subandhu". In his introduction to Kādambarī Peterson outlines a comparison in some important points between Kādambarī and Leucippe and Clitophon and holds with M Goblet Alviella that the Indian Romance was directly borrowed from the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> "The romances of the two peoples," says Levi "are totally different both in plan and spirit as even a cursory reading will show. The least part of the Sanskrit romance is the thread of the story or the adventures of its characters, all the stress is laid on rhetorical embellishment, minute descriptions of nature, detailed specification of exploits and of mental, moral and physical qualities. In the Greek Romance on the other hand as in Latin the story is everything. The reader is hurried from one adventure to another, the wilder and more improbable, the better, fine writing is practically disregarded, description and appreciation of nature are to all intents and purposes avoided."

M F Lacote discusses the connection of Greek and Indian Romances "In India we have been unable to render a satisfactory account of the progressive development of the system of romance writing. It had never ceased to exist but extended to all the narratives in prose and perfected itself in the process so well that the Kathas

1 On the question, see G Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India*

when most rigorously constructed were nothing but romances. The Greek romance on the contrary had not delayed to outstrip its primitive type and to approach the ordinary stand of a narrative epic and at the same time the erotic element was present in it in a more marked degree."

## SECTION 2

**449 Early literature** The earliest passages in prose that have successfully survived "the ship-wreck of Sanskrit literature" are to be sought for in the Samhita of the *Black Jayus*. Unlike Samhita of Rik which is purely a lyrical collection of hymns, Taittiriya Samhita contains prose portions in it, which formed the only Brahmanas in Kāthā and Māitrāyaṇī Schools. In the Samhita, the sacrificial formulæ were accompanied by dogmatic explanations and by descriptions of ceremonials pertaining to them. These explanations were elucidations of the sacrificial enigmas and embodied the speculation of generations of priests. These *dūta theologica* were imparted by oral tradition, preserved as well as supplemented in the course of years in different families or parishads. The more numerous these works became, the more unsystematic their contents grew. Harmony was needed to bring them to order. To this end, compilations of the different opinions were uniformly arranged under different headings and such digests were in later times called *Brahmanas*. These were in most cases regular commentaries in prose on the Vedic hymns, explanatory and analytical. This practice of adopting a prose-style for linguistic explanations and traditional narratives introduced into this Vedic period descended to the Purāpic period. Mahābhārata and Purānas contain prose portions in them, which at least in the former appear to be directly descended from the language of the Brāhmaṇas. This kind of long prose-work becomes too elaborate to be preserved or got up by rote. The compilers now hit at the other extreme. They would be more concise and precise. References must be facilitated. Thus brevity took the place of verbosity. This is the origin of the literature of the Sūtras. The saying was proverbial that "an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Sometimes the sūtras were so meagre as to have a single syllable in it, illustrations of which Pāṇini can furnish in abundance.<sup>1</sup> Rules of interpretation were equally hard and the principle of descent and cessation of words was the chief

1. *Eg. अथ*, VIII, iv 68

means of construction. Apart from any want of artistic excellence, they form an ingenious part of Indian literature, to which no other nation can offer a parallel. In a very short time, every department of science or religion began to have a *sūtra* literature of its own, long before the beginning of the Christian era. Then came the *vṛtti*, which were the *sūtras* themselves in a more expanded form and in some cases they contained hints at the interpretation of the *sūtras*. The language of both the *sūtras* and the *vṛttis* gave rise to differences of opinion among the learned, and this conflict necessitated commentaries expressive of the arguments in support of the author's interpretation. These were the *Bhāṣyas*. Strictly speaking, the 'evil,' which the *sutra* literature was intended to remedy, once more appeared—evil in the sense of elaborateness. *Bhāṣya* literature therefore mostly resembles the *Brāhmaṇas* but with a few variations. The aim is no longer to explain sacrificial symbols or ceremonial rituals, but to elucidate the intricate theories involved in the *sutras* of various departments of learning. Their language in general bears no resemblance to the language of the romances. The tone of the former is serious and scientific, while that of the latter is levitous and recreative. *Bhāṣyas* are stuffed with substance and technicality, they are *vasu-pādādhūna*. Literary prose proper is the result of poetic art and rhetorical embellishment.

### SECTION 3

**450. Early Romances** The literature of Romances, *Ākhyāyikā*, appears to have been quite advanced long before the Christian era. *kaṭyāyana* mentions *ākhyāyikas* (in the plural). Besides naming *Sumanottara* and *Bhaimaraṭṭī*, *Patanjali* instances *Vāsavadattā* as an *Ākhyāyikā* and speaks of its readers as *Vāsavaḍatīlas*,<sup>1</sup> but does not mention the names of the authors. In his *Harṣacarita* *Bāṇa* praises writers on *Ākhyāyikā* and (an *Ākhyāyikā*) *Vāsavadattā*.

1. अधिकृते प्रन्थे, लुबास्यायिकान्यो बहुलम् । अधिकृते प्रन्थे इत्यत्र लुबास्यायिकान्यो बहुल लुब् वक्तव्य । वासवदत्ता सुमनोत्तरा नव मवति मैयरथी ।—

Mahābhāṣya, IV, iii, 87.

ii. रसादिभ्यश्च. ....इस्यन्ते द्वन्धे रसादिम्यो मत्वर्थीया । रसको नट, ऊर्जशीवैरूपिण्यस्परसाम् ।—Mahābhāṣya, V, ii, 95

iii. आस्यायिका वासवदत्तिरु । इति भाष्यम् । वासवदत्तिक इति वासवदत्तामधिकृते कृतास्यायिका वासवदत्ता । अधिकृते कृते प्रन्थे इत्यर्थे दृद्धाच्छ । तस्य लुबास्यायिकान्यो बहुलमिति लुप्, ततो अनेन ठर् ॥—Kaiyata.

उच्छवासान्तेऽप्यस्ति येषा बक्ते सरसती ।  
 कथमारुप्याथिकाकारा न ते वन्द्या कवीश्वरा ॥  
 कवीनामगलहर्षो नून वासवदतया ।  
 शक्त्येव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥

Haradatta in Kāśikā mentions Īrvasi

Next to Vāsavadat̄a, we have references to two romances, Cārumati of Vararuci<sup>1</sup> and Tarangavati<sup>2</sup> of Śripāliṭa<sup>3</sup>. Śripāliṭa was a distinguished poet of the Court of Hāla and has been praised by Dhānapāla and Abhinanda. Tarangavati<sup>4</sup> was probably in prakrit. Rāmila and Somila wrote Sūdrakakathā<sup>5</sup>. Besides the mention of Cārumati, Bhoja refers to Manovati and Saṭakarnīharana<sup>6</sup> which must have belonged to the beginning of the Christian era.

Manovati<sup>7</sup> praised by Dandin was probably of great merit. He says

धवलप्रभवा राग सा तनोति मनोबती ।  
 कविगन्धगजैरेमि... ||Avanisundari

**451** Haricandra (Bhattara) was praised by Bāna for his enchanting prose composition “luminous in its arrangement of words of

1. See para 6 supra.

2. पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा । Tilakamanjari.

3. For the verse of Abhinanda, see para 29 note supra.

4. (i) Bhoja mentions it

शुको जरद्विर शूद्रककथायां हरिमतीवृत्तान्ते यथा ।  
 ज वदण्व इविण ओ पआसइतेद बदकीरणिता ओभासह ।

जइहारिलखूजणजुहहोदि जउसद्दल अतवणि उरहो ॥

Sringaraprasakāśa, xxviii.

संभ्रान्तस्त्वरितमसौ मलिम्लुचानामुवीशश्चिभितमयोधयद्वुभान् ।

कालेऽस्मिन् विनयवती वनेषु चार्ता चार्तीयै कमितुरितस्तो जगाम ॥

(Ibid., xxx.)

Vinayavati<sup>8</sup> is the beloved of Sūdraka

(ii) तौ शूद्रककथाकारो रम्यौ रमिलसौमिलौ ।  
 काव्य ययोर्द्विरोहासीदर्घनारीश्वरोपमौ ॥

Jalihās 2.

(iii) Subhāsiṭāvalli (2227) quotes under Kavipuṭrau

अूचातुर्य कुम्भितान्ता कटाक्षा स्त्वग्वा हावा लज्जितान्ताश्च हासा ।  
 लीलामन्द प्रस्थितं चासितं च लीणोमेतद्भूषणं चाशुषं च ॥

5. सौरिक. शुकुन्तिकाया. सातकणाहरणे ।

Sringaraprasakāśa, xxviii, 8.

choice letters." His romance, probably known as *MALATI*, has not been traced.<sup>1</sup>

Sila's language is extolled for simple grace like Banda's, but her work is not named.<sup>2</sup>

Bhoja himself wrote a romance *Sringāramanjari*.<sup>3</sup> Kulasekhara composed *Āscarvamanjari*,<sup>4</sup> Vādīganghāla mentions a work *Kusumamanjari*<sup>5</sup> and Jayaratha quotes from *Anangalekhā*,<sup>6</sup> but their authors are unknown. Hastimalla appears to have also written an *Ākhyāyika* divided into Lambhas.<sup>7</sup>

1 पदबन्धोउज्जलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थिति ।  
भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गयबन्धो विमाव्यते ॥ *Hastimalla*

See para 47 supra.

2 शब्दार्थयोस्समो गुम्फो पाञ्चालीरीतिरिप्यते ।  
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोलितु च सा यदि ॥

*Jalhana's Suktisamuktiavali*

3. *Jes Cai* 55 See Introduction to *Yuktikalpataru*

4. दूरादपि सता मध्ये लिखित्वाश्र्यमञ्जरीम् ।  
कुलशेष्वरवर्मास्या चकाराश्र्यमञ्जरीम् ॥

*Jalhana's Suktisamuktiavali* and *DC*, XXI, 8405

आये । मा मैवम् । यस परमहसपादपङ्क्ते रुहपासुपटलपवित्रीकृतपुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविडुष-  
श्वनायान्धकारायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलादगलदाश्र्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रव

*Prologue to Tapasismavarupi*, *TSS DC*, XXI, 8435

5 In his commentary on *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 28

6 नदीप्रकरमुष्णिजितवन्त मनोहरहस्तमलजन्त च, सपर्याणां शचि वहन्त सर्वत्र पूजनीय  
च, सकुम्भ सकलश्चरन्त च, सदानन्दन्त मदपर्याविलदर्शन च, करट कमपि विभ्रत कवाट  
विश्रममपुच्छन्त च, कुञ्जराजिविधितश्च वारणरणरणिकाकुलित च, राजमानविसन्धायेन  
विराजमान च, शारीभूत भद्रसलिलेन, शबलीभूतं च, इति पुनरुक्ताश्रयम् ।—अनङ्गलेखाया  
हस्तिवर्णने । *Commentary on Alankarasvaravasa*, *Kāvyaśālā Edn.* p. 19

7. विदर्माह्नाजनमपि दर्मगर्भकरमकरोत् । पञ्चता जनयक्षपि पञ्चालस्य वैमुख्यम-  
पुष्णात् । पारसीकरणमप्यपारसीकरण चकार । मागधानपि विमागधान्यधान् । चोळकान्ता अप्य-  
चोळिकान्ताः समपादयत् । कुन्तलालसानप्यकुन्तलालसाश्च निर्ममे । शूरसेनानप्यशूरसेनानदर्शयत् ।

अनङ्गलेखाया राजवर्णने । *Ibid.* 128.

*Tikāsarvava* quotes कुरुक्षैरिव कुशलवादिभि from this romance.

7 हस्तिमङ्गेन लम्भान्ते लम्भमष्टद् ।

*Tarapavācāmapati's commentary on Kāvyādarśa*, I, 80.

Malayasundari of Mānikyasundara<sup>1</sup> is in verse, Citralekhā mentioned by Rayamukuta<sup>2</sup> and Guptavati<sup>3</sup> are anonymous

Rudrata's Trulokya-sundari appears to have related the tale of Kṛṣṇa Aparājita's Mṛgāṅkalekhā is mentioned by Rājasekhara and must be different from Mṛgāvatīlathā of unknown authorship<sup>4</sup>

Agaśṭya's Kṛṣṇacarita,<sup>5</sup> Viśvesvara's Madanamanjari,<sup>6</sup> Jaçannātha's Āṇavilīśa<sup>7</sup> and Vāsudeva's Rāmakāthā have been noticed<sup>8</sup>

### SECTION 3

**452 Bāna** was the son of Cīrabhānu and Rājadevi and of Vatsagoṭra Arthapati was his grandfather, Candrasena and Mahisena his half-brothers and Ganapati, Adhipati, Fārapati and Śyāmala, his paternal cousins Mayūra was his brother-in-law<sup>9</sup> They lived at Pṛthukūta on the banks of the Sōna river As an infant Bāna lost his mother, and his father tended him with maternal care When he was fourteen his father passed away, and with this Bāna's life changed Well educated in Sanskrit and with a competency uncontrolled by elders, he became self-willed and with the buoyancy of youth he planned travel He gathered together a mob of companions who with proficiencies heterogenous could indeed have got on gaily anywhere But the fortune was soon dissipated and he returned home One day he was called to the Court of Haravardhana, then encamping near Maṇipura on the Ajirāvati There on the commendations of Harsa's brother, he was well received and soon he became the King's favourite<sup>10</sup>

1 Printed Bīk 685, PR I 123 There is another by Jayatilakasuri

2 CC I, 180 (an upakaṭhā)

3 Opp, II 8020

4 सुरिष्टलिता यस कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी ।—Tilakamanjari

5 Quoted by Bhoja in Śringāraprakāśa, Chap. 28

6 Mentioned in prologue to Karṇamanjari

7 PR, I, Ap 88

8 See para 196 supra *Tan*, VII 2992

9 See para 812 supra PR V mentions author as a pupil of Lakṣmidhara.

10 See para 311 supra

11 DC, XXI 8023 See para 172 supra

12 So says Mānatunga in his Bbaktīamarastotrā

13 For a fuller account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī (BSS, No. 24), 46ff On Bāṇa generally, see Hall, introduction to Vāsavadatta, 13ff, Aufrecht, CC, I 368, ZDMG, XXVII 50-4; Peterson, PR, I 106, IV ixixii 62-6, JBRAS, XVI, 175, Bhandarkar, BR, (1827) xviii, xxxii, Weber ZDMG (1868), Macdonnel, SL, , R. C Dutt, AC, II 998 Cartellieri, Das Mahabharata der Subandhu und Bāna,

Bāna's ancestors were devout brahmins and votaries of Siva. Blessed with a hereditary instinct for learning and himself well-educated he had seen life and world. He proposed to narrate to his friends the story of his patron, and that is Harshacarita.

**453 Harsacarita**<sup>1</sup> begins with an autobiography where Bāna traces his descent from Dādhicā and Sarasvatī and from Dādhicā's brother's son Vaṭsa. He names his immediate ancestors of some generations with veneration due to their piety and learning. He gives an account of his early life and his sojourn at the royal Court. Next comes the history of King Harṣa. In the city of Śāhāṇvīvara in the country of Śrīkanṭha, there lived a king Puṣpabhūti. In his line was born king Prabhākaravardhana of great prowess. He has two sons Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana and a daughter Rājyasrī. Rājyasrī married the Maukhari prince Grahavarman. On the death of Prabhākaravardhana, Rājyavardhana refused the throne, but before he could instal Harṣa in his stead news reached them that the king of Mālva had slain Rājyasrī's husband and carried her away to his capital, Rājyavardhana set out on an expedition against him, but there he was killed by treachery by the king of Gauda. Upset by this calamity, Harṣa marched on Mālva to avenge the disgrace. But on his way he learnt that Rājyasrī had escaped from prison, and was rescued by a Buddhist Saint from her resolve to ascend the funeral pyre. Here the book ends as it is with the meeting of Harṣa and Rājyasrī and is obviously incomplete. This in short is the story of Harsacarita.<sup>2</sup>

From the comparison of the account given by Bāna in Harsacarita with the description of the life and history of King Harṣavardhana Śilāditya<sup>3</sup> by the Chinese traveller Hiouen-Thsang, it has been possible

VOJ, XIII. 72, On the close lexical affinity between Harsacarita and Rājatarangī, see VOJ, XII. 88; JRAS, (1899) 485. On Kādambarī and Bṛhatkāṭha, see Man kowski, SOJ, XIII No 2

1 In Bhoja's Śringāraprakāśa (Chapter 20), there is a quotation

यथा हर्षचरिते भव,

तस्य च सुता कुमारी रूपवती सर्वलक्षणोपेता ।

ती भवत ग्रयच्छति हर्षो प्रद्विते सहास्यामि ॥

This shows the existence of another Harsacarita.

2 Ed. Bombay. For a more detailed account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī (BSS, No 24) 1-88. Translated into English by Cowell and Thomas (Cambridge)

3 On Śilāditya, see Donabai's *History of Gujarat*, 316.

to identify Bāna's patron with that king who ruled at Kanouj in 610-650 A.D.<sup>1</sup> This certainty of date has brought an additional value to Harṣacarīṭa, as a land-mark in Sanskrit literary history, for the introductory verses mention the names of some prominent poets whom Bāna admired, Vyāsa, Cora, author of Vāsavadatta, Bhattāra Hari-candra, Sātavāhana, Pravarasena, Bhīṣa, Kālidāsa, author of Bṛhatkathā and Ādhyarāja.<sup>2</sup>

**454 Kādambarī** By far the work with which Bāṇa's literary glory is associated is his romance Kādambarī.<sup>3</sup> He wrote only the first part of it and what was left unfinished was made up by his son Pulinda or Bhūṣṇabhatta.<sup>4</sup> It is a long tale of complicated construction narrated by a parrot called Vaśampāyana to king Śūdraka of Vidisā. It describes the loves of Candrāpīda of Ujjain and Kādambarī, the Gandharva princess and interlaced with it the loves of Kādambarī's friend Mahāsveta and Pundarīka. The marriages of these heroines are interrupted by the sudden, but apparent, deaths of their lovers, when on the assurances of a heavenly voice, they hide their love. The parrot concluded the narrative and flew away, the woman that brought the parrot told Śūdraka that the parrot's tale was but a description of his life in his prior birth and this seemed to remind him of his past doings and that Candrāpīda was only his incarnation. Thus the curse which had caused these impediments in the way of the lovers exhausted itself and Candrāpīda and Pundarīka were revived and were reunited with Kādambarī and Mahāsveta at Ujjain. There they lived happily together in sublime felicity.<sup>5</sup>

In literary merit Kādambarī is supreme. The reader loses himself in a poetic trance. The name is true to the grace, for Kādambarī means

1. For a discussion of the narratives, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī (*BSS*, No. 84) 60ff. For Hiouen Thsang's account, see Stanislas Julien's *Mémoires* I. 247-265, II, 196-202.

2. For a full account of these references, see Peterson, *I* c. 66ff. Three verses of Kādambarī in praise of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Bramha are quoted in a grant of Mahārāpana Kumārapaladeva (Sam. 1297; *IA*, XVII. 280). But the introductory verses are not found in a manuscript, *DU*, XXI. 6815.

3. Ed Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and Mysore. Translated into English by C. Riddings, London, and Uttarārādhā by V. R. Nerurkar.

Ed with Introduction by P. Peterson, *BSS*, and by R. V. Kane, Bombay, Mysore and at Madras.

4. There is a Lalāvatikāṭhā in prākṛti poetry by Bhūṣṇabhattaṭanaya (Jesp Cat. 55) on the story of Śālvāhana. See para 106 *supra*.

5. For a detailed account, see Peterson's introduction to Kādambarī.

also liquor If liquor makes one forget himself, so does the Romance of Kādambarī Such is the proverbial repute <sup>1</sup> Govardhana says that Vāṇī (Sarasvatī) became Bāṇa <sup>2</sup> ‘Bāṇa’s words breathe a freshness of vigour that bespeak a warm and sincere admiration of the profusion of nature which the Indian Scenery offers to the poetic mind And in this respect he has very few equals even among oriental poets’<sup>3</sup> From his represen-

- 1,           “ कादम्बरीरसज्जनामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ।  
कादम्बरीरसज्जनामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ॥ ”
- 2           “ जाता शिखण्डनी प्राग्यथा शिखण्डी तथावगच्छामि ।  
प्रागारम्भमधिकमाप्नु वाणी वाणो बभूवेति ॥ ”

<sup>1</sup> For appreciation by many other poets, see *Jl. of Sam. Sah. Ital.* XIII 88 &  
For instance

गगादेवी—

वाणीपाणिपरामृष्टवीणानिकाणहारिणीम् ।  
भावयन्ति कथ वान्ये मद्भाणस्य भारतीम् ॥

त्रिलोचन —

“ हृदि लग्नेन वाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदकम् ।  
भवेत्कविकुरज्ञाणी चापल तत्र कारणम् ॥ ”

त्रिविकम —‘नलचम्पू’

“ शश्वद्वाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारथारिणा ।  
धनुषेव गुणाल्येन नि शेषो रक्षितो जन ॥ ”

वनपाल —‘तिलकमञ्जरी’

“ केवलोऽपि स्फुरन् वाण करोति विमदान् कवीन् ।  
किं पुन कल्ससन्धानपुलिन्ध(न्द?) कृतसंशिधिः ॥ ”

धर्मदाससूरि —‘विदधमुखमण्डनम्’

“ रुचिरसरवर्णपदा रसमाववती जगन्मनो हरति ।  
तत् कि तरुणी ? नहि नहि वाणी वाणस्य भधुरक्षीलस्य ॥

चन्द्रदेवकवि —

“ ऐषे केचन शब्दगुम्फविषये केचिद्दसे चापरे-  
उलझारे कतिचित्सदर्थविषये चान्ये कथावर्णने ।  
आसर्वत्र गभीरवीरकविता विन्ध्याटवीचातुरी-  
सञ्चारो कविकुम्भमुभिदुरो वाणस्तु पञ्चानन ॥

lation of the horse Indrāyudha, he has come to be known as Turanga Bāna. His language is chaste yet ornate and learned yet charming and his descriptions show no end of their resources. The meeting of Sarasvatī and Dadhīca, the last embrace by Prabhākaravardhana of his son, these for instance in Harśacarita, the beginning of the narrative by the parrot, the advice of Śukanāsa to Candrapīda, the progress of the amours of Kādambarī and Candrapīda in the Gandharva capital and the pleasant association of the lovers after vicissitudes, these for instance in Kādambarī are worthy of a special appreciation.

**455** There are commentaries on Harśacarita by Rājānaka Sankarakantha,<sup>1</sup> by Ranganātha,<sup>2</sup> by Rucaka,<sup>3</sup> by Sankara.<sup>4</sup>

सोङ्गल —‘उदयसुन्दरकीथा’

१। “श्रीहर्षे इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पाथिवेषु  
नाम्नैव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।  
श्रीहर्षे पृष्ठ निजसप्तदि यैन राजा  
सपूजित कनककोटिशतेन बाण. ||”

२। “बाणस्य हर्षचरिते निशितामुदीक्ष्य  
शक्ति न केऽन्न कवितासुमद ल्यजन्ति ।  
मान्य न कस्य च कवेरिह कालिदास-  
बाचा रसेन रसितस्य भवत्यध्यम् ॥” १५ ॥

३। “वागीश्वर हन्त भजेऽभिनन्द-  
मर्थेश्वर वाक्पातिराजमीडे ।  
रसेश्वर स्तौभि च कालिदास  
बाण तु सर्वेश्वरमानतोऽस्मि ॥” १६ ॥

सोमेश्वरदेव —‘कीर्तिकौमुदी’ ११५

“युत्तो कादम्बरीं ध्रुत्वा कवयो मौनमाश्रिता ।  
बाणध्वनावनध्यायो भवतीति स्मृतिर्यत ॥”

[११४७—१२६२ खू आ]

1. Ed. Bombay, Sankarakantha was father of Rājānaka who lived about 1650 A.D.,

2. T.O., III 8858

3. Called Harśacaritjavārṭikā.

4. Printed, Bombay, P.B., I. 120.

There are commentaries on Kādambarī by Bhānucandra and Siddhacandra,<sup>1</sup> Haridāsa,<sup>2</sup> Sivarāma,<sup>3</sup> Vaidyanātha, son of Rāmabhatṭa,<sup>4</sup> Balalṛ̥ṇa,<sup>5</sup> Suracandra,<sup>6</sup> Mahādeva,<sup>7</sup> Sukhakara,<sup>8</sup> Arjuna son of Cakradāsa,<sup>9</sup> Ghanaśyama,<sup>10</sup> and some anonymous.<sup>11</sup>

**456** The story of Kādambarī is found in Vāmana Bhatta Bāpa's Uṛ̥haṭhāmanjari,<sup>12</sup> Sumadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Dandin's Avanṭisundarikāthāsāra, and in the latter the story agrees with the narrative of Bāpa only so far as the Pūrvabhāga

Dhundirāja Vyāsajayvan, son of Laksmana, wrote Abhinavakādambarī, and a gloss on Mudrārākṣasa in 1713 A.D.<sup>13</sup> He is probably the same as the commentator on Lakṣmīsahasra,<sup>14</sup> and is the author of the musical work Sahajīvīlāsa<sup>15</sup>

Abhinanda's Kādambarikāthāsāra, a poem in 8 cantos, has been noticed<sup>16</sup> Vikramadeva (Jivikrama), son of Rājarājadeva, and pupil of Vidyācakravarti, wrote the poem Kādambarikāthāsāra in 13 cantos,<sup>17</sup> Kalpitakādambarī<sup>18</sup> is anonymous Tryambakā's Kādambari-kāthāsāra,<sup>19</sup> Śrīkanthābhīnavā Sastri's Kādambaricampū,<sup>20</sup> and Narasimha's play Kādambarikalyana,<sup>21</sup> and Padyakādambarī<sup>22</sup> of Kṣemendra relate the same story

1 Printed, Bombay

2 Printed, Bombay

3 CC, II 17, Bhandarkar's List, Part I (1898) See under Dandin post

4 SKC, 80, Ulwar, 896

5 PR, II 58, 188

6 CC, II 17

7 PR, II 188

8 PR, II 188

9, Mys 261

10 See para 166 *supra*

11 SKC, 80, TC, IV 5115

12 See para 128 *supra*.

13 Tan, VIII 8475

14 CC, III 5, I Printed, Bombay

15 See para 168 *supra*

16 See para 60 *supra*

17 See para 100 TC, IV 4292, Kuppusami Sastrī's Rep. (1919), 88

18 See Kavindrācārya's List (GOS) No. 1985.

19 Šāradā, II, April August 1916

20 Printed, Mysore. See also CC, I 92 where author's name is not given.

21 TC, III 8489 See on the author Chapter on Sanskrit Drama post

22 See Kuppusami Sastrī's Rep (1919) 89 It is quoted in Kavikanthābhīṣṭa

The manuscript is with Palithochan, Senlam vingiām, Malabar

There are epitomes of Kādambarī, Kādambarīyarthasāra by Manirāma,<sup>1</sup> Sankṣipta Kādambarī by Kāśīnātha,<sup>2</sup> Kādambarīsangraha by R V Krisṇamācārya,<sup>3</sup> Candrapidacaritra by V Anantācārya,<sup>4</sup> and epitomes of Harsacarita by R V Krisṇamācārya,<sup>5</sup> and by Śrinivāsācārya.<sup>6</sup>

**457** Among other works of Bāna are Candisatāka, Sivasatāka, Mukutatādītaka and Saradācandrikā.

Candisatāka is a centum of verses in long Śārdūla metre in praise of Candī, a form of Kālī, with an allusion in every verse to some incident in the fight between Kālī and Mahisāsura. Its source is the Devimahātmya (ch 80) of Markandeya Purāṇa. Thus, “the Suryasatāka of Mayura and the Bhaktamarastotra of Manatunga,” says Peterson “are three opposing poems written by devotees of one or other of the great forms of religion which flourished side by side under Harsha’s protection.” There are commentaries is on Candisatāka by Dhanesvara,<sup>7</sup> by Nagojibhatta,<sup>8</sup> by Bhāskararoya<sup>9</sup> and another anonymous<sup>10</sup>.

Sivastūti like Candisatāka was in praise of Siva and of his victory over of Tripurāsura.<sup>11</sup>

Of Mukutatādītaka nothing is known except a quotation by Bhoja in Śringāraprakāsa and by Gunavijayagani in his commentary on Nalacampū.<sup>12</sup> It has for its theme Bhīmasena’s smashing of Duryodhana with his club.

1 IOC, 1520

2 IOC, 866, VII 1558 He was a Kashmirian and wrote at the instance of Padmarāja

3. Printed, Srirangam

4. Sah. XIV

5. Printed, Kumbakonam.

6. Printed, Trichinopoly.

7. Ed with the commentaries, Bombay, See Hall’s Introduction to Vāsavadatta, 8, 49, Buhler, I4, I 111.

8. PR, I. 114

9. Ibid.

10. Introduction to Kādambarī, 97 f n. On this, G. P. Quackenbos, Poems of Mayura, Int 89

11. The name of the author is not given, but verses from it are quoted under Bāna in all the anthologies

12. यदा ह मुकुटाडितनाटके चाण ।

आशा. प्रोष्ठितदिग्गजा इव युहा प्रधत्तसिंहा इव

द्रोण्य कृतमहाद्रुमा इव भुवः प्रोत्खातचैला इव ॥

विद्राणा. क्षयकालरिक्तसकलैत्तेलोक्यकष्टा दशी

जाता क्षीमहारथा. कुरुपतेऽवस शून्यास्तमा ॥

*Pārvatīparināya* is a play long considered to be the work of this Bāna, but recent opinion has been inclined towards attributing it to Vāmana Bhatta Bāna.<sup>1</sup>

Speculation has been rife also on a reading of the passage of *Kavaprakāsa* according to which Bāna is said to have received wealth from Harsa in lieu of his poetry and some scholars have therefore thought that Raṭnāvali, Nāgānanda and Privadarśikā must be Bāna's composition.<sup>2</sup> There is *Sarvacaritātaka* mentioned in his name.<sup>3</sup>

*Saradātanaya* mentions a play named *Sāradācandrikā* by Bāna, of which the plot related to *Candrāpida*.<sup>4</sup>

Kṣemendra in his *Aucitīaricāracarcā* quotes a verse saying that it is part of a description of the condition of Kādambarī in her separation from *Candrāpida* and has other verses in his *Kavikantabharana*, which are referable to similar situations.<sup>5</sup> Is it possible that Bāna wrote Kādambarī in verse also?<sup>6</sup> Some of these verses are very charming and are as good as verses quoted as Bāna's in the anthologies, leaving us not in doubt that Bāna was good at verse as at prose. He was probably also a philosopher, for Ānandajīvin, in his commentary *Tattvaviveka* on Anubhavānanda's *Niyāyaratnādīpāvali*, gives a reference to a work of Bāna on *Vedānta*.

1. See Telang, IA, III, 219 and Peterson's Int. to *Kādambarī*, 97.

2. See on this subject chapter on Sanskrit drama post

3. CC, I, 868

4. कल्पित मट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ।  
दिव्येन मर्लस्थ वथे काव्यस्यावश्यमावत ॥

*Bhāvavṛahāsa* (CUS), 252  
Dasarupa mentions *Sāradācandrikā* as an example of Uṭṣṭriśikāṅka

चन्द्रार्पीडस्थ मरण यत्प्रयुक्तीक्वान्तिभूम् ।

कल्पित मट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ॥

5. हारो जलार्द्रवसन नलिनीदल्लानि प्रालेयशीकरसुचस्तुहिनांशुभास ।  
यस्येवनानि सरसानि च चन्दनानि निष्ठीणमेष्यति कथ स मनोभवाभि ॥

अत्र विश्रलम्भमरमग्नधैर्याया कादम्बर्या विश्वव्यावर्णन माधुर्यसौकृमार्यादिगुणयोगेन  
पूर्णदुर्दनेन प्रियवदत्वेन हृदयानन्ददायिनीं दयिततमतामातनोति ।

—Bom Edn p 121.

For all such verses, see Peterson's *Sudh.*, 62 68 and Thomas, *Kav.*, 55 59.

e. g. अथोद्यौ बालसुहस्तरस्य श्यामाधवश्यमललक्ष्ममङ्ग्या ।

तारावधूलोचनउम्बनेन लीलाविलीनाञ्चनविन्दुरिन्दु ॥

458 The following passages from Haracarita are of historical value <sup>2</sup>

कृतमवधारयतु सामी समादिष्ट किन्तु सत्य विज्ञातव्यमस्ति भर्तुमते । तदाकर्णयतु देव । देवेन हि पुष्पभूतिवशभूतसाजात्यस्य सहजस्य तेजसो दिक्करिकप्रलम्बस्य बाहु-युगलस्यासाधारणस्य च सोदरस्नेहस्य सर्वं सदृशमुपक्रान्तम् । काकोदरामिथाना हृषणा क्रमयोऽपि न मृण्यन्ति पिकार, किमुत मवान्नास्तेजमां राशय । केवल देवराज्यवर्धनोदन्तेन क्रियदपि हृषेव देवेन दुर्जनदौरात्म्यम् ।

तदियमात्मदेशाचारोचिता स्मावसरलहृदयजा लज्जयता सर्वविश्वासिता । प्रमाद दोषामिष्ठेषु श्रुतबहुवार्ता एव प्रतिदिन देव, यथा ।

- 1 नागकुलजन्मन सारिकाप्रावितमन्तस्यासीमाशो न ग्रसेनस्य पद्मावत्याम् ।
- 2 शुक्रध्रुतहास्यस्य च श्रीरथीर्थत श्रुतवर्मणश्श्रावत्याम् ।
- 3 सप्नायमानस्य च मन्त्रमेदोऽभून्मूलवे युतिकावत्यां सुवर्णचूडस्य ।
- 4 चूडामणिलभेलखप्रतिबिम्बवाचिताक्षरा च चारुचामीकरचामरप्राहिणी यमता यथै यवनेश्वरस्य ।
- 5 लोभबहुल च बहुलनिश्चिन्धानमुत्खातद्युगप्रमाथिनी ममन्थ माशुर बृहद्रथं विदूरथवरूथिनी ।
- 6 नागवनविहारयील च मायामातङ्गाक्षाभिर्गता महासेनसैनिका वस्तपाति न्यसिषु ।
- 7 अतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैदूषमध्यमध्यास्य मूर्वानमसिलतया यृणालभिवालुनादगिमिकात्मजस्य द्विमित्रस्य मित्रेव ।
- 8 प्रियतन्त्रीवाद्यस्यालूबीणाभ्यन्तरसुविरनिहितनिश्चितरवारयो गान्धर्वच्छाप्रच्छान चिष्ठिदुरस्मेकश्वरस्य शरस्य विरोद्धपुरुषा ।
- 9 प्रक्षादुर्बल च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताचेषत्सैन्य सेनानीरनायो भौर्य बृहद्रथ पिषेष पुष्पमित्रस्वामिनम् ।
- 10 आश्वर्यकुत्तहली च चण्डीपतिर्दण्डोपनतयवननिभितेन नभस्थलगायीना वन्त्रयानेनानीयत व्रतपि ।
- 11 काकवर्णं शैशुनारिश्च नगरोपकण्ठे निचकुते निक्षिरेन ॥

1 Bombay Edn , page 197 200

2 This is Sankara's gloss. काकवर्णो यवनान् विजित्य तैश्च सपुरुषानुपायनकुल्य वन्त्रयानेस्तद्वै परदारादीन् गच्छेयक्नैरात्मदेश प्रापन्य निहत इति ॥

१२ अतिस्त्रीसङ्गरतमनक्षपरवश शुक्रममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभूतिदासीदुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया  
वीतजीवितमकारथत् ।

१३ असुरविवरव्यमनिन चापजहूरपरिभितरमणीमणिन्दुपुरशणक्षणाहादरस्यया गोधनगिरि-  
सुरस्या स्विष्य मेकलाधिपमन्त्रिण ।

१४ महाकालमहे च महामांसविक्रयवादवातूळ वेतालस्तालजङ्घो जघान जघ्यज प्रथोतस्य  
पौंकि कृमार कुमारसेनम् ।

१५ रसायनरसाभिनीवेणिनश्च वैष्यव्यञ्जना सुबहुपुरुषान्तरप्रकाशिनौषधगुणा गणपतेर्विदेह-  
राजसुतस्य राजयक्षमाणमजनयन् ।

१६ स्त्रीविश्वासिनश्च महादेवीशृग्छृण्डभितिमांभ्राता भद्रसेनस्याभवन्मूलवे कालिङ्गस्यचीरसेन ।

१७ मातृशयनीयतूलिकातलनिषण्णश्च तनशोऽन्य तनयमभिषेकतुकामस्य दध्रस्य करुषाधि  
पतेरमवन्मूलवे ॥

१८ उत्सारकसुर्चिं च रहसि ससचिवमेव दूरीचकार चकोरनाथ शूद्रकदूतश्चन्द्रकेतु जीवितात् ॥

१९ मृगयासकतस्य च मश्तो गण्डकातुहण्डनहवलनलचननिलीनाश्च चम्पाधिपचमूचर  
मटाश्चामुण्डीपतेराचेषु प्राणान् पुष्करस्य ।

२० ब्रन्दिरागपर च परप्रयुक्ता जयशब्दमुखरपुखा मङ्गा भौखर्मार्हुर्व क्षववर्माणमुदखनत् ॥

२१ अरिपुरे च परकल्पकामुक काभिनीवेशगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तशकपतिमशातयदिति ।  
प्रमत्ताना प्रमदाकृता प्रमादा श्रुतिविषयमागता एव देवस्य, यथा ।

१. मधुमोदित मधुरकसलिप्तैर्लजै मुप्रभा पुत्रराज्यार्थं महासेन काशिराज जघान ।

२ व्याजजनितकन्दवर्दपी च दर्पेण श्रुत्वारार्पितान्तेनाचोध्याधिपाति परन्तप रत्नवती  
जारुथम् ।

३ विषनूर्णचुन्नितमकरन्देन च कर्णेन्दीवरेण देवकी देवातुरका देवसेन सौक्षम् ।

४ योगपरागविरसवर्णिणा च मणिन्दुपुरेण वशमा सपत्नीरुषा वैरस्य रन्तिदेवम् ।

५ विणीनिगृहेन च शलेण विन्दुमती वृष्णि विदूरथम् ।

६ रसदिग्धमध्येन च मेखलामणिना हसवती सौकीर वीरसेनम् ।

७ अट्टशयागदलित्वदना च विषवारुणीगण्डवपायनेन पौरवी पौरवेश्वर सोमकम् ॥

१ On that Sankara's glories says चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातुजायां प्रुदेवीं प्रार्थयमानश्चन्द्रगुप्तेन  
शुद्धेवीवेषधारिणा स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृतेन रहसि व्यापादित इति ।

**459 Dandin** was the son of Viradatti and Gauri. His father was Manoratha and Manoratha's father was Bhāravi.<sup>1</sup> They lived at Kāncī.<sup>2</sup> Dandin lost his parents in childhood, but as he has himself well described it, the place of the lost parents "was taken by Sarasvatī and Śruti".<sup>3</sup> After Kāncī was besieged by the Chalukya king Vikramādīpa I<sup>4</sup> about the year 655 A.D., the city became deserted and Dandin roamed through various seats of learning and attained high proficiency in the Veda and the arts. When the Pallava king Narasimhavarman<sup>5</sup> vanquished his foes and regained his capital Kāncī, Dandin came

1 See para 48 sv. 2 a

2 In commenting on Kāvyaśāstra 61

नासिक्यमध्या परितश्चतुर्वर्णशिरोषिता ।  
अस्ति काचित्पुरी यस्यामष्टवर्णद्वया नृपा ॥

This verse is found in Mahendravarman's Mamandur inscription also. From Candra interprets it as *Pundala* instead of *Pallava* in this verse (JMy, X 356).

Tarunavācaspati says that this enigma refers to Pallavas ruling at Kāncī.

काञ्चीनगर्या पङ्कवानाम् क्षितिपतयस्सन्तीति विवक्षितः ॥

8 स बाल एव मात्रा च पित्रा चापि व्युज्यते ।  
अयुज्यत गरीयसा सरस्वता श्रुतेण च ॥

*Anantavarman, Kāñchūnara, I*

4 Vikramādīpa I was the son of Pulakesin. In A.D. 655, he captured the Pallava capital Kāncī (see V Smith, EI, 427, 436; Kielhorn, EI, VIII App., 14, VII 219).

5 Narasimhavarman I ruled between 680-688 A.D. After the siege of Kāncī he regained his sovereignty. During his reign Huen Thsang visited Kāncī and stayed there for a considerable time (see V Smith, EI, 478, 486; G J Dubreuil, *An East, of Deccan* (Pondicherry), 67-70, (*The Pallavas*, 70). If Huen Thsang visited the court of Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of Kanauj, it follows that Dandin and Bāna might have been contemporaries. Were they friends? Compare these passages:

अरन्तलोकसहार्थमवार्यं सर्वरस्मिभि ।  
दृष्टिरोधस्त्र यूना यौवनप्रमत्वं तम् ॥ Kāvyaśāstra, II 197

केवल च निसर्गत एवामानुभेदमरन्तलोकोच्छेष्मप्रदीपप्रभाप्नेयमतिगहन तमो  
यौवनप्रमत्वम् ॥ —Kādambari

Peterson (Int. to Das) infers from this that Dandin must have been later than Bāna and places him in the 8th century A.D.

back and was given a place of honour at the royal court<sup>2</sup>. Matṛdatṭha<sup>3</sup> and Rāmasārma<sup>4</sup> were his intimate friends<sup>5</sup>.

1 M Govindapai (Jl of Andhra H.R. Socot VII I, 146, VIII 1), discusses the Pallava chronology from Kalābhartṛ to Taramcīvaravarma II and tabulates it as follows:

1	Kalābhartṛ, 87 107 A C		
2	Chuta-Pallava, 107 127 A C		
3	Virakurcha, 127 147 A C		
4	Skandasishya, 147 167 A C (alias Skandavarma I)		
5	Kumaravishnu, 167 200 A C (alias Sivaskandavarma)		
6	Buddhavarman, 200-228 A C (alias Skandavarma II)		
7	Vīravarma, 228 258 A.C		
8	Skandavarma, III 258 296 A C		
9	Simhavarma I, 296 315 A C	10	Vishnugopa I, 315 340 A C.
11	Skandavarma IV, 340 364 A C.	12	Simhavarma II, 364 380 A C.
13	Nandivarman I, 414 437 A.C.	14	Vishnugopa II, 389-414 A C.
		15	Simhavarma III, 487 472 A C
		16	Simhavishnu, 472-590 A C
		17	Mahendravarman I, 520 555 A C.
		18	Narasimhavarman I, 555 595 A C
		19	Mahendravarman II 525-630 A C.
		20	Paramesvaravarman I, 630 660 A C
		21	Narasimhavarman II, 630 685 A C
		22	Paramesvaravarman II, 685 750 A C

2 Matṛdatṭha is the author of a commentary on Hiranyakesi's Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras (GOS). He was probably a Nambudri Brahmin of Malabar.

3 Rāmasārma is the author of Acyutottara Kāvya. Bhāmaha refers to him and criticises his verse

सप्ततीवासा प्रगृहीतशार्ङ्गे भनोऽभीमिव पुरात कृष्ण ।  
अतहृदेन्द्रायुधवाचिद्वायां ससूज्यमानशशिशेव मेष. ||—(II. 58).  
भिन्नाणि मातुदत्ताच्या केरलेषु द्विजोत्तमा. ।

Dandin was a specialist in the art of architecture. One day one Lalitalaya requested Dandin to go to Mahāmallapuram<sup>1</sup> and inspect his jointure of the broken arm of the idol of Trivikrama in the temple *then* touching the waters of the sea. Dandin went to Mahāmallapuram and appreciated the imperceptible conjunction of the broken parts of the arm. While he was offering his worship, a full-blown lotus was wafted by the waves of the sea, and when it touched the feet of the Lord, there arose from it the splendid figure of a Vidyādhara. The Vidyādhara bowed gracefully and vanished. Dandin's curiosity was awakened. His mind was set upon discovering the secret of the occurrence and on returning to Kāncī, he sat in penance and in the trance of meditation, the story of Avantisundarikathā was revealed to him. Such is the autobiography prefixed to the narrative of the splendid romance of Avantisundarikathā<sup>2</sup>.

Dandin may therefore be safely assigned to the period 635-700 A D.<sup>3</sup>

1 This is now called Mahābilipuram in Chingleput District, Madras Presidency.

2 In an anonymous commentary on Kāvyādarśa (I, 28) this work is mentioned as an ākhyāyikā आख्यायिकेति कादन्वयवन्नितसुन्दर्यादि।

and Vādīganghāla says

आख्यायिका शूद्रकचरितप्रभृति सा आदिर्येषामवन्तिसुन्दर्यादिकथानाम् ।

and Vādīganghāla lived about the year 969 A D.

It is interesting to note that in Svapnavāsavadattā (Trav. Edn, p. 59) Vidyāgaka says

मादाणिभवं अर्चाण ओहसि अकादु । किन्तु इमसि राजउले अवानिसुन्दरी पापं जकिखणी पडिबसादि ॥

The epithet Yakṣinī for Avantisundari has a parity in that Maṇḍukini and Tāravali are described here as Yakṣa women.

8 R. V. Krṣṇamārcarya (Sch. XIX 922) says Dandin lived in 6th century, as he criticises Bhāmāha and is criticised by Vāmana. He says Daśakumāracarita is Dandin's work. R. C. Dutt (Orv. I 18, 25, II 298) says Dandin was an old man when Śilāditya (570-620 A D) reigned. M. Rangācārya (Int. to Kāvyādarśa, 9) gives date 6th century A D. V. K. Chiplankar, *Essay on Dandin* (Bombay) says ("From a comparison of the story in Chapter V of Daśakumārcarita and Act V of Mālati-maṭhava, he infers that Dandin must have been prior to or contemporary with Bhavar bhūti").

Weber (IL, 213, 222) mentions the possibility of Dandin having lived under an earlier Bhoja in the 8th century. For a similar view, see F. E. Hall, *Pref. to Vasavadatta*, 19 ff. Wilson (*Essays*, I 346) relies on the mention of the race of Bhoja in the Daśakumārcarita and of the rarity of allusions to Yavanas and says that Dandin must have lived during the time of one of the immediate descendants of king

**460** This specimen of poetic art was long lost in oblivion and the fall of the Pallava kingdom must have been the cause of it. The existence of the work had so far been gone out of recollection, that even among rhetoricians, it has been rarely noticed and Dāsakumāracarita, almost an epitome of it, has come to be regarded as Dandin's original work.

*Avantisundarikathā* relates almost the same story as the Dāsakumāracarita, except that in the former, the descriptions are very elaborate and narrative very complete, so that we have it in the tales of Śūdraka, Vararuci, Kādambarī and Samudradatta<sup>1</sup> and Saunaka and Bandhumati<sup>2</sup>

Only a fragment of the work was till recently available in print, but the whole work has been recovered by M R Kavi in Madras and is now being prepared for print

Bhoja of Dhar, so that he places Dandin about the end of the 11th century. For a critics of this view, see Kale (Int to Edu)

On Dandin generally, see Weber, *IL* 218, 231, *Essays on the Ramayana*, 76, 1st XIV 65, and *Int to Das* I 811, F W Thomas, *Kav* 42, Peterson, *Subh* 101, 180, Macdonell, *SL* 883, Pischel, *Int to Śrījñāratilaka* (Kiel) 18 ff Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, LXI 17, 91-5, *OC*, I 213, *Int to Vaswilitta* (Col Un series), Buhler, ff IV 88, Telang, *JBRAS*, LVII 159 Petersen, *Prefz o to Das* is also ff III 82, B C Dutt Civ, II 298, Maxmuller, *India*, 832, 858 Ramakrishnaskavi, *Mahākāvya Dandi* (*Kalū*, I) which contains the latest and the most learned account), M R. Kale, *Int to Dasakumāracarita* (Bombay), Agashe, *Int to Dasakumāracarita* (BSS), S K De SP, II 58, II 74, Collins, in his Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Dāsakumāracarita (Leipzig) places Dandin's literary activity before 595 A D Moyer, *Dasakumāracarita* (Leipzig) B Bhattacharya (*Jt Dep of Letcs*, IX, 80-1) places him in the last quarter of the 7th century A D

1 Samudradatta is the hero of the drama *Puspābhu(du)sītah*, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama post

2 Śaunaka was the pupil of Somatrīṭha. Once when they were on a visit to the court of the Kosala king, Śaunaka fell in love with the princess Bandhumati and had secret intrigues with her. In the meantime the king of Trigartha to whom the hand of the princess had been promised came to take her, but Śaunaka managed to elope with her unseen in a boat down the Sarayu. The boat was wrecked and he lost sight of her. Lamenting her loss, he saw the corpse of a fair woman on the banks and taking her to be the princess, he cremated the body. He then resolved to give up his life and when preparing for it, he met a Tāpasi and in her hermitage Bandhumati was safe. On hearing Śaunaka's voice, Bandhumati came out and the lovers met. Bandhumati explained that she was rescued by a cowherdswoman, but the latter was bitten by a snake and died at once and it was her corpse that he had cremated. There, by chance the father of Bandhumati came, having been deprived of his kingdom by the king of Trigartha rate at the loss of Bandhumati's hand, Śaunaka fought and restored his father in law to his kingdom

It is suspected that there must have been a drama somewhere of the name Bandhu

Brhatkāthā appears to have been the model for the construction Vararuci is Kātyāyanā's son and lived in the days of King Mahāpadma Saunaka, the lover of Bandhumati who was reborn as Śūdraka, reappears here as Kāmapāla Likewise, Bandhumati who transmigrated as Vinayavati, queen of Śūdraka, is reborn here as Kāntimati Bandhumati's maid who was born as the wife of Śūdraka becomes Tāravali here Thus, Dandin maintains an intimate connection with the ancient narratives and attempts as if to frame a sequel

**461** Chronology does not make it impossible that Dandin knew Bāpa and the proximity of dates suggests that Dandin was Bāna's younger contemporary and probably a friend too In Avantisundari Dandin narrates the story of Kādambari and his narrative follows Bāna's Pūrvabhbāga and diverges widely from the Pulinda's (Bhūṣana's) Uttarabhāga It is therefore inferred that Dandin wrote his Avantisundari before Bāna's son thought of concluding the narrative

It is fairly certain that Dandin studied and admired Kādambari He mentions it by name with the usual device of paronomasia

बहुलभाषिणो बृहत्कथाजलाशया सेतुबन्धलग्नाश्च, नप्रमदस्पृश काव्यररसान्  
दृष्ट्य समन्दाक्षाश्च, विशुतबहुश्रुताश्च रामायणादि \* \* \* मिहाश्च दृष्टमहाभारता भीमगदामि-  
वातचार्तासुरधाश्च ॥

A reading of Kādambari by the side of Avantisundari will display a conscious elaboration by Dandin of Bāpa's ideas, fancies and descriptions Same situations are adopted, but the delineation is unique and the fault of the loan of situations is excused by the resplendence of amending shots of poetic imagery blended with the sweetest melody of expression Extracts are printed at the end of this chapter

**462** Apart from the merit of the Kāthā as a piece of literary art, it contains a laudatory preface in praise of several poets which furnishes a clue to some lost works and makes it a landmark in literary history Reference is made there to Vyāsa,<sup>1</sup> Subandhu, Guṇādhyā, Mūladeva, maṭi or Bandhumati-Saunaka. The conjecture is strengthened by the following verse in Kaumudīmahotsava

शौनकसिव बन्धुमती कुमारसविमारक कुरमीव ।  
अर्द्धति कीर्तिमतीय कान्त कल्याणवर्णाणम् ॥

1. The verse in praise of Vyāsa

पर्लेभ्नेषु चैतन्यं भग्नाभारतविधया । अर्पयामास तत्पूर्वं वक्तस्मै पुनये नम् ॥  
is quoted as Dandin's in the anonymous Subhāgītāvali (para 873 supra )

Sūdraka, Bhāsa, Sarvasena, Pravarasena, Kālidāsa, Nārāyaṇa, Bhūravi (?) Bāṇa and Mayūra, in a manner very probably indicating a chronological order among them<sup>1</sup>

**463** Avantisundari-kathāsāra is a poetic summary of the kāṭha, which in the merit of composition rarely falls short of the original which

1.

मुबन्धु किल निष्कन्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।  
तस्यैव हृदय वद्वा वत्सराजो \* \* \* ||  
\* \* \* \* तमानवदेवया ।  
गोमुखान्वितया जाति का ब्रह्मकथयोजिता ॥  
सनारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रया कृति ।  
मूलदेवोदि \* \* \* \* \* \* ||  
शूद्रकेणासकृजित्वा खच्छया खद्गधारया ।  
जगद्गूयोऽन्धवष्टव्य वाचा खचरितार्थया ॥  
धूविमक्तसुसाथैर्व्यतलक्षणवृत्तिभि ।  
परेतोऽपि स्थितो भास शरीरैरिव नाटकै ॥  
राज्ञाश्रीसर्वेसनेन \* \* \* \* ।  
\* \* \* \* \* विजय हरे ॥  
लिप्ता मधुवेणासन्धस्य निविवशा गिर ।  
तेनेद वर्मी वैदर्म काळिदासेन शोधितम् ॥  
चक्षु क्षति \* \* \* \* \* ।  
\* \* \* \* \* \* ||  
व्याप्तु पदव्रयेणापि यशस्तो भुवनव्रयम् ।  
तस्य काव्यकथव्यात्मौ चित्र नारायणस्य किम् ॥  
भिन्नस्तीक्ष्णमुखेनापि चित्र बाणेन निर्व्यथ ।  
व्याहरेषु जहौ लीला न भयूर् \* \* \* \* ||  
\* \* \* \* \* चित्रीयते भम ।  
वर्णहीनापि या जाता जात्युत्कर्षगुप्तास्पदम् ।  
धवलप्रसवा रागं सा तनोति मनोवती ।  
कविगम्धगजैरेभि \* \* \* \* ।  
\* \* \* \* व दामांदरवशज ॥  
आवर्जने तिरक्षामप्येति हृथ इव ध्वनि ॥

Sarvasena's Harivijaya is mentioned by Hemacandra (KS, 335) Nārāyaṇa is probably Bhattanārāyaṇa, author of Veṇusamhāra. The verse beginning with चक्षु क्षति probably refers to Kumāradāsa. The verse वर्णहीना probably refers to Kādambarī or Vijjākā.

it sought to epitomise. At present the name of the author is unknown. It bears the Ānandāṅka at the end of each canto<sup>4</sup> and when we see that Bhoja and Hemacandra mention Pancasikha's poem as of that anka,<sup>5</sup> is it possible that the author of this poem was PĀNCASIKHA? The extant work is also incomplete and stops in the seventh canto<sup>6</sup>

**464** It is a tradition that Dandin wrote three works<sup>7</sup> and if we take Avanṭisundarikathā, in the place of Dasakumāracarita, the two other works are Dvīsandhāna and Kāvyādarsa

DVĪSANDHĀNA is a poem with a double entendre and narrated the stories of Rāmāyana and Māhābhārata. Except in rare references to it by later writers<sup>8</sup> the work is lost. It served as a model for

1 For instance,

मुक्तवा शशी मिलितपुलकवातमुत्थाय भूय ।

प्राप्तानन्दो विरतिसमये प्राक्तनीना क्रियाम् ॥ Canto I

२ महालाङ्करा यथा । अभ्युदय कृष्णचरिते, जय उधाहरणे, आनन्द पञ्चशिरस्यशूद्रक कथायाम् ॥—Kāvyānuśāsana 995

यथाह शुको जरदिरशशूद्रकथाया । —Śringāraprakāśa, XI

3 For a complete account of the Kaṭhā and Kaṭhāśāra, see M. Ramakrishna Kavi, *Dandi* (*Kalā*, I). The 7th canto is a cīrasara, in which some particular alphabets are avowedly avoided.

4. त्रयोऽभ्युक्तयो देवास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो गुणा ।

त्रयो दण्डप्रबधाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ॥ Harāvaka

Much thought has been expended on discovering the names of the three works here referred to as Dandin's. Pischell thought the third was Mṛtacakatikā, because the verse लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि is found there as well as in Kāvyādarsa (see Peterson, *Studh* 180). Others thought that the third work was Chandoviciṭi, because in Kāvyādarsa Dandin says छन्दोविचित्या सकलेस्त्प्रपञ्चो निरूपित . There is no work known as Chandoviciṭi at all and it may mean only "a collection of metres". Chapters XIV and XV of Bhāratasaśāstra also goes under the name of Chandoviciṭi and Yādavaprakāśa's Bhāṣya on it is called Chandoviciṭi-bhāṣya. Even Varāhamihira (in his Brāhmaṇamhita) says

विपुलाभपि बद्धवा छन्दोविचिति भवति कार्यमेतावत् ।

श्रुतिसुखदवृत्तसङ्घामिममाह वराहिभिरोऽत ॥

On this question, see R. V. Krishnamacharya, Int to Vāsavaḍeṭṭī, xxxiv vi

5 Bhoja in his Śringāraprakāśa says (in Prakāśa VII) दण्डनो धनञ्जयस्य वा द्विसन्धाने and (in Prakāśa IX) राजायणमहामारयोर्दण्डद्विसन्धानमिव and quotes the verse

उदारमहिमाराम प्रजानां हृषेवर्णं ।

धर्मप्रभव इत्यासीत् ख्यातो भरतपूर्वजः ॥

several compositions of that style and even the name was adopted by Dhananjaya and Kavirāja<sup>1</sup>

KAVIADARSA, his well-known treatise on poetics, will be noticed in a future chapter

Sivapancastavī is a small poem of devotion ascribed to Dandin called Anāmaṭṭotra<sup>2</sup>

**465 Dasakumaracarita** is in two parts, the former Pūrvapīthikā is in 5 chapters and the latter Uttarapīthikā is in 8 chapters Rājahamsa, king of Magadha, had three ministers and in regular succession their sons became ministers too. When a war broke out between Rājahamsa and Mānasāra, king of Malwa, Rājahamsa sent away his pregnant wife to a rendezvous in the Vindhya mountains. He was severely wounded in battle and his chariot was drawn off by the frightened horses into the same forest. There he rested until he became conscious. When the queen heard the news of her missing husband, she resolved to die and as she was offering a prayer before hanging herself to a tree, Rājahamsa recognised her voice, and they were united. She gave birth to a son Rājavāhana. About the same time, his four ministers also got four sons, Pramati, Mitragupta, Mantragupta and Visruṭa. Then the story is related how by chance five foundling boys were brought to the king, and were received by him with kindness. When of age, he sent them out on a campaign of conquest. When the princes were journeying in the Vindhya, Rājahamsa was met by a brahmin Maṭṭanga and was induced to accompany him to Pāṭṭala through an opening revealed to Maṭṭanga by Śiva in a dream. When they reached Pāṭṭala, the queen of that land offered her hand and kingdom to Maṭṭanga and Maṭṭanga became king. In the meantime, not knowing the movements of Rājahamsa, the nine princes set out in different paths agreeing to meet later at Ujjain. Rājavāhana proceeded to Ujjain, and there married Avantisundarī, the daughter of that king. The princes met each other one after another and narrated their adventures. At the end of the narrative the princes captured Mālwa and proceeded to Puṣpapura and paid homage to the king and queen. The king distributed among them the various kingdoms they had conquered. Rājavāhana became king of the United kingdoms of Puṣpapura and Ujjain. Guided by Rājavāhana the princes ruled over

1. See paras 68 and 86 *supra*.

2. Ed Madras and elsewhere

their kingdoms justly and "enjoyed pleasures not easily attainable even by Indra "<sup>1</sup>

"Dasakumaracarita begins and ends in an abrupt manner and it introduces the reader at once to strange persons and strange events Pūrvapīthika, preliminary chapter, is commonly ascribed to Dandin himself, but as it is somewhat less ambitiously written, and as the incidents related are, in one or two cases, briefly repeated in the body of the work, and with some contradictions, doubts have been started as to the accuracy of the attribution."

**466 Sesa**<sup>2</sup> or supplement to the Carita, a continuation and conclusion of the stories, is the work of Cakrapāṇi Dikṣita, a Mahratta Brahmin. It displays an elaborate construction with an expression fairly equal to its precursor Cakrapāṇi was the son of Candramauli Dikṣita.

Because Pūrvabhāga differs in various manuscripts and in some even the story is altered (See *Tanq Cat* VII, 2998-3007), the oldest commentaries are only on Uttarabhāga and there is much similarity between Uttarabhāga and Avantisundari M R Kavi (Int to Edn) thinks that Dandin's work was lost and the story was re-written as Pūrvabhāga from materials available in translations or from tradition. He adds "Of the translations of Dasakumaracarita, the oldest is in Telugu by Ketana of about 1250 A.D. A comparison of his work with the original shows that the Purvabhaga corresponds exactly with the Telugu portion except that the story of Somadatta comes after the meeting of Rajavahana and Avantisundari, but before their marriage and that Uttarabhaga is very much condensed in Telugu. Most of the idioms peculiar to Telugu are also crudely found in Sanskrit in the Purvabhaga. Ketana states that he was writing in chapters the story

1. Ed by H. H. Wilson, by Petersen (Bombay), by Buhler (Bombay), by T. Tarkavācaspati (Calcutta) with notes, by G J Agashe (Bombay) with introduction and notes. For a complete summary in English and notes, see Edn by M R Kale (Bombay). See also Meyer, *Dandin's Dasakumaracaritam, die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen*, Leipzig. Collins, *Geographical data of Raghuvamsa and Dasakumaracarita*, Leipzig Tr by Meyer, o c and by Haberland (Munich); by M R Kale (Bombay), by P W Jacob (*Hindu Tales*), by Wilson (*Essays on SL*, II 180), by Jānakīnātha, (IOC, VII 1851). For Agashe's doubt on the identity of the authors of Dasakumāracarita and Kāvyādarśa, see *Id*, XLIV, 67.

2. 100, VII 1852

M. R. Kale says that the Uttarapīthikā printed in his edition is not the same of Cakrapāṇi's work. But Uttarapīthikā is the Dasakumāracarita proper intended by Wilson. In OC, I 247 it is said that Padmanābha wrote Uttarapi hikā

of Dasakumaras (ten young men) as related by Dandin in his prose work. These facts suggest whether the Purvabhaga was translated from Telugu putting Somadatta's story a little earlier in the Sanskrit rendering, Kanarese translation has quite a different story for this portion. Thus we are tempted to say that the first portion of Avanti was lost and was re-written by several unknown writers. Perhaps the friends of Dandin might have taken copies to Malabar and the ghats have protected them from the ravages of time and political catastrophes".<sup>1</sup>

But S K De takes a contrary view and says that Dasakumāracarita is the real work of Dandin and Avantisundari is the work of some later author. He says "It is well known that Dandin, the author of the Kavyāḍarsa, refuses to admit the fine distinctions made by theorists between a katha and an akhyayika, but his own definition of these two species of prose composition is entirely negative and does not help us in fixing his conception of them. It is not until we come to Rudrata, who has accepted and generalised the characteristics of Bana's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the katha and the akhyayika respectively, that we find these two species entirely stereotyped in theory. It is possible, therefore, that the Avantisundarikatha was composed before this fixing of characteristics in Rudrata's time, and this would explain the apparent confusion of the characteristics of a katha and an akhyayika made by its author. But he could not have been very far from the time of the author of the Dasakumaracarita whose work he utilised and whose biographical details were not yet entirely lost in his time".<sup>2</sup>

**467** There are poetic versions of Pūrvapīthikā, one by APPAYA DILSIĀ, the author of Kuvalayānanda, printed at Serampore in 1804 and another by VINAYAKA GOPINĀTHA Mahārājādhirāja undertook "the bolder task of ameliorating (samśodhana) the text. Like the two preceding, his introduction is in metre and in three sections, but they contain six hundred and seventy nine slokas and are therefore much more diffuse. In the body of the work the author reverts to prose, where his so called improvement—really a disfigurement, consists in the occasional amplification or explanation of the incidents of the original,

1 In<sup>1</sup> to Edn. See also Agashe's Int to Daśakumāracarita (BSS)

2 IHQ, III 161

3 IOO, 1764, VII 1558 Printed as appendix to Colebrook's edn of Hīmapadeśa

4 IOO 586, VII 1558 It is in three chapters and begins with the story of Rājaham a t Puṣṇipura

the text of which with such occasional interpolations or substitutions, is given without any alteration. The story is also carried on to completion.”<sup>1</sup>

**468** There are commentaries on Dasakumāracarita by Sīvarāma,<sup>2</sup> Gurunātha Kāvyatīrtha,<sup>3</sup> Kavindrācāryasarasvati,<sup>4</sup> Haridāsa Siddhantavāgiśa,<sup>5</sup> Haripādachattopadhbāya,<sup>6</sup> G K Ambedkar,<sup>7</sup> A B Gajendragathkar,<sup>8</sup> Revatikānta Bhāttācārya,<sup>9</sup> Jibānanda,<sup>10</sup> Tārānātha,<sup>11</sup> and some anonymous.<sup>12</sup>

There are epitomes, Dasakumāracaritāsandangraha, anonymous<sup>13</sup> and the other by R V Krishnamacharya.<sup>14</sup>

**469** The greatness of Dandin as a poet has a traditional recognition. He has been known as Ācārya Dandin.<sup>15</sup> It is said that Sarasvatī declared him a poet<sup>16</sup> and that with Vālmīki and Vyāsa he was of the same rank.<sup>17</sup>

1 IOO, 1850, VII 1554

2 Ed Bombay This is on the Purvāpitihika only. He was the son of Krṣṇarāma and grandson of Trilokācāndra and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Kesavarāma. His commentary Bhūṣṇa (Ed. Bombay) relates only to Daśakumāracarita (8 Uchavaṣas) and not Purva and Utterāpitihikas. He has also commented on Kādambari (See Rajgrah Library Cat. 60). Ed by N B Godabole and K P Parab (Bombay).

3 Printed, Calcutta

4 Printed, Bombay

5. Printed, Calcutta

6 Printed, Calcutta

7 Printed, Bombay with glossary

8 Printed, Bombay with introduction and appendices.

9 Printed, Calcutta.

10 Printed, Calcutta

11 SKO, 81

12 Ed Bombay CO, II 52

13 Opp., II. 8165

14 Printed, Srirangam

15. So say the colophons of his works, as well as Bhatta Gopāla in the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa

See S. Pattabhiram *Ācārya Dandan as a critic* Paper read at the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924

16. In a rivalry between Kālidāsa and Dandin, Sarasvatī was called to decide merit. She said कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी न सशय but when Kalidasa asked, कोऽहं रण्डे she said त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं न सशय

17 जाते जगति बाल्मीकौ कविरित्यभिधाऽभवत् ।

कवी इति ततो व्यासे कवयस्त्वयि दण्डनि ॥

**470 Subandhu.** The age of Subandhu as a writer of Sanskrit romance has been a matter of literary speculation. His name is associated with VĀSĀVADATTĀ. In the introductory verses to Haracarita, Bāna has a eulogy of poets and poems and there he mentions a Vasavadattā. It has been considered from this reference that Bāna had in mind Subandhu's writing, so that Bāna's date being known, the age of Subandhu was anterior to him.

In a similar preface to VĀSĀVADATTĀ, Subandhu deplores the decay of poetic aesthetics after the days of Vikramādītya, the generous patron of letters.

सा रसवत्ता विहृता नवका विलसन्ति नो कङ्क ।  
सरसीब कीर्तिशेष गतवति भुवि विक्रमादिले ॥

(On the identity of this Vikramādītya there has been a display of original research. But two considerations chiefly lead us to conclude

1. On Subandhu generally, see Hall, *Int to Vasavadatta*. R V Krishnamacharya (*Int to Vasavadatta*) thinks Subandhu was a Vaishnavite following Mimāmsa philosophy. Weber, I 271 quoting Cunningham (*JASB XVII*, 98-9) says there is a legend that Subandhu was a Kashmirian Brahman.

2. R V Krishnamacharya thinks this verse here an interpolation as it is not found in some manuscripts. *Introduction to Vasavadatta*, lxxix

Vāmana in his Kāvyaśālankāra has passage

सामिप्रायत्वं यथा—  
जातो भूपतिराश्रय कृतधिया दिष्ट्या कृताधैश्चरम् ।  
कृतधियामिलसं च(व)सुबन्धु ॥

Some scholars have preferred the reading वसुबन्धु to च सुबन्धु. In Ms. No 4 B 820 of Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, the reading is the latter. The discovery of Avantisundarakāthā has set the difficulty at rest, for it is stated there that Subandhu was attached to Bindusāra, the son of Candragupta.

सुबन्धु किल निष्कान्तो विन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् । तसैव हृदयं बन्धा ॥

The available Vāsavadattā of Subandhu is unconnected with Udayana Vaṭṭarāja. There are no data to connect this Subandhu with Vāsavadattā mentioned by Paṭanjali. M. Ramakrishna Kāvi (*Kaṭṭi*, I 70) however says so. R V Krishnamacharya (c. 1911) says that there was one Vasubandhu, pupil of Minorāga, in the court of Vikramādītya. Candragupta II Takkakuwa in his *Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu* finds a passage that King Vikramādītya of Ayodhya sent his crown prince Bālādītya to Vasubandhu to learn Buddhism. [JRAS (1908), 41] Smith (E.H., 292, 320) and Pathak take this Vikramādītya to be Skandagupta. But Bhāskararāja says he was Candragupta II who lived in Gupta era 98 or 411 A.D. and identifies Bālādītya with his son Govinda Gupta [see also IA XLII 15]. Subandhu, therefore, it is suggested, saw that the ancient romance of Vāsavadattā so highly praised of Bāna was lost and with confidence in his literary ability, he set out to make up this loss. On this question, see R. Samaswati, JMy

that Vāsavadattā mentioned by Bāṇa was not the work of Subandhu. Paṭanjalī instances Vāsavadatta as an Ākhyāyikā and speaks of readers as Vāsavadattikas<sup>1</sup>

In this allusion to Vikramāditya<sup>2</sup> there is express indication that Vikramāditya so lamented was the patron of the 'nine gems' and if as tradition says the patron of 'nine gems' was the founder of the Vikrama era in 56 B C , Paṭanjalī who flourished far earlier than that date could not have referred to this Subandhu's romance<sup>3</sup> In his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Bhoja mentions an Ākhvāyikā Līlāvatī, now lost. But Neminātha Kavirājākunjara, the Canarese poet, has written a romance of that name, probably an adaptation of the Sanskrit original. It describes the love of Kandarpaketu and Līlāvatī and the story is almost similar to that found in this work, except that the name of the heroine had been altered from Līlāvatī to Vāsavadattā. Is it possible that the source of Subandhu's plot was the original Līlāvatī and that he narrated the same story in a new form, so as to illustrate the power of Sanskrit paranomasia<sup>4</sup>? But Subandhu, the author of Vāsavadattā, is not a late writer. He is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyālankāra. An anonymous commentary on Vāsavadattā begins with a verse, which commences Bhāmatī, the commentary on Śankarabhbāya by Vācaspaṭimisra. It is therefore likely that this commentary was the work of Vācaspaṭi, who lived in the 9th century A D and Vāmana was in the Court of Jayapida (779–819 A D) Subandhu mentions Baudḍhasangati, Uddyotakāra and a story of Śakuntalā (apparently as represented by Kālidāsa) Baudḍhasangati was a rhetorical work by Dharmakīrti,<sup>4</sup> and

1. See para 450 supra.

2. For the view that Paṭanjalī's Vāsavadattā was not this Subandhu's, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī, 72 and R V Krishnamacharya, loc. xxxvi.

3. "The romance of Vasavadatta referred to in Maistrīmādhava as in like manner that found in Kathasaritsagara and which has been dramatised in Ratnavali resembles in scarcely a feature, barring the common appellation of their respective heroines". Hall.

4. वैदिसक्षातीमिव अलङ्कारपूर्णिताम् Śivavarāma in his commentary says that Baudḍhasangati was the work of Dharmakīrti Hall (Int to Edn) accepts this statement. R V Krishnamacharya adopts the reading सत्कविकाव्यरचनाभिद्वालङ्कारपूर्णिताम् and says that Alankāra was the name of a work by Dharmakīrti. Levi says that Dharmakīrti has not been known to be a rhetorician at all, (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient*, III 46). Thomas accepts this opinion (Int to Kav 48) S K De does not mention Dharmakīrti as a writer of rhetoric (SP 48), but says that Bhāmatī adopted Dharmakīrti's Buddhist doctrines, placing Dharmakīrti in the middle of the 7th century. A D., because he is not noticed by Huien Thsang (630 648 A.D.), but mentioned by I Tsung (673 698 A D) as a recent author. (See Takakusu, *Record of*

Uddyotakāra,<sup>1</sup> the great logician, was the author of Nyāyavārtika and these writers lived in the 6th century A.D.

471 "Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is quite different from that which Bhamaha criticises as quite incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political science (lokasastra viruddha) concerning the conduct of a conqueror (Vijigishu). The story of Vasavadatta is as old as Patanjali, inasmuch as he refers to it in his commentary on Panini IV 3 57 One of the versions of the story based upon the Brihatkatha is found narrated in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara and it seems to be the Brihatkatha version that Bhamaha has condemned as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political science Chandamahasena, the king of Avanti, made a large artificial elephant similar to the one reared by Udayana, the king of Vatsas After filling it with armed soldiers, he sent it to the Vindhya forest bordering upon the Vatsa country with a view to entice Udayana to come out of his capital for capturing the elephant As expected, Udayana came along to see and capture it, was himself caught hold of by Chandamahasena's soldiers and taken as a prisoner to Avanti where he married Vasavadatta Bhamaha condemns this story as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world, inasmuch as no king like Udayana who was well informed and had able ministers to advise him could be believed to go out with no assistance to elephant forest at sunset, however fond he might be of elephants It is also opposed to the dictates of political science inasmuch as no king like Udayana ever bent on making extensive conquests would be foolish enough to enter upon a risky adventure as he is said to have done Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is not

*(the Buddhist Religion)* Taranatha (*Geschichte*, 1845) makes him contemporary of the Tibetan king Strong bstan sgam po who died in 650 A.D. So does Kern (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 180) Peterson and Hall (*Subh 47 Int to Vas*) say that Dharmakīrti the writer on Alankāra, was identical with the Buddhist philosopher of that name Ānandavardhana quotes verses by Dharmakīrti Dharmakīrti is now generally placed between the 6th and 7th century A.D. Telang (*JBRAS*, XXVII, 147, places Dharmakīrti in the middle of 6th century A.D. See Aufrecht, *IST*, XVI, 204 7, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 44, *CC*, I 268, Peterson (*JBRAS*, XVI, 172 8); Bhandarkar [*BR*, (1897) xxx], Max Muller (*India*, Index); Duff, (*Chronology*), *JBRAS*, XVIII, 18, 88 96, 148 150 For works and verses of Dharmakīrti in the anthologies, see Thomas *Kav*, 47 50 and Peterson, *Subh* 46 8)

1 Udyotakāra's work is meant to be a refutation of Dīnguāga's heterodox views. If Dīnguāga lived in 6th century, A.D. Udyotakāra must have lived later (On Dīnguāga's date, see para 17 *supra*).

liable to such charges If that work had existed in Bhamaha's time he would not have failed to notice it in this connection ”<sup>1</sup>

The posteriority of Subandhu to Bāna is confirmed by internal evidence To Bāna's works Subandhu was indebted at times for words, expressions, passages and situations, bordering on plagiarism<sup>2</sup> The use of the word Indrāyudha indicates an allusion to the Candrā-pīda's horse<sup>3</sup> of that name The resolves of Mahāsveṭa and Kādambārī to give up their lives when their lovers were dead and the sudden interruption of their attempts by the intervention of a heavenly voice have their counterparts in a similar situation created for Kandarpakeṭu when he missed his sweetheart Vāsavadatta Above all Subandhu has appreciated Bhavabhūti by drawing upon him for his fine expressions of poetic fancy The instance given below is too glaring<sup>4</sup> to avoid the inference that Subandhu lived after Bhavabhūti and was a student of his plays Bāna and Bhavabhūti were too original in their ideas and too conscious of their genius that a contrary inference is not possible Subandhu appears therefore to have flourished between Bāna and Vāmana, that is, about the end of the 8th century A D<sup>5</sup>

1 Mys Arch Rep (1927), 25.

2 For instance, see the use of the phrases किं बहुना, देव प्रभाणम्, अचिन्तयच, आसीक्षाय मनसि ।

3 वज्रेणवेन्द्रायुधेन मनोजवनाम्ना तुरगेण सह नगराशिर्जगाम । (Srirangam Edn 988)

4 Compare लीनेव प्रतिबिम्बितेव लिखितेवोत्तीर्णस्तेपव सा

प्रत्युसैव च वज्रलिम्पवटितेवान्तर्निखातेवच ।

सा नश्चेतसि कीलितेव विशिखेष्टेवोभुव पञ्चमि

चिन्तासन्तातितन्तुजालनिविडस्यूतेव लग्ना प्रिया ॥—Malalimadhabava

हृदये विलिनितमिव उत्कीर्णमिव, प्रत्युप्तमिव कीलितमिव, निगलितमिव वज्रलेपघटितमिव, अस्थिपञ्जरप्रविष्टमिव, मर्मान्तरशितमिव, मजारसशब्दितमिव कन्दर्पकेतु मन्यमाना ॥

Srirangam Edn 191 2.

5 Hoernle identifies Vikramāditya with Yaśodharman and dates Subandhu about 608-612 A D the latter being the date of Harṣa's coronation, see JRAS, (1908) 845, (1909) 89, 144, and see *contra* Fleet, [JRAS, (1904) 164] V Smith, [ZDMG, LVIII 781 96] places Yaśodharman, as founder of Malva empire, in 588-588 A D, Grey (Int to Edn) places Subandhu between Bāna and Udyotakāra, at least a century later than Dandin between 550 A.D and somewhere after 506 A.D. For this priority see Weber, IAX, I 911 315, R. V. Knahnamacharya puts Subandhu after Bāna and before Vāmana Hall (Int, to Vas 11) places Subandhu before Bāna (see also Cowell's Preface to Nyayakarmanjali, VI); Cartellieri (*Das Mahabharata Subandhu and Bāna*, VOJ, II 115, III 145, XIII 72) says Bāna knew Subandhu and composed his

**472** Prince Kandarpaketu son of king Cintāmaṇi, saw the image of a fair damsel in dream and enamoured of her he met with his friend Makaranda in quest of the original of that image. Haltung under a shady tree for a night, he overheard the tale related by a parrot to its spouse, that Vāsavadattā daughter of king Śṛṅgārakeshvara of Kusumapura dreamt of a young man of splendid attractions and would not therefore choose any out of the several princes that were assembled at her Swayamvara. She now sent out her own maid Iamālikā as an emissary to gather news of that young man, who had captured her heart. Kandarpaketu was delighted and made friendship with Iamālikā. He accompanied her to Vāsavadattā's harem, and to avoid her proposed marriage with Puspakeṭu, a Vidyādhara prince, the lovers secretly eloped. On their way they felt tired and fell asleep. As Vāsavadattā awoke and went out to gather fruits and flowers she saw two rival Kirāṭa chiefs with their forces in pursuit of her, but in a fight between themselves they destroyed each other. But the Sage in whose garden Vāsavadattā had entered was incensed at the havoc made by the rival armies and cursed her to become a lifeless statue, as the real cause of the whole trouble, but at her importunities he limited the curse to the day of the casual contact of her lover Kandarpaketu. Kandarpaketu rose to find his sweetheart missing and when in despair he approached the waters of the sea to give up his life a heavenly voice assured him that he would soon be united with Vāsavadattā. So he rambled through woods and awaited the uncertain day, when by chance he happened to pass by a statue and discovering in it some likeness he embraced it, the statue gained animation and Vāsavadattā stood before him in all her original glory.

**473** Subandhu has been praised by later writers,<sup>1</sup> Mankha, Rājasekhara, Vāmabhāṭṭa Bāpa<sup>2</sup> and is quoted in the anthologies

work to eclipse Subandhu's fame. Telang (*JRRAS*, XVIII 147) puts Subandhu at the end of the 6th century or beginning of the 7th century and before Bāpa and Dandin also "At the time when Vāsavadattā was composed the teachings of Kumārila, had already borne fruit against sects, but in Kādambarī, Hāsiacaripa and Daśakumāracarīṭa, we find allusions to Mimāṃsa to Bauddha and Jain systems though there is no allusion of contest between them". See also his introduction to *Mudrārākṣasa*, 55 note.

<sup>1</sup> And probably by Vākpiṭi in *Gauḍavālī*. See OC, I 746 and R. V. Krishna-macarya's Int to Edn. xl.

प्रतिकविभेदनबाण कवितातसगहनविहरणमयर ।  
सहदयलोकसूक्तनुर्जयति श्रीमद्वाणकविराज ॥

In his Vāsavadattā, Subandhu's sole aim was to illustrate the potency of expression of the Sanskrit language and his dexterity in framing discourse made of equivoques in every syllable. To him the choice of the plot and ingenuity in its development was of secondary importance. In this field of literature Subandhu is without an equal. All nature and all art is familiar to him. There is not one mythological incident to which he has not alluded, not one word whose significance he has not understood, not one style of prose writing which he has not adumbrated and not one mode of expression which he has not invented for the glory of his tale. "What with the comprehensive range of his hagiology," says Hall, "his familiarity with the bye-paths of elder days, his matchless command of Sanskrit vocabulary, and his mastery over the anomalies of its grammar, he is indeed not seldom an enigma to his scholars. There is true melody in the long, rolling compounds, a sesquipedalian majesty which can never be equalled save in Sanskrit, and the alliterations have a lulling music all their own to ears weary of the blatant discords of vaunted modern 'progress'. There is, on the other hand, a compact brevity in the paronomasias, which are, in most cases, veritable gems of terseness and two-fold appropriateness, even though some are manifestly forced and are actually detrimental to the sense of the passages in which they occur."<sup>1</sup>

There are commentaries on Vāsavadattā by Jagaddhara,<sup>2</sup> Trivikrama,<sup>3</sup> Timmayasūri,<sup>4</sup> Rāmadevamisra,<sup>5</sup> Siddhacandraragaṇi,<sup>6</sup> Narasimha-sena,<sup>7</sup> Nārāyaṇa and Śringāragupta,<sup>8</sup> Sarvacandra,<sup>9</sup> Sivarāma,<sup>10</sup> Prabhā-kara,<sup>11</sup> Sarvarakṣita,<sup>12</sup> Kāśīrāma,<sup>13</sup> Ranganātha,<sup>14</sup> R V Kṛṣnamācārya,<sup>15</sup> and some anonymous.<sup>16</sup>

1. On Subandhu generally, see Gray, 'Sivarama's Commentary on the Vasavadatta,' in *JASOS*, XXIV, 57-63; Manning, *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, II, 844-846; Mazumdar, 'A brief outline of the plot of the Vasavadatta' 'Who were the Kankas?' (*JRAS*, 1907, 406); Strehly, 'Un Roman indien, Vasavadatta de Subandhou' in *Revue politique et littéraire*, LIV, 805-811; Telang, 'Subandhu and Kumārila' (*JRAS*, XVIII, 147-167); Cartellieri, 'Das Mahabharata des Subandhu und Bana,' (*WZKM*, XIII, 57 J4), 'Subandhu and Bana' (*WZKM*, I, 115-132).

2. *DC*, XXI, 8582; *Tan*, VII, 801. He gives his genealogy.

3. *DC*, XXI, 8329; *Tan*, VII, 8018. He calls himself Medhāvi Trivikrama.

4. *DC*, XXI, 8880.

9. *IOG*, 543, 996.

5. *CC*, I, 566.

10. *Oudh*, XV, 44.

6. *PR*, IV, 23.

11. Hall's *Edn* 196, 214.

7. *Orf* 156.

12. *SKC*, 81.

8. *CC* I, 566; *Ulsar*, 967.

13. *IOG*, 543.

14. *CC*, III, 120.

15. Printed, Srirangam with a long introduction.

16. *DC*, XXI, 8381; *IOG*, 548; *CC*, III, 110; *Tan*, VII, 8020, 8029, 8028.

In Vāsavadattākathāvāra, T Narasimha Iyengar gives an epitome of the story

**474** “Bāna’s reference to Vāsavadattā probably refers to Vāsavadattā Nritapāra of Subandhu or some other romance of the name mentioned in Mahābhāṣya IV iii 87. The available Vāsavadattā of Subandhu does not relate the story of Udayanī’s wife and has references to later authors as Bāna, Bhavabhūti etc.”<sup>1</sup>

“Subandhu’s version of the story of Vasavadatta is quite different from that which Bhamaha criticises as quite incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political science (loka-sastra-viruddha) concerning the conduct of a conqueror (Vijigishu). The story of Vasavadatta is as old as Patanjali, inasmuch as he refers to it in his commentary on Panini IV 3,57. One of the versions of the story based upon the Brihatkatha is found narrated in Somadeva’s Kathasaritsagara and it seems to be the Brihatkatha version that Bhamaha has condemned as incredible and opposed to the usage of

1 (a) To Kālidāsa—

विष्णुलभेत दुष्यन्तस्य कृते दुर्बाससशापमनुवासू शकुन्तला ।

Rhetoricians like Kuntalaka assert that Kālidāsa introduced the curse of Durvāsas into the story of Śakuntalā

(b) to Bhāravi—

ताल्मुखरस इवापातमधुर परिणामे विरस ।

Compare

“सरदम्बुधराभाया गत्वयो यौवनश्रियः । आपातरस्या विषया पर्यन्तपरितापिन ॥”

(Kirājārjunīya, xi-19)

(c) to Bāna—

अनवरतद्वामानकालागस्थूपरिमलोद्धारेषु ।

is found in Kādambarī

(d) to Udyotakāra—

न्यायविद्याभिषोदव्योतकारस्तर्पाद् ।

(e) to Jaṭamīni—

जौमनिमतातुसारिण इव तथागतभासिन ।

This refers particularly to Kumārila

(f) to Bhavabhūti

प्रियतमे मागच्छ मागच्छेति दिष्टु विदिष्टु च विलिङ्गिताभिव, उत्कीर्णभिव चक्षुषिव, निस्ताताभिव हृदये, प्रियतमां ज्ञहाव हृदये विकिञ्चिताभिव उत्कीर्णभिव ग्रत्युतभिव निगलितभिव वप्रशारघटितभिव ।

Of Malatūmādbhāva (V-10) लीनेव प्रतिविम्बितेव etc., quoted in page 409 supra

the world and to the dictates of political science Chandamahasena, the king of Avanti made a large artificial elephant similar to the one reared by Udayana, the king of the Vatsas. After filling it with armed soldiers, he sent it to the Vindya forest bordering upon the Vatsa country with a view to entice Udayana to come out of his capital for capturing the elephant. As expected, Udayana came alone to see and capture it, was himself caught hold of by Chandamahasena's soldiers and taken as a prisoner to Avanti where he married Vasavadatta. Bhamaha condemns this story as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world, inasmuch as no king like Udayana who was well informed and had able ministers to advise him could be believed to go out with no assistance to elephant-forest at sunset, however fond he might be of elephants. It is also opposed to the dictates of political science, inasmuch as no king like Udayana, ever bent on making extensive conquests would be foolish enough to enter upon such a risky adventure as he is said to have done. Subandhu's version of the story Vasavadatta is not liable to such charges. If that work had existed in Bhamaha's time he would not have failed to notice it in this connection. As Subandhu refers to Vikramaditya (i.e. Chandragupta Vikramaditya) in whose court Kalidasa, also said to have been a poet, it follows that the capital of Chandragupta Vikramaditya was a haven of poets and scholars like Kalidasa, Bhamaha, Subandhu and others and that each poet or scholar was familiar with the literary productions of others living in the place. Accordingly Bhamaha may be presumed to have been earlier than Subandhu and a little later than Kalidasa, as he refers to Kalidasa and not to Bhamaha.<sup>1</sup>

**475. Narakanthirava Sastrī** of Kāsyapagoṭra and of Vattipalli family was a professor in the Sanskrit College, Tirupati about 1900 A D. Many of his poems are said to be locked up at Kalahasti. Besides stotras on Sri Venkatesa and Guṇaprasūnāmbikā, which have been printed, his summary of the story Abhinava-Vasavadatta in kṛṣṇa metre is a running narration.<sup>2</sup>

**476. Anandadhara's Madhvavālakartha** relates the story that Vikramāditya regaled himself in an enigmatic conversation between his friend Māhavālā and Kāmakandalā, a damsel of his Court, and when the latter was overcome, she was given away to the victor. The

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927), 35.

2. His pupil B. Sesha Sastrī has written lyrical poetry, and lives at Tirupati.

prose is interspersed with occasional poetry It appears to be older than the 10th century A D<sup>1</sup>

**477 Dhanapala** was son of Sarvadeva and brother of Sobhana of Kāsyapagoṭra Alienated from his family on some domestic differences, he gave up his home and rambled through the Universities of India In a few years he grew well-versed in literature and arts, and when he returned he was received by his brother with remorse and affection He calls himself son of Goddess of Learning He seems to have been a convert to Jainism with all his family He was a contemporary of of Halāyudha,<sup>2</sup> Padmagupta, Dhananjava and Devabhadra<sup>4</sup> and at the durbar of kings Siyaka and Välpaṭi of Dhāra was hailed as the foremost of the learned of his day

He composed his romance of THAKAMANJARI<sup>5</sup> to please his royal patron, who though versed in all art and literature was anxious to have an idea of the stories of the Jaina theology This long romance was being handed over part by part to the king and once when yet it

1 CC, II 104, CAL, B 198, IOC, VII 1558, SKC, 81, Tr. of 9th oriental confce, I. 480 There are plays of the name of Mādhyavānlā (CC, I 118), by (i) Ananṭadharā (ii) Kavivara (OC, I 450, PR I 119, V 413) and a Maṭhīvānlā Kāmakandālā kathā (PR, V, 429, OC, III 97)

2 Sobhana was a staunch Jain and converted his brother Dhanapāla into his faith after prolonged efforts He was known as Sobhanamuni He lived in the Court of Dhāra in the 10th century His stūti also called Caturvinsātikā consists of 4 groups of verses, the first in praise of 24 Tīrthankaras, the second in praise of all the Jinas, the 3rd in praise of the Jain doctrine, and the fourth in praise of various deities. The verses are so constructed that the second and fourth line of each agree to the letter in sound, but bear different meanings Dhanapāla wrote a commentary on it Translated and edited by Jacobi (ZDMG, XXXII 509) On the com see Buhler, St. Akad Wien, (1882), 570 2 See PR, I 69, app 101, III, app 22, IV 121 Weber, IST, II 944 Sāntusum's Prabhāvakacardita, xvii, 814

3 On Dhanapāla generally, see PR, III Ap 91, 188, IV, 1xi, Weber, IST, II, 1117 Buhler, St (1882), 568 72, Hall's Int to Daśārupa (Col Un series, xxiv-v, Bhāvadāṭa's Int to Tilakamanjari,

4 Dhanapāla, the author of Bhavisayatākaha is different from this author He was a member of the Dhakkada Boma family of Dhaneṣuri. See Int to Bhavisayatākaha (Ed GOS, Baroda, by C D. Dalal and P D. Gune)

M Duff (*Chronology*) says he was a protige of kings Muṇja and Bhoja. See also II, II 166 and IV 59, and Paliyaloachi, 277 Meruṭunga in Prabandhaśintāmani, (Ed Calcutta), 52 63, mentions Dhanapāla and Sobhana as at the court of king Bhoja Buhler calls this wrong (Rep. IV, 73 75)

5. Author of Kavirahasya

6 Author of Kathāraṭnakōṣa, see PR, III. App 91

7 Ed. Bombay.

was incomplete the king fell out and ordered the manuscripts to be burnt away Dhanapāla was inconsolable, but his young daughter Tilakamanjari had without his knowledge committed to memory every line of the story and she accosted him with a smile and could transcribe the work by her recitation and the beloved father gave her name to his work<sup>1</sup>

Tilakamanjari is an elaborate tale It describes the love and union of Tilakamanjari and Samarakeṭu, and is a regular image of Kādambarī and every occasion of note in Kādambarī finds a parallel here Easy in expression and full of imagination, Dhanapāla was a successful follower of Bāna The prefatory verses are laudatory of great poets<sup>2</sup> and the Paramāra kings, and among these are Bāna, Bhavabhūti, Rājasekharā, Rudra, Mahendra, Kardamarāja There is a fine epitome of it by R V Kṛṣṇamācārya<sup>3</sup>

His other works are in Prakrit Rābhapancāsikā,<sup>4</sup> a collection of 50 verses in honour of Rśabha, the first prophet of the Jains, Paiyālacchi Nāmamāla,<sup>5</sup> which was completed in Samvat 1029 (A.D 972-3), a Prakrit vocabulary and Pancamikāḥ

**478 Soddhala** was the son of Soora, grandson of Sollapeya and great-grandson of Candrapati He belonged to Valabha branch of the Kāyaṭha Kṣatṛiya caste, of which Kālādiṭya, brother of Śilāditya, was the founder He lost his father when yet a child and was brought up by his maternal uncle Gangādhara He studied under Candra, and

1 See Meruṭunga's Prabandhaśintāmaṇi, PR, IV lxii.

2 The following reverses are interesting

प्रसञ्जगम्भीरपथा रथाहभियुना श्रया । पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा ॥  
 केवलाधि पृथुरन् बाण करोति विमदान् कवीन् । किं पुन कल्पतसधानपुलिन्दकृतसनिषि ॥  
 निरोद्धु पार्थते केन समरादिलजन्मन् । प्रथमस्य वचीभूत समरादिलजन्मन् ॥  
 मदकोत्तर्मलाशा कीर्तिसारागणांवन् । प्रमा ताराचिपस्येव नेत्राम्बरशिरोमणे ॥  
 सूरिमहेन्द्र एवैक वैदुषाराचितकम् । यसामल्येचितप्रौढिकविविस्मयकृद्वच ॥  
 समवान्धकविष्वसी शद् कैर्नामिनन्धते । सुष्ठुष्टलिलिता यस कथा वैलोक्यसुन्दरी ॥  
 सन्तु कर्दमराजसा कथ हृषा न सूक्तय । कविस्त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरीं यस प्रहाचिषिः पिता ॥

These last two verses show that Karṇāmīnārāja was the son of Rudra who wrote the romance Trailokyasundarī

3 Sah. XIII.

4. Ed. by Klatt (ZDMG, XXXIII 445), PR, I. Ap. 85, 92, III Ap. 28.

5 Ed. by Buhler (BB IV 70 188) "was written as Dhanapāla says to please his sister Sundatī 'who was walking in the blameless way.'

then went to the Court of Śāṇaka (Ihāna), the capital of Konkhaṇa. He was patronised by three royal brothers Chittarūja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi Rāja who succeeded each other on the throne. Chitta and his brother lived in the 11th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> He was also honoured at the Court of Vatsarāja, the Calukya King of Lāṭa. His Udayasundari-Kāthā was probably composed between 1026 and 1080 A.D. during the reign of Vatsarāja.<sup>2</sup> It seems that Vatsarāja once taunted Soddhala that the composition of stray verses was of no merit and the real joy was in the making of a poem, ‘a garland of precious pearls’.<sup>3</sup> Soddhala took the hint and in a few days composed his Kāthā. He glories in his Kṣatriya descent and calls himself equal to Bāṇa and Vālmīki. His ideas, fancies and expressions, all admirable, rank him foremost among the writers of romances in Sanskrit literature.<sup>4</sup>

UDAYASUNDARIKATHA is a tale in 8 Uchvasas and describes the events that led to the marriage of Udayasundari, daughter of Sikhaṇḍapīla, king of the Nāgaloka and Malayavāhanī, king of Pratiṣṭhāna. In the first chapter the poet describes his own genealogy and the greatness of his race, and the occasion for his composition, and the story begins in the second chapter.

**479 Vadibhasimha** was an ascetic of the Digambara Jaina sect, pupil of the Sage Puṣpasena. His real name was Odeyadeva. “He puts down his interlocutory antagonists as the lion does the elephant and so was he Vadibhasimha.” His tutor is the sole object of worship to him, “whose greatness transforms fools into geniuses.” He lived in the southern Districts of the Madras Presidency, where some of the Tinnevelly sects have such appellations.

In his GADYACINTAMANI, a narrative in 11 lambhas he describes the life of King Satyadhara and his son Jivandhara, culminating in the latter seeking peace in asceticism. Based on the Gunabhadra’s Litarapurana the plot runs in easy language, in close imitation of the situations and descriptions of Kādambarī. The ethical import is all-supreme, that “vice ever faileth”. His Kṛṣṇacudāmapi is a poem in

<sup>1</sup> See for their inscriptions dated 1026 A.D. and 1060 A.D., *IA*, V 277 and *JHRAS*, XII 339. See also *IA*, IX 88.

<sup>2</sup> Vajrapīla probably died before 1050 A.D. because his son Trilocanapāla made gift in 1050 A.D. as king (*IA* XII 196).

<sup>3</sup>

पूर्वकश्च प्रकीर्णे दुष्कामणिमि किमेभिरेभिस्तु ।

यस्सञ्जति हन्त हार तस्यान्य कोऽपि परिमोग. ॥

<sup>4</sup> Ed. GOS Baroda, with a valuable introduction.

11 chapters on the life of Jivandhara and is in most places a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil work *Jivakacintāmaṇi*<sup>1</sup>

The similarity of thought and expression between two sets of general advice addressed to the royal princes in *Gadyacintāmaṇi* and *Kāḍambārī* and the close resemblances in the construction of their narratives furnish a test for the date of *Vādībhāsiṃha*. On hearing the false news of Bhoja's death, Kālidasā is traditionally known to have exclaimed अथ धारा निराधारा निरालम्बा सरेस्वती, these words were repeated in the talk of the mob, on the untimely demise of the king *Nāvandhara* caused by the treacherous policy of minister Kāsthāṅgāra. King Bhoja flourished in the 11th century A.D. and *Vādībhāsiṃha* who must have therefore come after him may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

**480** *Vidyacakravartin's Gadyakarṇamṛita* "deals with the 90 days' battle of Śīrangam between Narasiṃha II, son of Tribhuvanamalla Viraballala of the Hoysāla dynasty and the combined armies of the Pāndyas, the Magadhas and the Kādavas (Pallavas) about a few years before Virasomesvara's marriage and accession to the throne in 1234 A.D. Kailāsa the abode of Śiva is the scene of the narration and Vyāsa reads the work before Śiva and his followers in Kailāsa" True to its name, it is an ambrosial solace to the hearers<sup>3</sup>

"The poet traces the cause of the war between the Pandya and the Hoysala kings to a mythical feud between Parasurama, Siva's disciple, and Skanda, Siva's son, who, owing to their mutual curse to be born as human beings, were born on the earth, one as the Pandya King and the other as Hoysala Narasiṃha II and entered into a terrible war with each other. The real cause of the war seems to be the rivalry between the Pandya King and Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajarajadevachola in alliance with Narasiṃha II of the Hoysalas. Just when Narasiṃha was about to celebrate the marriage of Somesvara, his son by his first wife Kalavati, who died about three years after his birth, Rajarajachola's territory was invaded by the combined army of the Pandyas, the Magadhas, and the Kadava. Before Narasiṃha could send his army to help Rajaraja against the combined army, Rajaraja was taken prisoner by the Kadava King and imprisoned in the fortress of Jayantamangala. On hearing the news, Narasiṃha made

1. Ed Madras, TC, II 1642

2. Ed Madras by T S Kuppusami Sastri with an introduction

3. Mys 961

a hurried march to Jayantamangala and defeating and slaying the Kadava king (called Vijahu<sup>1</sup>) released Rajaraja. Then marching with his army to Srirangam, he engaged the combined army in battle for 90 days at Srirangam, and routed it out. Thenceforward the Pandyas became tributary vassals to the Kuntalesvaras, i.e. the Hoysalas.

The portion of the manuscript in which the genealogy of the bride is given is wanting in the Library copy. All that can be made out from what is contained in the manuscript is that Nandideva and Kshemaraja, sons of Vallabha king of Guzrat, were driven out of their kingdom on account of their wickedness, that while Nandi married a princess of Paramara dynasty, Kshemaraja married Surapala's daughter and that both lived under his protection. When on the death of Surapala Guzrat fell into the hands of enemies, Nandideva migrated to Kanchi and lived there. The manuscript abruptly ends here. It may, however, be safely conjectured that the bride selected for Somadeva was a descendant of the family of Nandideva of Guzrat. The information thus supplied by the manuscript regarding the fall of the Pandyas and the revival of the Cholas corroborates that recorded in the inscriptions of the Hoysalas. No inscription of the Hoysalas fails to mention the part played by the kings of this line in putting down the Pandyas and rendering the power of the Cholas firm.<sup>2</sup>

**481 Agastya's Kṛṣṇacarita** relates the story of Sri Kṛṣṇa as narrated in Bhāgavata. Agastya's identity with Vidyānātha has been noticed along with his other works. Agastya's prose is not less enchanting than his poetry. So it is said at the end of a manuscript:

अनादस्य श्लाघ्यात् भुवि कविनिबन्धामिव तति  
कृतो वैयासिक्यां रचयितुरगस्त्वास्य विहृष्णुः ।  
वसन्ती वादेकी कृतिनिरसनामे वितनुते  
निषयेऽप्नौरुहि महति छक्षे विहरणम् ॥

Agastya lived in the court of king Prabhāparudradeva of Warangal who ruled in 1294-1325 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

**482 Vamana's** ambition was to emulate Bāna of Kādambarī fame in the field of romance and, as he says, his resolve was to remove the deep-rooted ill fame that after Bāpa there was no poet capable

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1924), 12. On the author, see para 100 supra and the Journal *Tirupati Sri Venkateswara*, I.

2. *Tanj.*, VII 2994

3. See para 126 supra.

of fine writing in prose<sup>1</sup> Bāna was of the Vastsagotra and in that same gotra, Vāmana was born. He thought he had a quasi-hereditary claim to gain a name in the same field, he was Bāna incarnate and called himself Abhinava Bāna. Bāna glorified his patron Harṣa and this suggested to Vāmana the theme, that is, the life of his patron, Vemabhūpāla, known also as Viranārāyaṇa. Thus came VIRANĀRĀYAÑACARITA OR VEVABHŪPAIACARITA<sup>2</sup>

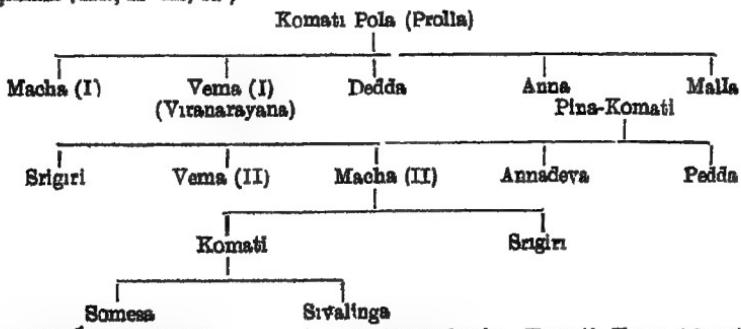
Vemabhupala or Viranārāyaṇa was the Reddi King of Addanki. He ruled in 1403-1420 AD at Kondavidu. From the progenitor of the dynasty the descent is traced and the genealogy begins from King Prolla. The adventures of this King led to his romantic marriage with princess Ananṭa, daughter of King Vikramasimha in Dakṣināpāṭha. Among five sons born of this union was Māca. Māca had three sons of whom Pedakomatiñdra was the eldest. By the grace of the gods, he had a son Vemabhūpa and he is the hero of this romance. Then follow the expeditions of Vema in all quarters with descriptions of situations full of poetic effusions in language at once melodious and expressive<sup>3</sup>.

1 बाणकवीन्द्रादये काणा सुलु सरसगधसरणीषु ।  
इति जगति रुद्धयशसो वत्सकुलो वामनोऽधुना मार्षि ॥

2 See para 128 *supra*

3. Ed Srirangam DU, XXI 8884 For an epitome in Sanskrit by E. V Krishnamāhārya, see *Sahṛdaya*, XVII, for a critique by Rāmalingasarma, see *Ibid*, XIX 170

The genealogy given by Vāmana differs slightly from that given by Śivalinga bhupāla, a scion of this house, in his commentary on Haradaṭṭacārya's *Gurīśaṇḍutīṣṭuktimālā* (HR, II xi, 91).



In his Śringāradīpikā, commentary on Amartadaṭṭaka, Komati Vema (alias Viranārāyaṇa) says King Vema, built steps to Śrīsaila temple and his eldest brother Māca (I) had three sons Reddipola, Komatinđra and Nāga (HR, X 68 84-5) SR, II 193-4 On Vema's (Annadeva's) inscription, see *EJ*, III No 10 and No 89

सर्वोत्कर्षेण वर्तमान साक्षात्कृतिसमूच्चारितजयशब्द विश्वविधम्भरापालमौलिमालाम्-  
करन्दमुरमितचरणारविन्दो जयति विश्वाधिकविमवा वेमभूपालः ॥

To one who has studied Kādambarī or Haracarita, it may seem that Vāmana's performance is not original. That is not Vāmana's fault, for in the province of prose Bāna had probably exhausted all feats of poetic art and expression. There is much that is exquisite and appreciable in Vāmana's work and if it was imitation, it was an imitation by one who was great enough to do it.

**483 Devavijayagani** was pupil of Rājavijayasūri of Tapāgaccha. His RAMACARITA in prose was written at Śrīmālapura in Maruṭhali or Marved in the year 1652 Samvat (1596 A.D.) in the reign of Akbar. In the composition of his work he followed Hemacandra's Rāmāyana and "he wrote it in prose, though there was a Ramacarita in verse in the Prakrit as well as Sanskrit, to divert himself and also to put an end to his karman."

**484 Srisaila Diksita or Tirumalacarya** was the son of Bhāsyakāra-ācārya and Tiruvengadamma. He was born in May 1809 at Chinnampaitu in Chingleput District. He belonged to the Saṅtagoṭra sect of Sri Vaishnava brahmins of Tirumalaisai and their home is traced to Tirukandiyur in Tanjore District. His father died when he was a few months old and his mother's father brought him up as his child. He studied at Triplicane and became proficient in literature and philosophy. His exposition of Śribhāṣya earned for him the appellation Śribhāṣyam Tirumalācārya. In his 24th year was born his only son Bhāsyakārācārya. He was tutor to the Kola brothers of Madras, Kṛṣṇama Naidu and Vijayarangam Naidu, and along with them he settled at Bangalore. There he started a Canarese Journal, Karnātakāprakāśika under the patronage of Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar. He flourished amidst a throng of admiring friends and passed away on 23rd February 1877. He was a great musician and set to lyre the verses of Amarusaṭṭaka. He was an admirer of Bāṇa and his ardent devotion to literary prose brought him the name Kādambarī-Tirumalācārya. He was also good at poetry and among his minor poems are Hanumanakṣatramālā, Viśrāñjaneyāṣṭaka and Gopālāryā. Among his minor prose works are Bhrāṭivilāsa, an adaptation of Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, and Kāverigadya, a description of his pilgrimage to Talakāverī in Coorg.

By far the monument of his glory is SRIKRSVADHYUDAYA<sup>1</sup>. In exquisite prose, he narrates in two parts the whole story of Śrī Kr̄ṣṇa, of whom he was a devotee, and his inimitable manner of expression, rendered resplendent by the solemnity of the theme, can scarcely be surpassed in literature. Like many poets who as votaries of Kr̄ṣṇa wrote about him, his prose seems inspired and by its merit will make up for the scanty of the volume of Sanskrit prose literature.

**485 Timmakavi** was the son of Jaggalavī of Kucimancı family and of Kaundinyagoṭra and lived at Candrampālayam near Pittāpur. His son Venkatrāyudu died about 60 years ago. He attained his skill in composition by the grace of Kukkuteswara (near Pitapur) and was proficient in all the Sastras. His SUJANAMANAH-KUMUDACANDRIKA is a Sanskrit rendering of a Telugu work Rasikajanamanobhūrāma written by his great-grand-father Timmakavi. The story is related by Indra to Mahābhāga of Kerala in which Karālavakṭra, a king of Kerala, falls in love with a girl in the course of a hunting expedition and marries her, while attempting to pursue a parrot, which she liked to have, into a Siva's temple, he fell down and died muttering the name of Sankara and thereby obtained salvation.<sup>2</sup>

**486 Ahobila Nrisimha** was the son of Rāmakṛṣṇāḍhwari and grandson of Nāyanasūri of Kāsyapagoṭra a brahmin of Telugu Veginī Sect. His was a family of poets patronised for seven generations by the kings of Mysore. He was in the Court of King Kṛṣṇarāja Odeyar III (born 1795 A.D.) of Mysore. Taunted by one Nārāyaṇapandita with ignorance of Sanskrit poetry, he vowed to produce a work equal to Kādambarī which Nārāyaṇa happened at the moment to be teaching his pupils and wrote his Abhinava-Kādambarī or Ṭrimūrtikalyāṇa. In two parts it relates the adventures of his patron Kṛṣṇa Rāja and is interspersed with verses. The name Abhinava-Kādambarī has no meaning except that the poet expected to vie with Bāpa in his composition.<sup>3</sup>

1. The Purvabhāga has been edited in *Sahṛdaya*, XIII and XIX with an introduction where his letters are also printed. The manuscript of the second part is with Mr B Ramasamy, 45, Hospital Road, Bangalore to whom the reader is referred for more details on the author's life.

2. TO II 2274. In Veerasingam's Telugu Poets there is a confusion between the two Timma Kavis. B Ramasamyayulu (*Bhārat* II 17, 25) places him in the beginning of 17th Century A.D.

3. Mys 263 See para 287 supra.

**487 Appasastrin** was born at Rasivade in Kolhapur in a family of learned Brahmins. Early in his life he completed his studies. His first writings were contributions to the Sanskrit Journal *Sanskṛta candrīkā* of which he later became the editor. Along with it he conducted the paper *Sūṅgavāḍīn* on general topics, in which he demonstrated the capacity of Sanskrit being a general vernacular. He bore the titles *Vidvāvācaspaṭi* and *Vidyālankāra*. He passed away in his 40th year in 1913 AD. He wrote easy commentaries on some plays<sup>1</sup>.

His *LAVANYAMĀI* is a Sanskrit adaptation of Bankim Chandra's Bengali romance of that name<sup>2</sup>.

**488 Kṛṣṇamacarya R** (M A) was the son of Paravastu Rangācārī of Srivatsagotra. He lived in 1869-1924. He was superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in Madras. His critiques on Kalidasa's poems are unique and well-known. His Sanskrit prose is enchanting and his writings abound in his Sanskrit Journal, *Sahridayā*. Among his minor prose pieces are *Pāthivratyā*, *Pāṇigrahana* and *Varuruci*. His *Susīlā* is a romance inculcating social morals on the standards of Hindu ethics.

**489 Anantacharya** is a lineal descendant of Mudambi Nambi, one of the seven spiritual successors of Rāmānuja. He was born in 1874 in the house of Prativadibhājanya of Kāncī. He is learned in all the sāstras and his disciples are all over India; for their ministration he tours round India, lecturing on Vaiśeṣika philosophy and theology on which he has written a number of works. He is the editor of a series of works on Nyāya and Vedānta and a literary journal, *Manjubhāṣyī*<sup>3</sup>. His *Valmīkiḥhāvadīpa*<sup>4</sup> is an exposition in verse of the real spiritual meaning of Rāmāvāda with a gloss of his own added to it. His *SAMSARACAKRA* is a Sanskrit rendering in easy prose of a Hindi novel of Jagannāthaprasāda<sup>5</sup>.

**490 Kṛṣṇamacarya (R. V.)** is the son of Venkatesa of Srivatsagotra. He was born about 1874 and is was the chief Sanskrit Pandit in the Government College, Kumbakonam. At a very early age, he became proficient in all the sāstras and Vyākaraṇa is his special

1. For a short account of his life see *Sahridaya*, XVIII, 274.

2. Ed. Bombay and Madras.

3. He lived in 1361-1454 AD.

4. For further information about him, see his of tours is not from time to time from Kanchi

5. Ed. Conjeevaram. See page *supra*.

study His discourses in Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam have been highly appreciated and in one of the assemblies of Cochin he was awarded the Maharaja's medal and a title Panditarāja. Above all the agility of his prose is unique and by applying it to critical and historical essays, he has demonstrated that the Sanskrit language is capable of expressing modern ideas with as much ease, as did the glossators in their controversial philosophical literature. Trained in an atmosphere of inquiry and research, he has enriched literary history by his tracts on the authorship of Pārvatīparinaya, and Priyadarsikā, on Vāmana's Kavvālankārasūṭravṛtti, on Vāsavadatta and on Meghasandesa, prefixed as introduction to the Vani Vilas editions of these works. His abridgements of Kādambarī, Harṣacarita, and Vemabhūpālacakarita have made these romances accessible to the indolent adult and the unlearned youth. Besides several works on grammar and logic he prepared anthologies Mahākavisulbhāsiṭa, Subhāsiṭasāṭaka, Bhartṛhari-subhāsiṭasangraha, and composed the rhetorical works, Prastutānkuravimarsa and īrlupṭakauṭuka and glosses on Vṛttivārtika and Citramimamsa and the minor poems, Vāṇīvilāpa, Anyapadesa, Kalāpīvilāpa, Vāya savaisasa, Śrī-Desika-trīmsat, Dharmarājavimśati, and Bhāratagīta (ode to India) and Cakravarṭīvatvārimśat (India's coronation song). He wrote commentaries on Vāsavadatta, Priyadarsikā, Acyutaroyābhuyudaya, Vemabhūpālacakarita, Kirāṭārjuniya, and Gaḍyatraya. Of these, his commentary on Vāsavadatta has evoked much praise and it was described as "an earnest attempt to bring out what Subandhu might have really meant and to minimise the necessity for resorting to forced interpretation". Sāhityaraṭnamanjūṣa is a treasury of chosen quotations from various writers on the lines of Bartlett's 'Familiar quotations from English Writers.'

**491 Rajagopala** Cakravarṭīn (of Keṭāndipatti) was born in 1882. His father Cakravarṭī Giṭācāryā<sup>1</sup> was a professor of Mimāmsa in Sanskrit College, Mysore. Rājagopāla inherited the poetic instinct and early in life he visited the courts of several Indian States and was honoured by them with titles and presents<sup>2</sup>. In 1922 he became the head of the Department of Sanskrit Literature in the Central College, Bangalore, the chief institution of the Mysore University. By the romances of SAIVALINI<sup>3</sup> and KUMUDINI, semi-original in plot,

1. Among his works are Kṛṣṇājodayacampu

2. Among his titles are Saralakavisuri, Kāvyavisāraḍa, Vidyābhūṣapa, Vidyāvācaspati, Mahāvidvān, Gnāṇagupṭikara

3. Printed, Mysore

partly based on vernacular tales, his name is well known. These are also his works in prose, Vilāsakumārī and Sūngara, and in verse Tṛipod (on the Oracle of Delphi), Padaharacarita, Gangātranga, Madhukaradūta and Viṣogivilāpa, and Iṛthātanam is a poem in 4 chapter's describing his pilgrimage through India. His Kavikāvavicāri is an original work combining literary history and poetic criticism and incorporates the results of latest historical research. He passed away in October 1934.

**492 Kalyanarama Sastry (P K)** is the son of Subbalakshmi and Parthiyur Kṛṣṇa Sastry, the famous scholar of Rāmāyana of South India. He is a retired officer the Registration department in Madras, and now lives at Tanjore. He inherited his father's talents and among his works a romance KAVALALAI,<sup>1</sup> an adaptation of Shakespeare's Lucrece, is a specimen of simple but eloquent expression.

Parthiyur Kṛṣṇa Sastry, his father, was the second son of Rāma svāmi Śāstrin. He was born in 1842 at Kadagimbidi, Tanjore District. His father and grandfather held high offices in the Tanjore State and were well known for their piety and learning. He studied under Vidyānātha Dīkṣita of Sengalipuram. Learned in all the sastras, he was particularly good in poetic literature. His exposition of Rāmāyana and Purāṇas was exquisite and he was accorded the highest appreciation. He passed away in 1911. His Rasānīyandīni, a commentary on select passages of Rāmāyana, has preserved for us a glimpse of his exposition. His KAUMUDISOMAM, a play<sup>\*</sup> themed on love, reflects Rāmāyana in its grandeur. His Mānakisatīka, Mālinisatīka, Hanumat-satīka and Lakṣmīoṣīhasatīka are poems of devotion and Kalivilāsa-mānidarpaṇa is satirical.

**493 Kapisthalam Krenamacarya (B A)** was the son of Rāṅgacārva of Kausikagoṭra of Tirupati. His father's brother Kapisthalam Desīka Acārya is an authority on dialectics and philosophy. Kṛṣṇamācārya was born in 1883 and among in 1934 poetic instincts manifested themselves at a very early age. Besides critical essays on various topics of Sanskrit Literature, which have been noticed in relevant contexts, he wrote the poem Vilāpaṭarangīni and a bhāṇa Rasarnāvāṭarangīni. His romance MANDARAVATI is a lovable composition. Modelled on the design of the well-known romance, it has

1 Printed partly in Sahṛdaya and partly in Tanjore

2 Printed, Madras

an originality of narration and description and a graceful blend of classical and modern imagery He passed away in 1933

His father Rangācārya was a great rhetorician He lived 1856-1918 His *Aitākārāsaṅgrahī* is a lucid exposition of the principles of poetics, and among his poems are *Subhāvitasaṭṭaka*, *Sṛngāraṇayikātiṭṭaka* and *Pādukāsaḥsraṭṭārakaṭṭhaṅgrakha* On Godā he wrote a *Cūrṇikā* and like Bhā Jagovinda, his *Rahasyaṭrayaṭṭīrāratnāvalī* and *Sanmatīkalpalatā* is philosophical<sup>1</sup>

**494 Jaggu Alwar Aiyangar** known otherwise as Kavivara Jaggu Sri Vakulabhūṣana belongs to the family of "Bala Dhanvi" (Komandur Elayavalli) of Melkote, Mysore He is the son of Tirumīrāyana Alwar is a living poet of high order His *JAIĀNTIKĀ* is a romance like Kādambarī of exquisite beauty written when he was 20 Of his two dramas as *Svamantīka* and *Adbhuṭāṁśukī*, the latter is almost an introduction to Venīambhāra Among his minor poems are *Karunārāsasatarangiṇī* and *Hayagrīvaṭṭū*

His brother **Singraiyengar** wrote *Srikrṣṇarājācampū*, *Yadusailācampū*, *Kṛṣnakathārahasya*, *Citrākūtodanta* (Yamaka) His uncle Venkatācārya born in 1873 wrote poems *Granthīvaracarīta*, *Rāmānujamatālhaṇavilāsa*, *Kaverimahimādarsī* or *Srikrṣṇarājaseṭṭubandhana* (on Kannambadi dam), *Yādavagirīmāhātmyasangraha*, *Vyāghratiṭṭākabhbhūvivaravaravilāsa* (on Hulikeri Tunnel works), *Kākānyokṭimālā*, *Campakānyokṭimālā*, *Kastūrkānyokṭimālā* and some *ṭotras* His *Divyasūrīvaibhava* is in prose His grandfather Singrācārya lived in 1831-1885 and wrote *Sampatkumārastotrā*, *Kalyāṇipancaka* and *Vṛttamuktācāravali*

**495 Rajamma** was born at Bangalore in 1877 She is fifth in descent from Pradhāni Gopālayya, minister of lippu Sultan of Mysore Her parents were Gangādharayya and Rāmālakṣmī She married A Sambasiva Ayyar, a lawyer of Mysore She is the Sanskrit Pandit in Lady Willingdon Training College, Madras Her *CANDRAMAULI* is a novel on modern lines depicting social life and evils<sup>2</sup>

**496 Narayana Sastrī Khisṭe**, Sāhityācārya, is the son of Bhairavaṇāyaka He is the librarian of Saraswati-Bhavan at Kasi He wrote the lives of five great scholars, *VIDVATCARITAPANCĀKA* in simple and elegant prose, interspersed with verses which make a

1. He wrote an exposition on इय सीता verse of Rāmāyaṇa

1 Printed, Madras.

pleasant reading of imaginative poetry<sup>1</sup> These pieces were composed about 1928

(i) **Manavalli Gangadbara Sastri C. I E** was an Andhra Brahmin and son of Nrisimha Sastri. He was born at Yasaragatta near Bangalore in 1854. Nrisimha settled at Kasi and wrote Kavvatmasamsodhana. Among the learned men under whom Gangadbara studied were Rajarama Sastri and Bala Sastri whose lives he wrote in exquisite verse. He became a professor of Sanskrit in the College at Kasi in 1879. In a great assembly convened to see his Satavadhana, he was asked to complete a *Samasya*.

बसौ मयूरो लवशेषसिंह

He framed the verse at once, displaying the regular series of Sanskrit consonants and thus illustrated the ductility and pliability of the Sanskrit language.

अनेकवर्णक्रमरतियुक्त कस्यागच्छजश्च बटौ ठ ।  
अदण्डणस्थोऽथ दधौ न पम्फुल बसौ मयूरो लवशेषसिंहः ॥

Here is the commentary

मपरिकरस्य शिवस्य वाहनेषु कठमो वर्षाद्यु भोदते इत्येवं पृष्ठ कोऽप्युत्तरति, अनेकेति ।

अथ निदाचोत्तरम्, अनेकवर्णानां क्रमरीला युक्तं पीतनीलादिविभिर्वर्णविशिष्ट  
कस्यागच्छाङ्क कवेन हासेन अनायासेनेति यावत्, अका कुटिलगामिनां सर्पणां अष्ट, भक्षणरूप-  
भूचति, पूजयत्यादियत इति तात्पुर्य, अष्ट शोभनं जातो यो भूषणरूप यस्य सोऽच्छजश्च,  
जाना विराविणां, एवं सरवमाधुर्येण उति प्रतिहन्ती तिरस्करोति यस्तथाभूत, अदण्डणेऽच-  
पल लवौ न्यूनौ नानावर्णवस्त्वादिगृणै शेषसिंहौ यस्मात्तद्दृश्य मयूरोऽपरपक्षिहसादिकरु, त  
क्षीणता वेदभिति यावत् । नदधौ, प्रत्युत पफुलसून् प्रमोदातिशय भजमानौ बसौ ॥

This composition must enchant any reader, as it did that assembly. Later he wrote works on Grammar and a gloss on Ravagangadbara. He became Mahamahopadhyaya in 1887 at Queen Victoria's first Jubilee, and a C I E at King Edward's Coronation. He passed away in 1914.

1 Sar Bhar Series (No 27), Benares.  
For instance

विद्वत्कुलप्रसवपूर्विरितिप्रसिद्धा कैलासत श्रियतरा शिवराजधानी ।  
यस्या पदाऽजनिकटे विलुठत्यजस्य मन्दाकिनी शिवशिरोवरैजयन्ती ॥  
राकाशशाङ्कहिमकुन्दमृणालनालकैलासकाशसदशी जनिताऽन्यकीर्ति ।  
ध्याप्याख्यिलामपि धरामनवाप्तपारां वाग्देवताश्रवणपूर्यद जगाहे ॥

(ii) **Damedara Sastri** was born in the village Ārohana near Kāśī in 1848 A D. He was the son of Bālakṣpa Sāstri of Bhāradvājagoṭra. In 1879 he became professor of Vyākaraṇa in Benares Sanskrit College and a Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1899. He passed away in 1909.

(iii) **Kailasacandra** was born in 1830 in Rāḍhiya family of Bhāradvājagotra in the village of Dhāṭri in Bengal. He was the son of Ghanasyāma and Ādaramaṇi. He became professor of Nyāya in Benares Sanskrit College in 1869 and became Mahāmahopādhyāya. He was known generally as Mahāsaya. He passed away in 1908.

(iv) **Sivakumara Sastri** was born at Undi near Kāśī in 1848 A D. He was the son of Rāmasevakamīśra and Maṭrāpī Lakṣmisvaraḍeva, the Chief of Ḍvāravanga was his patron. The story of the House of Lakṣmisvara from the days of its founder Mahesa Takkura was described by Sivakumāra in his poem Lakṣmisvarapratāpa. So was the life of the great Yogin Bhāskarānanda in his poem Yatindrajīvana-cariṇa. He bore many titles, such as Vidyāmārṇānda Panditānja. He passed away in 1919.

(v) **Ramakrishna Sastri**, known as Tāṭya Sāstri, was born in 1846 A D at Naghur. He was the son of Mahādeva of Pattavardhana. He lost his parents when yet very young and he was brought up by his uncle Nageswara Bhatta and educated at Kāśī. He was for some time in the Sanskrit College of Lakṣmisvaraḍeva and latterly professor in Benares Sanskrit College. He became Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1909. He wrote works on Grammar and passed away in 1916.

**497 Sesasayee** was a Sanskrit Pandit of Trividī College and Madura College and died in 1932 at Kumbakonam. He wrote the story Aṣṭāvakriyam in prose<sup>1</sup>.

**498 Srisaila Tatacarya** or Tīrumalai Tāṭācārya, son of Venkatavarada, lived at Kānci 63 years and died in 1925-6. His genius was versatile. Besides the plays of Yugalāṅguliya and Vedāntadesikacariṇa, he wrote Durgesanandini and Kṣaṇiyaramaṇi, translations of Bengali novels<sup>2</sup>.

There is Sanskrit rendering of Indranātha's Bengali story Gauracandra<sup>3</sup>.

1 Printed, Kumbakonam.

2 Printed, Sah. Veṭ seq., XIII,

3 Jl of Sam. Sah. Par., XV, 880.

**499. Haricarana Bhattacharya**, Vidyāratna, Kāvya-Vyākaranā-tīrtha, was born in March 1879, of a learned Brahmin family of Kanurgaon, Vikrampore in East Bengal. He is Professor of Sanskrit, Metropolitan College Calcutta. His father, Pandit Durgācaraṇa Smṛitītīrtha, settled in Calcutta in 1910 and has since been residing there with his family. His KAPALAKUNDALA composed in 1918 is a Sanskrit translation of the famous Bengali novel of Bankimcandra. Besides his poems Karṇadharā and Rūpasunirjhara his rendering of Fitzgerald's version of 'Omar-Khaiyam' in Sanskrit verse in 75 stanzas in the Sārdulabikridiṭa metre is superb. Haricarana has been graciously serving in the Metropolitan Institution founded by the illustrious Pandit Iswarachandra Vidyasagar<sup>1</sup>.

**500 Narasiṁha** (acārya) is son of Mahābala of Kośvara in South Canara, a Brahmin of dvaita persuasion. He was born in Śubhakṛt (1902-3) and having lost his father in childhood he was bred up and educated by his uncles. He is a Sahityasiromani of the Madras University and professor in Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore. His novel SAUDAMINI in 8 chapters describes the secret marriage of king Śūrasena of Magadha with Śaudamini, daughter of king Kānapāla of Vidarbha, the loss of his kingdom at the hands of a rival suitor Vijayavarman, the wanderings of the married couple in distress, the unwavering loyalty of the princess to her lover in his woes, and the reconquest and restoration to fortune and pleasure. Among other works of this author, are Bhāraṭakaṭhā and a Vyāyoga Pratijnā-Bhārgava and an epitome of Kirāṭārjuniya of Bhāravi<sup>2</sup>.

**501 Sarvabhauma's Arṭhasangraha** describes the story of Rāmāyaṇa, but the peculiarity of its composition is that the narration is in the form of qualifying adjectives with instrumental endings in relation to Rāma<sup>3</sup>. Mahābhāraṭa-Kaṭhānaka is a prose summary of the story<sup>4</sup>.

Virincināṭhacariṭa is a long work by Virincināṭha of the Dindima family relating the greatness of the Deity of that name at Virincipuram<sup>5</sup>.

Ravivarmastuti<sup>6</sup> is a eulogy in prose of Mṛtyunjayaswāmi of Tirunāvā in Malabar and Ravivarman was probably the well-known

1. Printed Calcutta
2. Printed, Bangalore
3. BTO, No. 1014.
4. OC, III 95
5. See OC, I 578.
6. OML,

king, who patronised Vāsuđeva, the poet. He also wrote a poem Damayanṭiparinaya

In SAMYOGITASWAYAMWARA in 6 pairs Parasurāma, surnamed Vañya, describes the marriage of Samyogitā, daughter of Jayacandra, a Rastraudha King.<sup>1</sup> He also wrote a small prose piece Parīhāśācaryā Varadakānta Vidyāratna wrote Gadyāḍarsā.<sup>2</sup>

Vijayapurakathā, a brief history of the Muhammadan kings of Bijapur<sup>3</sup> and Vellapurisagadya, an account of Vellore and its ruler Kesavarāja<sup>4</sup> are in prose. So is Mahesa Thakur's Sarvadesavṛttantanta-sangraha, which contains a history of Akbar's reign.<sup>5</sup>

Among short pieces published in Sahyadī must be mentioned the story of Othello,<sup>6</sup> Mađalasācarita,<sup>7</sup> Avikritacarita and Svārocīṣacarita,<sup>8</sup> Amsumālīcarita (story of Hamlet),<sup>9</sup> Anuhlādacarita,<sup>10</sup> Moghapādācarita and Pracyutacarita,<sup>11</sup> Sriķṣṇalilāyiṭa,<sup>12</sup> Aṭirūpacarita,<sup>13</sup> Raṭhivilāpa,<sup>14</sup> Udayanakathā<sup>15</sup> by Venkatarāmasarman, Uḍayanacarita by Ananṭācarya,<sup>16</sup> and Pṛthvirājacarita by K. V Subramanya Sastrin,<sup>17</sup> Viḍhivilasa by Sāṅkara-Subrahmaṇya Śāstri,<sup>18</sup> Vijayini of Parasuramāsarman<sup>19</sup> Manmathonmathana by Muddu Vittalācarya,<sup>20</sup> and Rajani by Rēpu Devi.<sup>21</sup>

1. *Sah.*, XIII.

2. Printed Calcutta

3. IO, VII 1578

4. *Taylor*, I 22

5. *CC* I 701, IO, VII 1578.

6. III 55

7. IV 35.

8. IV 110, 148

9. VI 37.

10. VI 67.

11. VII

12. XIV & XV, by Pandita Śaṭṭavāḍhāni Śrinivāśācarya

13. XIV & XV, by Gopālaśāstri.

14. XVI 105, 172

15. XXII 826,

16. XXIII, 97.

17. XXIII. 116, XXIV.

18. XXIII, 249

19. XXIII, XVI, 25.

20. XXII.

21. JI, *Sam., Sah., Par.*, XI,



## CHAPTER XX

### Gadyakavya—(contd.)

**502 Curnaka etc** Among minor styles of gadya or prose are Mukṭaka, Vṛttagandhi, Utkalikāprāya and Cūrṇakā or Cūrṇikā. There are defined and illustrated by Viśvanātha.

Chandomanjari divides Gadya into three classes (i) Vṛttaka (ii) Utkalikāprāya and (iii) Vṛttagandhi and defines them thus

अकठोराक्षर स्त्वप्रसमाप्त वृत्तक मतम् ।  
ततु वैदर्मरीतिस्थ गथ हृथतर मवेत् ॥  
मवेदुत्कलिकाप्राय समाप्ताच्च ददाक्षरम् ।  
वृत्तकदेशसम्बन्धाद्वृत्तगान्धि पुनस्स्मृतम् ॥

and gives the following instances

(i) स हि व्याणामेव जगता गति परमपुरुषोत्तमो इप्तदानव्रमरेण मयुराङ्गीमवानि-  
मवलोक्य कश्चार्द्रहृदयस्तस्या भारमवतारयितु रामकृष्णाल्लपेणांशतो यदुवधेऽवतार, यस्तु  
प्रसङ्गे इपि स्मृतोऽन्यचिंतो वा गृहीतनामा उसां सासारसागरपारमवलोक्यति ।

(ii) प्रणिपातप्रवणसप्रधानाशेषसुरादिवृन्दसौन्दर्यप्रकटकिरीटकोटिनिविष्टप्रष्ठमणिमयूक्ष-  
च्छाच्छुरितचरणनभुवकाविकमोदामवामपादाङ्गुष्ठनखशिस्तरविष्टप्रदिविवरनिस्तरच्छ-  
दमृतकरप्रकरमासुरसुरवाहिनीप्रवाहपवित्रीकृतप्रितयकैतमार कूरतरसासागरवनामप्रकारा-  
वर्तमानविग्रहं भामदुग्रहण ॥

(iii) जय जय जय जनार्दन सुकृतिमन्तडानाविकस्तरचरणपद्म पञ्चपत्रनयन पञ्चा-  
पञ्चिनीविनोदराजहंस भास्त्रवयष्टि. पतलपरिपूरितमुकुरुकुहर हरकमलासनादिवृन्दारकवृन्दवन्दनीय-  
पादारविन्ददद्वद्व निर्मुक्तयोगीन्द्रहृदयभान्दिराविष्टतानिरञ्जनज्योतिःस्त्रूप नीरदस्त्रूप विश्वरूप  
अनोदनाथ जगन्नाथ भामनवधिमवदुःखव्याकुलं रक्ष रक्ष रक्ष ॥

**503. Dandakas** are abnormal poetic compositions beyond the ken of ordinary versification. They read like prose, but the arrangement of the words follow a melodious setting. Vṛttaratnākara defines them thus .

थदिह नयुग्म ततः सप्त रेफोस्तदा चण्डबृष्टिप्राप्तो मवेषण्डकः ॥  
प्रतिष्ठरणविकुद्दरेफः स्युरण्णिष्वव्यालजीवूतलालिकरोदामसहस्र्यादयः ॥  
प्रचितकसमिष्ठौ धीरशीर्षि. स्मृतो दण्डको नदयादुत्तरैः सप्तमिर्यैः ॥

Nārāyana in his commentary mentions other classes thus

- (i) नयुगलग्नुरुगेवयकारा कवीच्छानुरोधातदा यत्र वशन्त एषोऽपरोदण्डक पण्डितैरित सिद्धाविकान्तनामा ॥
  - (ii) यत्र रेफान कविस्त्वेस्त्वया पाठसौभाग्यसापेक्षयारोपयलेष धारैस्त्वतो दण्डको मतमातङ्गलीलाकर ॥
  - (iii) लघुरुद्रु क्रमेण यत्र यत्र बन्धते सुधीमिरिच्छया सदण्डकस्त्वनगशेस्त्वरस्त्वतः ॥
  - (iv) स्तेच्छया रजौ क्रमेण सज्जिवेशयत्युदारधी कवि सदण्डकस्त्वतो जयत्यशोकमङ्गरी ॥
  - (v) सगण सकल खलु यत्र मवेत्तामिह प्रवदन्ति तुधा कुसुमस्तबकम् ॥
  - (vi) यकारै कवीच्छानुरोधाविक्रद्धै प्रसिद्धो विशुद्धोऽपरो दण्डक सिद्धाविकान्तनामा ॥
- एव मेघमालाकुसुमास्तरणोत्तरकामवाणादयो दण्डका षड्ब्रह्मशस्त्राधिकाक्षरपदा कविग्रंयोगानुसारेण हेया ॥

**504 Syamala-dandakam** is a proso-poetic piece in praise of Sarasvatī. Like many works of that species, dandakam, the recital of it is melodious. The authorship is attributed to Kālidāsa, but in a manuscript of the work discovered by T S Kuppusami Sastrī of Tanjore PURĀNTAKA is distinctly named as the author. Purāntaka was the son of Mādhaba. He was the worshipper in the temple of Mahākāli. When King Bhoja of Dhār vanquished the mlecchas who were plundering the treasures of the Sankara Math at Dvāraka, he saw this work of Purāntaka and granted him a hundred agrahārams on the banks of the Narmadā and this was in Śāka 923 (1101 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

1 See *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1917-8) 224.

धाराधीशो धाराधीशो धाराया धनदोपम ।  
वयार राज्ये मोजाल्यो दानमानैश्च पण्डितान् ॥  
म्लेच्छानमोचवद्वीरो द्वारकाया विराजितम् ।  
शकरार्यगुरुणा समोर्थिणो भटदूषिण ॥  
लोकाक्षिरसस्त्व्याक (९२३) शकावदं पूर्णिमतिथौ ।  
श्रावणे मासि विश्रेम्य कविम्यो व्यतरन्मृदा ॥

प्राभान्सोमोद्भवातीरे शत यो गिरिशग्रिय । सरसतीकण्ठभूषी सरसालेकृति कृति ॥  
प्राणयत्कीर्तिकायस्य प्रायच्छत्स्य नित्यतां । जीयतीतथौ नित्यमाचम्र्द्वक्षुभूषण ॥  
महादेवद्विजशैवो महाकालस्य पूजकः । पुरान्तकस्तस्य पुलः पुरारे. कृपयामवत् ॥  
श्यामलाया प्रसादादथ श्यामलादण्डक व्यधात् । वादेकी वस्य वश्यामूद्दानो वाचस्पतेरिव ॥  
तस्मै प्राभान् शतपदात् \* \* \* \* \*

माणिक्यवीणामुपलालयन्तीं मदालसां मन्त्रुलवाचिलासाम् ।  
 माहेन्द्रनीलोत्पलकोमलाङ्गी मातङ्गकन्या मनसा स्मरामि ॥  
 जय मातङ्गतनये जय नीलोत्पलयुते ।  
 जय सङ्गीतरसिके जय लीलाशुकप्रिये ॥

जय जननि सुधासमुद्रान्तरुद्धन्मणिदीपसरुद्विल्वावलीबद्धकल्पहुमाकत्पकादम्बकान्तार-  
 वासप्रिये कृचिवासप्रिये ।

\* \* \* \* \*

वपु श्यामल कोमल चारुचन्द्रावच्छूडान्वित तावक ध्यायतस्तस्य लीलासरो वारिवि-  
 स्तस्य केलीवन नन्दन तस्य मद्रासन भूतल तस्य गीर्देवता किङ्गरी तस्य चाङ्गाकरी श्री खय  
 सर्वमन्त्रात्मिके सर्वतन्त्रात्मिके सर्वशक्त्यात्मिके सर्वविद्यात्मिके सर्वपीठात्मिके  
 सर्वगे सर्वरूपजगन्मातृके पाहि मां पाहि मां पाहि देवि तुभ्य नमो देवि तुभ्य नम. ॥

An imitation of this work is Komalādandakam by Varada Kṛṣṇamā-  
 cārya of Valaitur, Tanjore District He died 50 years ago He also  
 wrote Kacasatakam and Vīdhavānsaṭakam

**505** There are Dandakas relating to Rāma (*DC*, XVIII 7125),  
 Nṛsimha (*Ibid.* 6707, 7034), Ranganātha (*Ibid* 6840, 7105),  
 Śrīranga (*Ibid* 7106), Lakṣmi (*Ibid* 6872), Komalā (*Ibid* 6866),  
 Arbujavallī (*Ibid* 6862), Karigiri (*Ibid* 6707), Hayagrīva (*Ibid* 6844,  
 7208, *TC*, IV 4642), Gopāla (*Ibid* 6969), Garuda (*Ibid* 6705, 6893);  
 Hanūmaṭ (*Ibid* 6695, *TC*, III 4129), Tyāgarāja (*DC*, XIX, 7447),  
 Acārya (*Ibid* 7265, XVIII 6707, 6862), Akhilañdañayāki (*TC*, IV,  
 5820), Vedāntadesika (*DC*, XIX 7266), Varadadesika (*Ibid*, 7262);  
 Varavaramuni (*Ibid* 7272, *TC*, IV 4737), Candi (*TC*, III. 4063),  
 Sūrya (*TC*, IV 5813), Śiva (*Ibid* 5451) <sup>1</sup>

1. A composition in the Daṇḍaka metre in praise of the goddess Lakṣmi.

जयतु जयतु शेषचैलायिपामन्दलालिभानन्दवेलातिगम्भोधिडोलायमानोभिंजालार्थ-  
 तोङ्गासनालापमालासुधालालनीयोरुबालामृतांशूपमासक्तफाला मदोद्यन्मरालाङ्गनाचारुहेलाप्रवारा  
 मदालानमाद्यदघटालाभद्रापाङ्गजालामिरस्मा प्रवालायिताङ्गिर्विनीलालका शोणिनीलासपली  
 हुसालावलीकुञ्जशालाचरद्रोपबालावलम्बा मदम्भा श्रियै कल्पताम् ।

\* \* \* \* \*

जय जय ज्यवद्भव द्वासोऽस्यहू ते रमावासक्षम्भे त्वमेवाचिलस्य प्रपञ्चस्य मातेति  
 वाण्या पुराण्या महलापि सलापित सोऽहमेवं भवत्या किञ्चोरोऽस्मि भूलोऽस्मि दौसोऽस्मि  
 तस्मात्कृपसैश्चपाङ्गैः प्रसङ्ग चिह्नं सां कुञ्जहू चावन्वाचात्ममक्तोऽस्मि सशोत्तसे त्वं परं ज्योतिरित्यम्भ  
 मम दयेता सुधाराशिकन्ये रमे पद्महस्ते प्रसीद प्रसीद प्रसीदम्भ मे ॥

**506 Gadyas** Among Gadyas are those relating to Siva (*DC*, XIX 7567), Mahādeva (*Ibid* 7507), Namassivāya (*Ibid* 7502), Mallikesvara (*Ibd* 7592), Lakṣmī (Ed Bombay),<sup>2</sup> and Gadyasatkam on Pūrnashīṭesa, Rughuvīra, Ādinātha, Sathagopa, Kurukāvallī and Śrīvīresa (*DC*, XIX, 7272, *TC*, IV 4631), Candraprabhā (*DC*, XVIII, 6735), Mahāvīra (*Ibd*, 7101), Śrinivāsa (*Ibd*, 7168)\*, Pancapratikā (*Ibd*, 6792, 7667), Tīrthankara (*Ibd*, 7648), Basava (*Ibd*, 7439, 7687, *DC*, XVIII 6792, 793, called also Udāharapagadya), Vedāntadesika (*Ibd*, 7261), Akṣaramāla (*Ibd*, 6799), Ācārya (*Ibd*, 6862)

**507 Curnika** (चूर्णिका) There are Curnikas on Devī (*DC*, XVIII, 6815), Śrinivāsa (*DC*, XIX, 7385), Venkatesa (*Mys* 262 probably by King Tirumalarāya of Vijayanagar), Nigamāntācārya (*DC*, XIX, 7272, 7281), Śvetārāṇya (*DC*, XXVI, 9771, XIX, 7637), and Anugraha-curnikā (*DC*, XVIII, 6844, 6815)\*

### 508. Tunaka (तूणक)

पङ्कजासनार्चित शशाङ्कशोभितानन कङ्कणादिदिव्यभूषणाङ्कित वरप्रदम् ।  
कुङ्कमाङ्कितोरस सशङ्खचक्रनन्दक वेङ्कटेशमिन्दिरपदाङ्कन भजामहे ॥

*DC*, XVIII, 7169.

1. The author of this piece Purisa: Śīrangācārya of Tirupati was a great scholar, an authority in dialectics and phylosophy. He died about 1927. His Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil lyric *Tiruppāvai* is classical, like which there is another work (*DC*, XVIII, 7282).

2. ऊय किल सकलचराचरदिग्नंतसन्ताननिरन्तरान्तर्वैहिव्यापिष्ठेषाखण्डग्रहाण्डप्रपञ्च पञ्चशूरप्रपञ्चकोटिसुषुभाविलासवशीकृतविष्टपत्रिविष्टपेशकिररकिपुरुषसिद्धाविद्याधराप्सरोयक्ष-रक्षोगन्धवर्गरुदपनगविलासिनीगणम् ।

\* \* \* \* \*

लोकेभरसाध्याधिकारवरदावनरक्षणपर परादपि पर श्रीमद्वेङ्कटाद्विनिकेतन हरि भजे ॥

*DC*, XVIII, 7168.

3. श्रीमत्प्रालेयशैलराजकुमारि, कौमारि, श्रीरपारावारकन्यामणिमनोहरगम्मारदक्षिणावर्तनामिविवरकजातसजातपुरन्दरबुद्धारकसदोहमस्तकन्यस्तविपुलतटविटचित्रामूल्यनवरताकिरणदीपिकासमुच्चयनीराजिततरुणप्रवाललतानितान्तारुणप्रमापठल[न]विघृतमुद्गुलकोमलपदाराविन्दुगुणके ।

निजमत्तेजनातुप्रहकारणश्रीदेशिकस्त्रपिणि श्रीमहातिपुरसुन्दरि पाहि भी पाहि भी नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते नम ॥

**509. Bhujanga** (भुजङ्ग) There are poems in Bhujanga form relating to Rāvana (*DC*, XIX, 7535), Vighnesvara (*Ibid* 7559), Virabhadra (*Ibid* 7545, Siva (*DC*, XVIII 7212 *TC*, IV 5932), Viṣṇu (*Ibid* 7159, 7233), Bhavānī (*Ibua* 6823), Devī (*Ibid* 6815), Gayaṭrī (*Ibid* 6718, *TC*, II 1195), Hanūmaṭ (*Ibid* 6696), Nṛsimha (*Ibid* 6862, 7033), Rāma (*Ibid* 7120).<sup>1</sup> Sārṅgapāṇī (*TC*, II 2043)

**510 Khadgas** (खदग) are on Pārvatī (*DC*, XIX 7252, 7666) and Draupadi (*DC*, XXI 5323)

**511** In the Sanskrit Texts available in Bali,<sup>2</sup> there are some stavaś in prose, which may probably have also a mystical value. For instance

### विष्णुस्तव

नमोऽस्तु पुरुषोत्तमाय परमारिपुरपुरहरणपराक्रमाय परमबलमटोलटोललोलित-  
गलितमहाबलाय च जाग्रत्सृपत्तर्यैचतुर्मुजाय नारायणाण नरसिंहाभाभनाय नारायणार्दनाय  
नरगदायुद्धेदानवान्तकरिपुमर्देनपाञ्चजन्यस्थुदर्शनायुधाय दैत्यदानवयक्षराक्षसपिद्याच्चूर्भूतगणधर-  
धरणीधरधरिदराय च गन्धर्वैश्वर्यात्तुरगीतसुरविद्याधरक्षिप्रभृतिसेविताय च परमारिपुरावणा-  
र्दुर्बुद्धेनुकप्रलभ्वकेशराविष्टकालनेभिगजबलतुरगामीसंस्युगालादिनिवनाय च पुरुषोऽनन्तसमुद्रा-  
श्रय. स्वरवरवेन्द्र. श्रीग्रियो अनदप्रियो वैश्रवणाङ्गकोऽस्मान् रक्षतु अस्मद् गोपयतु साहा ॥

1 प्रमो पारिजातस्य मूळे पवित्रे विविते सुचिते ज्ञाते हैमहन्ते ।  
लसप्रलनपाठे कृतावाससीतात्तसभेतोऽज्वलाकल्प राम प्रसीद ॥  
चण्डकरान्वयमण्डन रक्षोमण्डलव्याङ्गनपणिडतवाहो ।  
कुण्डलमणिडतगण्डतल ते नाथ नमामि नमामि नमामि ॥

2 *Baliśvipegrāṇīha* (GOS 67).

## CHAPTER XXI

### Campu

**512 Campu** A species of composition with mixed prose and poetry came into vogue about the beginning of the Christian era. We have passages in the Purānas, where prose comes amidst verse, but there is no instance of classical poetry of this recognised class known earlier. A narrative in mixed prose and verse has been called CAMPU.<sup>1</sup> This variety of composition enlarges the scope and ease of the poet's expression and entertains the reader by the presentation of combinative of varying melodies.<sup>2</sup> Bāna mentions HARICANDRA as a writer in prose,<sup>3</sup> but it is doubtful if the work Bāna had in mind is Jivandharacampū. The earliest works of this class are not now known, but after the 10th century A.D. Campūs became very popular and they were largely composed in South India.

**513 Trivikrama or Simhaditya<sup>4</sup>** was the son of Nemadītya (Devādītī) and grandson of Śrīdhara of Śāndilyagoṭra. He was a

1. Bhoja thus praises Campu style of composition

गथानुवन्धरसमित्रितपद्यसूक्ति हथापि वाद्यकलया कलितेव गीति ।

तस्माद्वात् कविभार्गजुषो सुवाय चम्पूप्रबन्धरचना रसना भद्रीया ॥

Vishvanātha, in Śāhityadarpana instances Desarajacarita and defines Campu thus  
गथपद्यमयं काव्य चम्पूरिलभिर्थीयते ॥

2. "Outside of India the commingling of prose and poetry in the same composition is found in the Chinese romance *P'ing Chan Ling Yen* (Tr. Julian), *P'eng Chan-Ling-Yen*, (Les Deux Filles lettres, 2 Vols., Paris, 1660), In Sa'di's *Gulistan*, in *The Thousand Nights and One Night*, in the Old Picard *Ausassin et Nicaletis*, in Morse Sagas and in Middle Irish tales and histories (cf. Windischon, Irische Texte, 8, 447-449, Leipzig, 1891 1897), and in Beccaccio's *L'Amete*, as well as in the *Saturae Menippae* of Marro (cf. MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, pp. 480-481.)

3. See para 47 supra.

पद्यवन्धो ज्ञालो हारी कृतश्चर्णकमस्थिति ।

मङ्गरहरिचन्द्रस्य गथवन्धो विभाव्यते ॥

4. M. Duff (*Chronology*) conjectures that he was probably the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhāskara of the court of Bhoja but this seems to be wrong. Trivikrama composed the inscription in Naushari grant (JBRAS, XVIII, 257).

Trivikrama, author of Kuvalayāśvavilāscampu (printed Grantharājanamāla), Trivikrama, author of Vyajaktisākala (CC, II, 147), Trivikrama, author of Rāma Kirti-Kumudāvali, (PR, III, ap. 895), Bhāvaṭa Trivikrama (Svabh.), Trivikrama, the lexicographer, Trivikrama of Punyagrāma, author of Pancayuḍhaśrapancabhbhāpa (Opp., 9050) and Trivikrama, author of Śatasioki (PR, I 119, III, 898) are different persons.

poet of the court of the Rāstrakāta King Indra III (914-916 A D)<sup>2</sup> who captured Kanauj and gave the final blow to the Prañhāra dynasty then under King Mahipāla. He mentions Bāna in the introductory verses of his *Damayantikathā* and is himself quoted by Bhoja in the *Sarasvatikanthābhārata*. Once during his father's absence from court, an adversary challenged competition. The king sent for Trivikrama and ordered him to answer. Contemplated with devotion, Sarasvatī blessed Trivikrama with the poetic instinct until his father arrived and with this gift he overcame his adversary by composing Nala's story ex tempore. The father returned while yet the story was incomplete and in that unfinished state, in 7 chapters, the work has come to us and that is *DAMAYANTIKATHA* or *NALACAMPUS*<sup>3</sup>.

His language is avowedly involved and ordinary expression was in his view not appreciable poetry.<sup>4</sup> His object was in part to illustrate the merit and potency of verbal forms in Sanskrit and in this respect he approved of Subandhu. For the beauty of a particular fancy, he has been known as *Yamunā-Trivikrama*<sup>5</sup>.

There are commentaries by Candapāla,<sup>6</sup> Ganavīrayagāṇī,<sup>7</sup> Dāmodarabhatta,<sup>8</sup> Nāgadeva,<sup>9</sup> and one anonymous<sup>10</sup>.

1 *BI*, I 340, VII 30, 86, 43, IX 18. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1934) 62; V. Smith, *EH*, 429, 437.

2 There is a *Damayantiparipayakāvya* anonymous (*CC*, I, 58).

3 किं कवेत्तस्य काव्येन किं काण्डेन चतुर्भृतः ।

परस्य हृदये लभ्न न धूर्णयति यच्छिरः ॥

अप्रगत्या पदन्यास जननीरागहेतत्र ।

सन्त्येके बहुलालापा कवयो शालका इति ॥—*Nalacampus*, I 5, 8.

4 उद्यगिरिगतार्थं प्राकृतभाष्यापद्मताचारा-

मनुसरिति निर्दीश्ये शृङ्गमस्ताचलस्य ।

अवति किमपि तेजः सांप्रतं व्योमसर्वे

सलिलभिं विमिनं जाहव यामूर्न च ॥—*Ibid* VI 1

See Candapāla's commentary thereon, I4, XII 224.

5 He was the son of Yaśorāja, *PR*, IV 86, VI. 884, *SKG*, 63, *IOC*, 1590 Ed. Bombay. He probably lived about 1280 A.D. See Weber's *Cat.* II, 1205.

6 It was composed in 1590 A.D. He is the same as the author of the commentary on *Raghavānī* and Hanumat Kavi's *Khaṇḍapuṣṭipāṇīvya* (*Mys* 244). He was the pupil of Jayasenaśūri, who composed his *Vicārakṛtīnāgāṅgāchā* in *Saw*, 1569 (See *PR*, IV, xxv, *IOC*, 1924, *Tan* VII, 3056).

7. Mentioned in preface to Bombay Edn

8 *BTG*, 159

*Opp*, 211.

Madālasācāmpū is also attributed to him<sup>1</sup>

Besides works noted in paras 78-85 Lakṣmidhara's Nalavarpanakavya,<sup>2</sup> Śrinivāsa Dīkṣīta's Naishadhānanda, the plays Vidyāvilasita and Nalavikrama<sup>3</sup> embrace the story of Nala<sup>4</sup>

"The earliest reference to PRAGVATA dynasty of kings is found at the close of Chandapala's commentary on Trivikramabhatta's NALACHAMPU Speaking of himself the commentator styles himself as the brother of Chandasimha, the eldest son of Yasoraja of the Pragvata dynasty The Guruganaratnakara furnishes some more interesting details about the history of the Pragvata line of kings Their capital is said to be Samadhika in Guzrat The Guruganaratnakara begins the line with Chaitrasimha, the elder brother of the father of the famous Somasundaragani Their genealogy is stated to be as follows (1) Chaitrasimha (2) Indrajit or Ilabutada, son of (1), (3) Kala, son of (2), (4) Kala had six sons called (i) Nada, (ii) Veda, (iii) Sadagangude, (iv) Samala, (v) Dhura and (vi) Vira Samala had four sons called (i) Sajjana, (ii) Nimba, (iii) Mana, and (iv) Lampaka. (5) Sajjana is said to have migrated to Malava with the family of Nimba when kings chased and driven out by enemies to hills and caves perished in numbers and when Sajjana was the only protector of the Aryas against the Mahammadan invaders and thieves He resided at Parna Vihara His wife was called Purnadevi (6) Karma, son of (5) married Somi in A.D 1446 He became the head of the Jaina Sangha and changed his capital to Agara He had three sons, called (i) Ratna, (ii) Sujesa and (iii) Megha and also three daughters named Khambhi, Maniki, and Charuhiru Of these Ratna married Revum and had a son called Karma and a daughter named Rahi. Sujesa married Hyaman and had a son called Jiva, while Megha had two daughters Dapu and Ranji Karma is said to have been a more generous king than Vastupala and others He is said to have been honoured even by Khans, Khojas, Mirs, and Ummars and to have been ever ready to relieve the distress of the poor by establishing feeding houses When

1. Ed. Bombay, See Weber's Cat , II 1205. OC, I 426. Madālaśa a poetess is quoted by Śringaḍhara. On the story of Madālaśa, there are also the plays, Madālaśaparipaya (anonymous) and Madālaśāñtaka by Rāmabhātta (OC, I. 426) and Madālaśa, a romance by Bhavadeva (Printed Bombay) For Madālaśolāṇana see Mārκhandayapurāṇa (Tl 480)

2. OC, I 280.

3. See Index for other works.

4. Mentioned in ND.

there was a drought in Malava, Megha is said to have showered his gold among the poor and is also said to have received the title of Mafer Malik from the Sultan Ratna, Megha, and others are said to have obtained a Farman (order) from the Sultan and made a pilgrimage to Ratnamala, Iladurga, the capital of Bhanu, Jerikapalli, Arbudachala, Sirohika, and other sacred places of the Jainas" (*Mys Arch Rep* 1929, p 14)

**514 Somadeva**<sup>5</sup> traces his spiritual descent through Nemideva to Yasodeva<sup>6</sup> and was a Jain. He was patronised by the eldest son of Prince Arkesari of the Calukya race, a feudatory of the Rāstrakūta monarch Kṛṣṇarājadeva<sup>7</sup>. He wrote his *YASASTILAKACAMPUS* in Saka 881 (951 A.D)<sup>8</sup>. In seven āsvāsas this book relates the story of King Yasodhara, Lord of Avantī, with his capital Ujjain, the machinations of his wife, his conversion to Jaina faith, his assassination and rebirth. The last three chapters form a popular hand book of devotion supplementary to, and explanatory of, the sacred texts of Jainism<sup>9</sup>.

As a landmark in the history of poetic literature, it is particularly valuable that Somadeva names several authors<sup>10</sup> who adored the religion.

5 Somadeva, the author of *Kathasaritsāgara* and Somadeva, the author of *Rasendracaudamani*, *PR*, I 81, IV. cxxxv and Somadeva, the author of *Abhilasitartha-cintāmani* are different persons.

6. See *PR*, II 89-49, 156 IV cxxxv.

7. Arkesari was the patron of the Canarese Jain poet Famps Bhandarkar (*EHD*, 56, *PR*, II 47 49) gives the dates 867, 873 and 875 Saka for this monarch.

8 Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Śrīśaśāragaṇi.

9 The colophon says

शक नृपीतिकालातीतसवत्सरशतेष्वेकाशीलाधिकेषु गतेष्वद्भूत (८८१) सिद्धार्थसवत्सरी-  
तर्गतचैत्रमासमध्यनव्योदश्या पाञ्चांसिहलचोलचेरप्रभूतीन् महीपतीश् प्रसाध्याश-  
मलवाटवीप्रबर्वमानराज्यप्रभावे श्रीकृष्णराजदेवे सति तत्पादप्रोपकीविन् सविगतपचम-  
हाशब्दमहासामताधिपतेश्वलुक्यकुलजन्मन् सामतचूडासगेः श्रीमदरिकेसरिणः प्रशस्पुतस्स  
श्रीमत् बाधराज्यप्रवृद्धमानवसुधरायां विनिर्मापितमिदम्।

For a complete account of the poem, see *PR*, IX 83-49.

10 *PR*, IV ii 118 Aśava, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti, Bharīsharī, Mentha, Kantha, Guṇādhyā, Bhāsa, Kāliqāsa, Bāna, Mayura, Nārāyaṇa, Kumāra (Kumāradāsa?), Māgha and Rājaśekhara and to a Chapter on Kavyam by Bharata. भरतप्रणीतकाव्याध्याये

See also Introduction to *Kāvyasimhāmūra*, G.O.S. No. 1, xv.

of Jina and as an incident of the narrative mentions some ancient poets,<sup>1</sup> whose names we have yet to hear elsewhere

The colophon to his *Nītivākyāmpṭa* mentions another work of his, Mahendramātalisanjalpa *Nītivālyāmpṭa* follows Cānaka's *Arthaśāstra*<sup>2</sup>

**515 Bhoja** was the celebrated king of the Paramāra dynasty<sup>3</sup> His capital was Dhāra<sup>4</sup> He ascended the throne in A D 1018 and had a glorious reign till 1063 A D He was the son of Sindhula His father died when young and on account of his minority, his uncle Munja<sup>5</sup> ascended the throne The young prince became very popular and learned in all arts and sciences Aggrieved by the prediction of an astrologer that Bhoja would reign for 55 years<sup>6</sup> Munja conceived the idea of murdering him and ordered his tributary Vatsarāja to carry out the design in the jungle The latter, unwilling though he was, could not disobey He took the boy to his house, and concealed him there So when he presented to the king a sword besmeared with the blood of some animal in proof of his act, the king asked him if the prince said anything before his execution and he gave a green leaf in which was written a verse in the prince's hand, portraying the hollowness of

1 PR, III तकरीलीताविलास, कविकैमुदीचद्र, विद्यधमुख, नीतिसेन, मानधनजय, कविकोविद, अभिमानमहधिर, अन्याधिदर्शल, कृष्णमायुष, मुजनजीवित, मुग्धांगनाके-लिकुत्तहल, विलसिनीलोचनकञ्जल, सरसतीकर्तवकौतुक, प्रौढप्रियापांगनवोत्पल.

These names seem to be appellations

2 Cat. CP xxxi

3 Bhoja was contemporary of King Ananūja of Kashiur (1028-1089 A D) See *Raj.* VII, 190-198, 259 Of Bhoja's time, see inscription (*IA*, VI, 58) dated Sam. 1078 (1031 A D) and Keilhorn's calculations, *IA*, XIX 361, also *EL*, I 282, *IA* (1907), 170, *ibid* (1912), 201 On Bhoja generally, see Seshagiri Sastrī, *IA*, I 340, Lassen, *Zeitsch fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VII 294, *IAkt*, III 848, *J.A.*, (1844), 250, 254, *ibid* (1851) 281 Reinach, *Mém sur l'Inde*, 261 For copper plate grants of rulers of Malwa see *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, I 280-289, *IAOS*, VII, *IA*, XIX 815, Colebrooke's *Ms Essays*, II 297-314, 462.

4 Abdul Farīb in his *Aīm Akbarī* says that Bhoja removed his capital from Ujjain to Dhāra See Seshagiri Sastrī's account, *IA*, I 319

5 On king Munja, see para 895 *supra*

6 The prediction ran thus

पञ्चाशत्पञ्चवर्षाणि सप्तमासा दिनत्रयम् । मोजराजेन भोक्तव्यं सप्तीडो दक्षिणाप्य ॥

temporal fortunes<sup>1</sup> The king read the verse and fell down struck with grief and when the secret was disclosed, Bhoja was brought to him he was all repentent He installed the prince on his throne and entered the forest as an ascetic<sup>2</sup>

Like his uncle Munja, he cultivated the arts of peace and war Although his fights with neighbouring powers, including the armies of Muhammad of Ghazni, are now forgotten, his fame as a patron of learning and man of letters remains undenied and he has been regarded as a model king according to the Hindu standards Works<sup>3</sup> on astronomy, philosophy, architecture, grammar, medicine, trade secrets, law and general literature, are attributed to him A mosque at Dhāra now occupies the site of the king's Sanskrit college, in a temple dedicated appropriately to Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning<sup>4</sup> "The great Bhojpur lake<sup>5</sup> a beautiful sheet of water to the southeast of Bhopal, covering an area of 350 sq miles formed by masonic embankments closing the outlet in a circle of hills, was his noblest monument and continued to testify to the skill of his engineers until the 15th century when the dam was cut by order of a Mahammadan king and the water drained off The bed of the lake is now a fertile plain intersected by the Indian Midland Railway "

The literary merits and patronage of king Bhoja have been well described by Ballāla (Vallabha<sup>6</sup>) in his Bhojaprabandha An amusing piece of prosaic-poetic composition, it purports to commemorate the liberal patronage of Bhoja and introduces a number of celebrities like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Dandin and, Māgha as interlocutors in short dialogues, in which they display their readiness of wit, brilliancy of imagination and beauty of expression It consists of two parts; the

1

मान्धाता च महीपति कृतयुगलङ्कारभूतो गत  
सेतुर्मन महोदधी विश्वित कासै दशासान्तक ।  
अन्ये चापि युविडिप्रसृतयो याता दिव भूपते  
नैकेनापि सम गता वसुमती तृन त्वया यासति ॥

2 The story is dramatised in the Bhojarājānka a piece in one act by Sandeep Viraraghava, *TC*, II, 9418

3 For a complete list of his works, see *OC*, I, 41, II, 95 See also *ZDMG*, XXVII, 67, *BR* (1897), XXXVII, *SKC*, 376 For all quotations from Bhoja's works in the anthologies, see F. W. Thomas, *Kav.*, 68

4. Arch. Sur Rep. (1908-4), 288.

5. Malcolm, *Central India*, I, 25, Kinloch, *IA*, XVII, 350

6. V. Smith, *ZH* 395.

former describes the events showing how Bhoja succeeded to the throne of Malavas after his uncle Munja, and the latter has a series of anecdotes about Bhoja and his relations with the many poets and literary lights that thronged his Court<sup>1</sup>

There are works by the name of Bhojaprabandha by Merutunga,<sup>2</sup> Rājavallabha,<sup>3</sup> Vatsarāja,<sup>4</sup> and Subhāsīla,<sup>5</sup> by Padmagupta,<sup>6</sup> and anonymous poem, Bhojaprabandhasāra.<sup>7</sup>

Besides are Bhojacariṭa<sup>8</sup> and Bhojarājāsaccariṭa, a play in two acts by Vedāntavāgīśa Bhāttācārya.<sup>9</sup>

1. The author is called Vallabha pandita in a Ms (DG, XXI 8166) Published with a French Translation and commentary by T Pavie in JA, IV 210 et seq., and the composition is there assigned to 18th Century A D Ward (*History of Religion and Literature of the Hindus*, I, 516) calls it a work of Bhoja himself which is obviously wrong See also Hall (*Vasavadatta* 7), Lassen, JA, III 886, T Pavie (JA, LXIV 185 280, LXV 885 481, LXVI 76 105), L Oster (*De Rezensionen des Bhojaprabandha, Darmstadt*), Seshaguru Sastri (*On some eminent characters in Sanskrit Literature*, IA, I 840), Weber, SL 215, 225 note), see also PR, IV 28, V, 866, G P Quackenbos, (*Sanskrit poems of Mayura*, Col Un Series, New York, 42) assigns it to 16th century following Utrecht (C Bodl 151)

" In his Bhojaprabandha, Merutunga states that in samvat 1078 when Bhoja ruled over the Malava circle, Bhima, the paramount sovereign of the Chalukya race, governed Guzarat This cannot be the date of Bhoja's accession According both to Merutunga and Rajavallabha, Munja, the uncle and predecessor of Bhoja, crossed the Godavari against the counsel of his aged minister Budraditya and invaded the dominions of Tailapa, the founder of the later Chalukya dynasty of the Dekkan He was defeated and taken prisoner. At first he was well treated by his captor, but when secret intrigues for his release were discovered, Tailapa subjected him to indignities and put him to death. This last fact is mentioned in Tailapa's inscriptions also Now Tailapa, we know, died in 920 Saka or after 919 years of the era had elapsed This corresponds to 998 a d , wherefore Munja must have been slain by Tailapa before that year A Jaina author named Amisagati tells us at the end of his Subhāsītaratnaśāmīdhāra, as was first pointed out by Colebrooke, that he wrote or compiled the work in Samvat 1050 or 994 a d while Munja was reigning at Dhara. Munja therefore must have been put to death by Tailapa between 994 and 998 a d , or about the year 996 Bhoja was crowned king after him, and since he is said to have reigned for fifty five years, he must have died about 1051 a d "

2. OC, I 418

3. Oudh, VIII 8, Taylor, I. 68.

4. OC, I 418

5. PR, III 405

6. It is mentioned in the introduction to Yuktikalpataru (Bombay Edn),

7. Opp. 8867

8. OC, III, 90.

9. OC, I, 418, IO, 584.

In Kavīśamayavīāsa Revana Ārādhya, the great Vīra Śaiva teacher, who lived about the 10th century A D , relates humorous stories about poets in Bhoja's assembly<sup>1</sup>

Among poetic works<sup>2</sup> said to have been composed by Bhoja, are an Ākhyāyikā Śṛṅgāramanjari<sup>3</sup> and a poem Vidyāvinoda, a ṭotra Sivadaṭṭa and a commentary on Sīvaṭotra called Sīvatatvaratnakalikā Subhāvita is an anthology Sangīṭaprakāsa and Śṛṅgāraprakāsa, treatises on music and rhetoric, will be noticed later on

**516 Bhoja's RAMAYANACAMPŪ<sup>4</sup>** is a very popular work in poetic literature It embraces the exquisite story of Rāmāyana and the composition with the blended melody of prose and verse in it has the charm of royalty in it It is now acknowledged generally that Bhoja's work extended only to the Kiṣkindhākānd<sup>5</sup> and that there it was left incomplete, unless the rest of it has been lost The story of the Yuddhakānda was made up by Lakṣmaṇa later on<sup>6</sup>

Is this campū the work of king Bhoja of Dhāra<sup>7</sup> The colophons to manuscripts<sup>8</sup> call the author Viḍarbharāja and do not mention the name

1 Ms. 248

2 These works are mentioned in the introductory portion of Yuktikalpaṭaru

3 The Ms. is preserved in the Jessalmeer Library See para 451 *supra*

4 Ed. Bombay and Madras

5 There is no truth in the story that the work was composed jointly by Bhoja and Kālidāsa, unless it can be imagined that Padmagupta alias Parimala Kāliḍāsa had any hand in it

6 DO, XXI 8207. So says Lakṣmaṇa himself at the end of his work And Venkataśhvarin says in his Utṭaracampū

य काण्डान्निवर्त्य चन्द्रपितृष्ठा पञ्चापि भोज कवि ।

यो वा षष्ठमचष्ट लक्ष्मणकविताम्यामुभास्यामपि ॥

and Venkataśhvakan in his Utṭaracampū Rāmāyana,

श्रीभोजलक्ष्मणकवीन्द्रकुते प्रबन्धे

लग्न व्योऽप्यमपि मे भविता रसाल्पम् ॥

and likewise Nārāyaṇa in the commentary, Paṭayojanā

लक्ष्मणमहाकवि श्रीमद्भोजराजप्रणीतचम्पुरामायाणस्य परिपूर्तये अवशिष्टं गुद्धकाण्डं प्रारिष्टु ॥ (DO, XXI 8215)

and Kāmeśvarasuri in his commentary on the Yuddha-kānda (TG, II 3879) says षष्ठं श्रीलक्ष्मणीयं विषमललितशब्दाभिरामं च काण्डम् ॥

7 Tanj, VII, 8120 et seq.

इति श्रीविद्मर्तराजविरचिते चम्पूरामाणे ।

Bhoja In the manuscripts of Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa &c<sup>1</sup> admittedly a work of king Bhoja of Dhāra, the name is so mentioned in the colophon Dhāra is in Malwa and Vidarbha is Berar There is therefore the geographical difficulty against the identification But tradition has associated it in the Bhoja of Malwa<sup>2</sup> and how, if at all, any such confusion has come in, it is not now possible to answer<sup>3</sup>

**517 Lakṣmaṇa**<sup>4</sup> was the son of Gangādhara, and Gangāmbikā and lived in Sanagara village probably in the Circars He wrote also the BHARATACAMPUTILAKA, on the story of the Māhābhārata<sup>5</sup> It is said Anantabhatta criticised this work and himself wrote a Rāmāyanacampū

Lakṣmaṇa's father Gangādhara wrote a campū Madrakanyāparinaya<sup>6</sup> and Gangādhara's father Daṭṭatreyā wrote Daṭṭatreyacampū<sup>7</sup>

**518.** Besides Lakṣmaṇa, this work of supplementing the missing story of the Yuddhakāṇḍa was done by Rājacūḍāmanī Dīkṣita,<sup>8</sup> by Ghanasyāma<sup>9</sup> and by Ekāmrānātha<sup>10</sup>

१ इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री भोजदेवविरचिते सरस्वतीकण्ठामरणे ।  
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री भोजदेवविरचिते शृङ्गारप्रकाशे ।

(TO, IV 4873), *Tan*, IX 4099, also Ekāmrānātha (TC, IV 4985), Rāmānuja (ibid 5180) Likewise see for other works of his, (TC, IV 4881). Karuṇākara in his commentary (TC, IV 5459) says that Bhoja wrote this campū to illustrate his views on grammar contained in his Sarasvatīkanthābhārata (TO, IV 4881) But as he couples the name of Bhoja and Kaliḍāsa, his ideas appear unreliable.

2 For instance, Ghanasyāma (*Tan* VII 8149) says

अथ विद्यर्थदेशाधिपति कविवदान्यं सय कवि भोजराज पञ्चकाण्डी ॥ \* +

3 On several Bhojas, see R. Mitra, *JASB*, XXXII 98, Weber, *IL*, 201 note, *1st*, I 812, Lassen, *IAE*, III

4. Lakṣmaṇakavī in his Kṛṣṇavilāśacampū describes the birth of God Viśva kṛṣṇa in Gingee (S Arcot Dist.) to confer wealth on Kṛṣṇarāja king of that place. He was the son of Rāmānuja (DC, XXI, 8191) There is another work of the same name by Narasimha, son of Anantabhrāhma of Ātreyagotra in 16 cantos on the story of Bhājayati with an anonymous commentary (DO, XXI 8198)

5. DC, XXI 8268.

6. Mys 267, DO, XXI, 8265

7. DC, XXI 8625

8. *Adyāt*, II 22

9. See *Int* to Maṇidarpaṇa (TSS, Trivandrum). In his introduction to his Kāvyadarpana, he says he composed it in a day (DC, XXII, 8615 16).

10. HR, III. No 1881

11. DC, XXI No; 8266

**519** There are commentaries on Bhojacampū by Nārāyaṇa,<sup>1</sup> Rāmacandra,<sup>2</sup> Kāmeśvara,<sup>3</sup> Mānaveda,<sup>4</sup> Ghanasyāma<sup>5</sup> and one anonymous<sup>6</sup>

**520** The sequel to this work embraces the Uttarakānda of the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>7</sup>

There are other Uttaracampūs by Yatirāja,<sup>8</sup> by Sankarācārya,<sup>9</sup> Hariharānanda,<sup>10</sup> by Venkatādhvarīn,<sup>11</sup> by Garalapuri Sastrī,<sup>12</sup> and by Rāghavācārya.<sup>13</sup> They narrate the story of the abandonment of Sītā, the birth of Kusa and Lava, the reappearance of Sītā and the return of Rāma to his divine abode

RAGHAVACARYA<sup>14</sup> was the son of Venkatārya and Srīsālāmbā of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He lived at Trivellore, Chenglepat District and was a follower of Rāmānuja.<sup>15</sup> He was probably also the author of the Bhadrācalacampū, composed at the instance of a local magnate Sundaresa.<sup>16</sup>

1. *DC*, XXI, 8212 Nārāyaṇa was the son of Nagāvara and disciple of Gopālenḍrasaṃsaṭī. He was the tenth in descent from Mallinātha of Kolacala family and must have therefore lived about the end of the 15th century. He says in prefatory verses that Mallinātha was honored by King Yatrūndra of Warrangal and his grandson Peḍḍabhatta (Commentator on Neushada etc.) was bathed in gold by King Sarvagna (Singa). At the invitation of King Praudhadevarāya of Vijayanagar (1414-1446) A D. Mallinātha wrote Vaiśyavamāṇḍhārṇava. *Mys. Arch. Reg.* (1927), 26. Peḍḍabhatta's son Kumāraswāmin wrote a commentary on the Pratāparudrayādo-bhūṣana. See para 81 *supra*.

2. *DC*, XXI, 8216 and *TU*, II, 1895, 1454 Rāmacandra was the son of Kondapandita of Śāndilyagotra. He has also commented on Kṛṣṇakarṇāmrīta (see para 298 *supra*).

3. *TC*, II, 2872; III, 8789 Kāmeśvara was the son of Gangādhara of Kodambarī family, and disciple of Viśvāvara, probably of the Oitcars.

4. *TC*, III, 4020 See para 176 *supra*

5. *DO*, XXI, 8219.

6. *HR*, III, No 2170

7. Printed, Mysore. *DC*, XVI, 8180.

8. *NW*, 302.

9. *NW*, 292

10. *NW*, 270.

11. Printed, Mysore.

12. Printed, Mysore His son Kāvyājula Ayyāśāṭīca is now living in Mysore.

13. *Race*, 248

14. *DO*, XXI, 8184

15. Rāghava of Vinjimuri family, <sup>16</sup> author of Śrīgāradipakabhāṣṭī was a native of Conjeevaram and was a different person. See *DO*, XXI, 8584

16. See *DO*, XXI, 8582 It describes the importance of Bhadrācala, the <sup>17</sup> author of the well known story of Rāmādaśa in the Andhra Country

**521 Abhinavakalidasa** (of Vellala family, apparently of the Andhra country) has not left us his real name. His pupil Kavikunjara in his Rājasekharacarita mentions him as a poet of the Court of a South Indian King Rājasekhara whose capital Vidyānagara was on the Pinākini (north Pennar). Rājasekhara's queen was Bhavānī and his contemporaries were Rajendra Cola (1004-1016 or 1016-1064 A.D.) and Vijayavarma Pāndya. If Rajendra Cola flourished in the 11th century A.D. Rājasekhara must have also lived about that time.<sup>1</sup> This Abhinavakalidāsa wrote Bhāgavaṭacampū,<sup>2</sup> Abhinavabhratācampū,<sup>3</sup> Bhagavat-pādasaptaṭī<sup>4</sup> and Kalividambana.<sup>5</sup>

Thus he begins Bhāgavaṭacampū

कल्याणं न प्रभूत कल्यतु लितालापयैलेशबाला-  
लीलाजालानुकूला धिधिरकरकलामनुमालाजटाला ।  
पृष्ठा शेषाहिभूषा परिकलितसुधापूरधारानुकारा  
मद्रा मुद्रा विनिद्रा पुरहरणविचौ कापि काशयपूर्णा ॥  
प्रालेयाचलमागचेयमवन कल्याणजालास्पद  
आटाटीरतप फल किलकिलङ्गिलाशुकाहादितम् ।  
विश्राण परिमैलि कञ्चन सूधाधाराधर सादर  
यन्मे भद्रमुद्रमाकलयतामानन्दकन्द मह ॥

It is doubtful whether the poet was identical with Kṛṣṇamūrti, son of Sarvasāstrin of Vāsishthagotra who calls himself Abhinava-Kālidāsa and wrote the poem Yaksollāsa<sup>6</sup> and the bhāṣa Madanābhuyudaya.<sup>7</sup>

**522 Padmaraja** was a Niyoji Brahmin of the Avasarāla family of which it is said he was the progenitor. He was the minister to Nilādri Rao, Chief of Pittapuram (Godavari District) who ruled about 1800 A.D. He is also known as Ambhoja or Varṇādhika Bhoja.<sup>8</sup>

1 See JMy, XI. 77

2 Printed, Bombay. The commentator Akkayasuri of Mokṣgunda family calls the poet as of the Vellala family (DC, XXI 8962.)

3 Rice, 246

4 This is in praise of Śāṅkarācārya.

5 Or, Ms. Library, Madras

6 See para 819 *supra*. TC, II 2066.

7 TC, II 2078

8 Avanochi Bāmāśāstri belonged to the family of Padmarāja and wrote commentaries on Bhāgavaṭacampū, Kṛṣṇakarmāṇṭa and Bhojavacarī. He died about 1900 A.D. Rāmakāvi the commentator also wrote Rāmābhuyudayacampū and Sāhiṇyasāra. His brother's grandson Subbaroysāstri died 12 years ago and wrote Rāvivamśamuktiśāval

His *Balabhāgavatā*,<sup>1</sup> a campū in six cantos, is an exquisite piece of poetry, relieved by flowing lines of prose with a tendency to alliteration which makes the composition musical.

या सलीलमपुरस्कृतजीमूता सौदाभिन्य इव कामिन्य कमनीयतरकबरीमरा. परिव-  
द्वारन्त पुरगतमनवरतमस्त्रिलमुवनाधारनिजोदर क्षीरोदधिप्रणयिन चनभेनम् । या सहेलमुपचल-  
विहारिणीहरिणा सह हरिणीदृष्टे लतालूनानुनसूनोपकल्पिताकल्पा कन्दन्तो द्रुतमनुथयुरप-  
द्वियमाणसर्वसा इव रोलम्बा सकुटम्बा ॥

चिरमधिगतामृद्धि लुम्घन् पलाशपतेभृष्ट  
सपादि रचयत्तामोदाब्रन्धूय मुमनश्चयम् ।  
प्रसवमहिता लक्ष्मीं चैको लतासिव तास्तल  
युवतिषु हृतिस्तन्वन प्रीता शशास जगच्छिरम् ॥

There are commentaries on it by Rāmasvāmi, son of Venkatakrīpā-sūri and grandson of Rāmanāthaśvāmi of Devulapalli family and of Kaundinyagoṭra<sup>2</sup> and by Rāghavācārya<sup>3</sup>

Dharmasudhi mentions a work of his, as *Bālabhāgavatam*<sup>4</sup>

523 There was an Abinavakālidāsa Gopālasastrīn in the Court of Yuvarāja, a king of Udayārpalyam, 6th ancestor to the present Zamin-dar. He wrote a *Bhāgavatacampū*. Once displeased by having been given a last rank in a levee he wrote this verse

मार्जीरा इव वशतत्प्रसकुचन्त्रीं प्ररा प्राप्तिति  
प्रोद्धवर्षभ्नं इमे किलात्र युवरङ्गेन्दोविलेख्या. पुर. ।  
मन्दस्त्वन्दसमीरशाबकवलन्मङ्गीमित्तङ्गीवना- ॥  
मोगोद्धामपतत्प्रसूनतातिबद्धर्षन् गिर दूरत ॥  
अह्मानामवनीमुजामहरहस्तर्णामित्तेकादपि  
क्षातुश्श्रीयुवरङ्गम्बूलरिपो क्षात्वैव सम्मानना ।  
सारसाशविकेश्वरन्यतरुणीसम्मोगसाम्राज्यत  
सारज्ञेन्दुमुखीविलोकनसमुत्कर्णेव यूनी मुदे ॥

Other poets bearing this name are, Nṛyūdhakavi, author of *Nanjanārājaya* and *sobhūṣana*, Mādhava, author of *Sankyepta-Sāṅkaravijaya*<sup>5</sup> and *Kaliyugakāliḍāsa*, author of *Śringārasekhārabhāṇa* or *Śringārakosabhāṇa*.

1. Printed Rajahmundry, *DC*, XXI 9249.

2. *DC*, XXI, 8251.

3. *Ibid.*, 8255.

4. See *TC*, III 1100

5. Printed GOS, Baroda.

of Kūsyapagotra<sup>1</sup> Srikantha son of the latter wrote Kandarpadarpanabhāṇḍa They lived at Kāncī and were devotees of Sri Ekāmranātha there<sup>2</sup>

**524 Somasekhara** or Rājasekhara of Kollūrī family lived at Perur, Godavati District and belonged to a family of physicians He was grandson of Nārāyaṇa great in Mīmāṁsa He was honoured by Peshwa Madhava Rao (1760-1772 A D) To vie with Sāhityaratnākara of Dharmasudhī, he wrote his Sāhityakalpadruma<sup>3</sup> His Bhāgavatacampū relates the story of Krṣṇa<sup>4</sup>

Bhāgavatacampū of Rājānātha<sup>5</sup> and of Cidambara<sup>6</sup> have been noticed elsewhere

**525 Kavikunjara**, pupil of Abhinava-Kālidāsa, wrote Rājasekhharacarita It is a work like Bhojaprabandha Generally inculcating morals it collects stories said to have been narrated by Rājasekhara, a pupil of Abhinava-Kālidāsa to his friend Subuddhi quoting fine verses of Navina-Kālidāsa and other poets of King Rājasekhara's Court<sup>7</sup>

अह सलु प्रश्नस्तमितरभिनवकालिदासस्य सुकेवरन्तेवासी चिरतरतदीयसहवाससमूपचित्-  
रसिकतोत्सेक श्रीमान् रासकथेखरो नाम । तस्य खलु बालमित्र सुबुद्धिर्नामान्वर्थनामा कदाचित्-  
सुभाषितशुश्रूषया समित्र रसिकथेखरमवादीत् ।

सुभाषितशुश्रूषा दासादरोऽस्मि चिरादहम् ।

परिपूर्य काम मे सखे रसिकथेखर ॥

तदेतद्यस्यवचनमाकर्ण्य रसिकथेखर प्रस्तवादीत् । लिङ्ग सुबुद्धे यदि तव सुभाषित-  
शुश्रूषा, तर्हि ।

राजथेखरभूपस्य समायां मधुरा गिर ।

नवीनकालिदासादिगदिता श्रोतुमर्हसि ॥

इदमाकर्ण्य सुबुद्धिरवादीत् ।

\* \* \* \*

1 TC, I 989, III 8891

2 HR, III No 1688 Tanj, VIII 2875. He refers to his father as Kalyuga Kālidāsa

3 Ed in part, Amalapur TC, III 8789 There is another anonymous work of that name, Bīl, 287

4 TC, III 8145 Introduction gives author's genealogy

5 DC, XXI 8256 The name is differently given in different manuscripts Rāmabhadra and Raghunātha (see Tanj, VII 8085 8).

6 DC, XXI, 8258, Tanj, VII. 8082

7 DC, XXI 8167, JMy, XI. 76 79

स्कन्धे कृषीवल हल कलयन् क यासि ?  
माणव्य —गच्छामि ते निकटमेव विभो  
राजा — किमधेषु ?

हा हन्त कर्षणपरास्तव वैरेपूपा  
वृत्ति हरनित न इति त्वरथामिथातुम् ॥

राजा नितान्तसन्तुष्टस्मै निजकर्णगते सदुण्डले प्रायच्छत् ।

Among the poets that appear in the course of the narrative are many Durjaya, Sūkṣmamati (palmist), Sāranga, Daivagnavallabha (astrologer), Soma, Kāmalīlā (poetess), Kāsīpaṭi, Sānanda Ratnākara (of Srīranga), Kutumbakavī (of Madhurā), Lokānanda, Sūktisāgara, Madhurāṅgi and Lalitāṅgi (of Malva), Vimalāṅgi, Kanakavalli, Cātucakravarthī Jippāvadhāni, Kavirāja, Kuppa and Lingabhatta (of Kancī), Sanṭāna of Kunṭala, Suka, Vasanta, Lilākara, Kāntisindhu, Sunanda, Lakṣmidhara, Bādhavya.

"Like the Bhojacharitra the Rajasekharcharitra also wholly consists of verses composed in various meters in praise of the king by local and foreign poets named above. Apart from these poetical flights describing the fame of the king's generosity and bravery there are no other incidents of the king's life noticed in this Charitra. There is, however, one interesting incident which deserves to be mentioned here, as narrated in this work —

After his arrival at Vidyānagara, Durjaya, a poet of the Chola country, seems to have succeeded in winning the favour of Rajasekhara and becoming the leader of the poets at his court, so much so that no poet would find access to the court without Durjaya's introduction. When finding it hard to get access to Rajasekhara's court through Durjaya, Saranga, Somaka, and other foreign poets left the country for good, some poets headed by Navina Kalidasa formed a plot to bring disgrace to Durjaya and get him banished from the Court of Rajasekhara. They went in a body to Durjaya and requested him to introduce them to the king as poets worthy of hearing. When asked by Durjaya what they studied, Kalidasa said that they all studied three cantos of *Raghuvamsa* and four Sandhis in the *Prakriyakaumudi*. As to their poetical skill, Kalidasa sang the following verse —

शुकुवत् बकवचैव कुष्ठवत्कुष्टाण्डवत् ।  
राजसेस्तर ते कीर्ति पुन काकपुरीषवत् ॥

"Like a white thing, like the bird, like white leprosy, like hen's egg, O ! Rājasekhara, thy fame is also like the faeces of a crow "

Then Sringārāsekharā sang

मर्कटाननवचैव रक्ततितिरच्छ्वर्णवत् ।  
प्रतापतपतो माति राजसेन्द्र भूषते ॥

"Like the hip of a monkey and like the powder of a red titi thy valour shines, O king Rajasekhara "

Then pretending to be pleased with the poetical flight of the poets under disguise, Durjaya took them to the king and introduced them as types of poets that then generally laid claim to the gift of poetical talent. In reply to the question put by the king about their country and learning Navina Kalidasa said —

"We have been under the patronage of that famous king who is known by the name Punyakoti, devoted to the performance of Vedic rites, learned in the Mimamsa Sastra, a generous patron of learning and now under your protective care. Having heard of your generosity towards learned men and having taken the permission of our patron, we are come here O king Rajasekhara to seek your protection. I am called Navina Kalidasa. The others are Sringarāsekharā, Mandara Lalitalapa, Sriksama, Kamalakara, Gunakara, Rajahamsa, Sridhara and Kavisekhara. As to our learning, we are all capable of composing a drama or a poetical work of the type of the epics in a day, and are well versed in the two Mimamsasastras, the Sankhya of Kapila, the grammar of Patanjali and also Astronomy and Astrology "

Then pleased with the account of the poets the king asked Durjaya to read the verses of the poets in the paper which he held in his hand. Accordingly he read the verses 'suklavat', etc mentioned above. When wondering at the difference in tone between what he heard and saw from Navina Kalidasa's poetical narration and the verses attributed to the poets as read by Durjaya the king turned his eyes towards Kalidasa. The latter said that but for those wretched verses they would have found no access to the king and Durjaya was so jealous of other poets that he had no scruples to misrepresent them to the king, he misrepresented both Arinan and Saranga as poets whose verses would spell untold misery on their own patron and thus got them out of Rajasekhara's court, and he succeeded in getting rid of Somaka also for the latter's guilt of association with prostitutes. Then

Rajasekhara was enraged at Durjaya's bad conduct and banished him from his court <sup>1</sup>

**526 Anantabhatta** is according to tradition a rival of Abhinava Kālidāsa, who wrote Bhāgavata-campū<sup>2</sup>. To vie with his work, Ananta composed a Bhāgavata-campū himself and Bhārata-campū. The latter was quoted freely by Nārāyaṇa Bhattāṭri of Malabar in his Prabandhas and was commented on by Mānaveḍa Narāyaṇa and Mānaveḍa flourished in the 16th and 17th century<sup>3</sup>. Ananṭa must have lived not later than the 15th century and if Abhinava Kālidāsa, lived in the 11th century Ananṭa must have also lived in the 11th century A D.

Bhāraṭa-campū<sup>4</sup> has been held on high esteem. Ananṭa is rightly proud of his poetry.

Thus he begins

शरदिन्दुविकासमन्वहासां स्फुरदिन्दीवरलोचनभिरामाप् ।  
अरकिन्दसमानसुन्दरासामरवेन्द्रासनसुन्दरीमुपासे ॥  
कल्याण वौ विधर्चा करटमदधुनीलोकछोलमाला-  
खेलछोलम्बकोलाहलमुखरितदिक्वक्षबालान्तरालम् ।  
प्रल वेतण्डरत सततपरिचलकर्णीतालप्रदोह-  
द्राताङ्गरजिहीर्वादरविवृतफणा शङ्खभूषाभुजङ्गम् ॥

तुहिनकिरणवशस्थूलमुक्ताफलानां विपुलमुजविराजदीरलक्ष्मीविभूम्नाप् ।  
हसितसुरपुरश्रीरस्ति सा हस्तिनास्या रिपुजनदुरवापा राजाधानी कुरुणाम् ॥

and thus he ends

राजां मौलिपरम्परां चरणयो पाणौ प्रदानश्रिय  
दुद्धौ राजनयोदय इदि कृपां सत्य रसक्षाब्ले ।  
वाहौ सागरमेलली वसुमतीं मस्ते किरीट मुदा  
कृवंद वर्मतनुभवश्चिरमसौ गोपायति स्म प्रजा ॥

1 CASB, 62, There is a commentary by Nārāyaṇa

2 See para 174-6 supra.

3. Ananṭa, author of Śāhiṣyakalpavallī (OC, I 18), Ananṭa, author of gloss on Candrāloka (1685 A D OC, I 18), Ananṭa, author of Kamīśeṣuha (IO, 896; PR, III 366) are different authors

4 Printed Madras and Bombay Here are verses in his praise

1 उन्मीलदभुजकदम्बकसौरभीणामुन्मलदीशमुकुटीतटिनीक्षमीनाम् ।

आचान्तवैरियशसामृतोभिलाना वाचामनन्तसुविषयो वसुवैव मूल्यम् ॥

ii दिग्नातरालसत्कीर्तिरनन्तकविकुञ्जर ।

प्राणैस्तुल्यं सरसत्या प्राणैषीच्छन्पुमारतम् ॥

There are commentaries<sup>1</sup> on Campū-Bhāraṭa by (i) Kuravī Rāma-linga,<sup>2</sup> son of Tīrumalaroya of Āṭreyagotra<sup>3</sup> (ii) Mallādi Lakṣmaṇa-swāmin,<sup>4</sup> (iii) Nārāyanaswāmin,<sup>5</sup> (iv) Kumāraṭatārya,<sup>6</sup> (v) Narasiṁhācārya<sup>7</sup> and (vi) one anonymous.<sup>8</sup>

There are other works on the same theme Bhāratacampūtilaka by Lakṣmana,<sup>9</sup> Mānavedacampūbhāraṭa by Mānavaḍa,<sup>10</sup> Bharatacarita of Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇasarmā,<sup>11</sup> Abhinavabhārata by Śrīkantha and Candra-sēkhara.<sup>12</sup>

**527 Cidambara** was the son of Anantanārāyana and grandson of Sūryanārāyana. He was patronized by King Venkata I (1586-1614) of Vizianagar. His Pancakalyāṇacampū and Rāghavayādavapāṇḍaviya (Kaṭhāṭrayi)<sup>13</sup> have been noticed elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> Bhāgavatacampū relates the story of Bhāgavata by itself.<sup>15</sup> Sabdārthacintāmaṇi narrates the story of Rāmāyana and Bhāgavata at a time.<sup>16</sup> Cidambaravilāsakāvya in 5 cantos describes the tales of Lord Natarāja of Cidambaram.<sup>17</sup> Slesacintāmaṇi, a small poem, displays his skill in paranomasia.<sup>18</sup>

His pupil Śrīkantha alias Nanjunda, son of Śāmayārya of Āṭreya-gotra wrote Madanamahotsavabhāna, staged at the festival at Bāla-vyāghrapuri (Sirupuliyur).<sup>19</sup>

**528 Mitramisra**, the author of Viramitrodaya, wrote Ānanda-kandacampū on the early life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He was a Sannādhyā.

1. IO, 1528

2. He was a grantee under King Peda Venkata of Penugonda in *TC*, II, 1097, *DC*, XXI, 8208, 1682 A.D.

3. *DC*, XXI, 8202

4. *TC*, III, 8592, *DC*, XXI, 8204

5. *Tanj*, VII, 8105-15, *TC*, I, 96, *DC*, XXI, 8208. He lived at Kumbakonam.

6. *Opp*, II, 5240.

7. *DC*, XXI, 86268. He is the same as the author of Yuddhakānda sequel to Bhojacampū.

8. *TC*, II, 2586, *DC*, XXI, 8167. There is a commentary on it, *TC*, II, 2595. In *TC*, III, 8997 there is a Campusankṣepa, a summary in verse. See para 176 supra.

9. Printed, Madras

10. *Mys* 263

11. For commentaries, see *DC*, XXI, 7908

12. See para 92 supra

13. *DC*, XXI, 8258

14. *Tanj*, VI, 2840

15. *Ibid*, VI, 2742

16. *Ibid*, VI, 2848

17. *DC*, XXI, 8442

Brahmin and belonged to the Pancha Gauda class. His patron Rāja Virasimhađev of Orccha ruled in 1605-1627 A D and was probably identical with Bir Singh Deo, who is said to have killed Abul Fazal, the scholar of Emperor Akbar.<sup>1</sup>

**529 Venkatadhvarin** or Venkatacārya was the son of Raghu-nātha and Sītāmbā of the Ātreyagotra. His grand-father Śrinivāsa<sup>2</sup> known as Appayaguru was the nephew of the great Tatacharya (Panca-matabhanjana Tātācārya)<sup>3</sup> of Conjeevaram, a contemporary of Appaya-dikṣita. He was a descendant of Pranatārṇihara, a disciple of Rāmānuja. The famous Vādīhamsāmbuda, the teacher of Vedāntadesika, was his ancestor too. Venkatādhvarin was born at Arasāpīpālai near Conjeevaram (Kāncī) and lived in Conjeevaram. He was a staunch follower Vedāntadesika. His literary activity was coeval with that of Nilakantha, who lived in the latter half of the 17th century. He was well-versed in all sciences and had a good instinct for poetry. He was for some time the chief Pandit at the Court of Pralayakāveri. His versatile learning is manifest from the various species of his compositions.

His famous work is **VISVAGUNADARSANAM**<sup>4</sup>. It is a proso-poetic composition. Two Gandharvas Visvāvasu and Kṛṣṇa are supposed to take a birdseye view of countries in their aerial car, the former generous in appreciation of merits, the latter ever censorious. This work was intended to expose the faults of the manners and customs of his time.<sup>5</sup>

Thus it begins

श्रीराजीवाक्षवक्ष स्थलनिलयरमाहस्तवास्तव्यलोल-  
द्विलाङ्गाभिष्पतन्ति मधुरमधुशरी नामिपञ्चे मुरारे ।  
अस्तोक लोकमात्रा द्वियुगमृसंशिष्योराननेष्वर्यमार्ण  
चाङ्गप्रान्तेषु दिव्यं पथं इति विवुचैः शङ्खमाना पुनातु ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

1. Printed Sarasvati Bhawan Series, Benares.

2. Śrinivāsa's second son Varada is the author of bhāna Anangajīvana and a poem Kṛṣṇābhuyudaya (D.C., XXI, 8842).

3. Ed. Bombay. Tr. in English in part, Sahridaya.

4. See para 212 supra. This Tātācārya lived in 1509-1591 A D. He adopted his brother's son who is now familiarly known as Kotikauyakādānam Tātācārya (1572-1682 A D).

5. In Saddarśana-sudarśana (Tc. IV, 5487) the poet's criticisms on Thengalai Vaigavīya sect are vindicated.

विश्वावलोकस्पृहया कदाचिद्दिमानमारुद्धा समानरूपम् ।  
 कृशानुविश्वावसुनामधेय गन्धवंगुभ्यं गगने चचार ॥  
 कृशानुरकृशासूय पुरोमागिपद गत ।  
 विश्वावसुरमूढ़िश्वगुणभ्रहणकौतुकी ॥

and thus it ends

प्रकाशदोषप्रचुरेऽन्यमुष्मिन् ग्रन्थे मदीये करुणानुबन्धात् ।  
 प्रसादवन्तो न कृशानवन्तु परं तु विश्वावसवन्तु सन्त ॥

It is said that in consequence of such censure on the world around him, he lost his sight and his praises of Lakṣmi and Viṣṇu in a thousand verses called Lakṣmisahasram<sup>1</sup> and Śrinivāsasahasram<sup>2</sup> cured him. In these poems, the author has excelled in the display of verbal ingenuity and poetic imagery.

There are commentaries on Visvaguptādarā by Kuravi Rāma, a writer of the 19th century who was patronised by the Zamindar of Karvetnagar,<sup>3</sup> by Prabhākara, son of Lakṣmidhara.<sup>4</sup>

Venkatādhvarin's works are many. Yādava-Rāghaviyam, which relates the story of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, at a time, by reading the verses in their natural and reverse order.<sup>5</sup> Uttaracarīta relates the tale of the banishment of Sītā and the birth of Kusa and Lava and was meant to be sequel to the Rāmāyanacampū of Bhoja.<sup>6</sup> Varadābhuyudaya or Hasṭagiricampū<sup>7</sup> describes the greatness and religious glory of the shrine of Devarāja at Kāncī Ācāryapancāṣṭa<sup>8</sup> at is a short panegyric of Vedāntadesika. Śravanānanda is a collection of verses on various topics and displays much originality.<sup>9</sup> Subhāṣita-Kaustubha<sup>10</sup> is an anthology

1. Ed in Telugu (Karvetnagar, 1890) with the commentary by Kaufika Gopālācārya of Śriperumbudur. There is also a commentary called Surabhi by Viśwavarasamy, son of Vēnkatesamy of Devarakonda family. TC, III 8048

2. This work is not now traceable

3. His descendant Challaya Sastrī was living in 1895 at Inamenamellur in North Aroot District. He also commented on Campuhārīta, Daśarupa and Kuvalayānanda. He wrote other works in Telugu. See HR, I (1895) xi

4. TC, IV 4626. The manuscript was completed in Śaka 1817

5. See para 90 supra DC, XX, 7956, with commentary on it. DC, XX 7957

6. DC, XXI 8180 Printed in Telugu (Bangalore) with a commentary by Tirumalācārya, Pandit, Maharajah's College, Mysore

7. DC, XXI, 8281, Id Mysore, 1908 with a commentary by Čakravarṭī Ayyanger of Nallāncakravarṭī family

8. DC, XIX. 7267.

9. Printed, JI of Mysore Sans College

10. DC, XX 8096

in five chapters, describing the character of ignorance, vice, virtue etc Pradyumnānanda<sup>1</sup> is a drama in six Acts and describes the marriage of Pradyumna with Raṭī born as the daughter of the demon Sambara Śringāradipikā is a Bhana Subhadrāparṇaya is a play of which two acts only are found now at Arasānipalai

**530** The device of description planned in Visvagunadarsam has been adopted in some later works *Latvagunādarsam*<sup>2</sup> describes the comparative merits of the tenets of Saivism and Vaishnavism in the form of a dialogue between Jaya and Vijaya The author Annayārya was the son of Śrinivāsa Tātārya of the Śrīsaila family He was the brother of Śrinivāsācārya, the author of *Latvamārlānda* and *Jijnāsādarpaṇa* and Pandit of the Court of King Venkata, son of Rāghava of the Kosala race

**531 Dattatreya** Sastri was son of Vāsudeva and Ambikā His grandfather was the famous Janārdana Nigudakara He lived in the village of Pangrada in Konkana in 1863-1918 In 1891, he was made Principal of Sanskrit College at Rajpur He bore the title Vidyāraṇa Besides a poem *Raghuvamsasāra*, and glosses on *Janakiharana*, *Buddhacarita* and *Ratnāvali* and a play *Rukminīharana*, he wrote a campū *Gangāgunādārsā* There on the plan of Visvagunādarśa, demerits and merits of the Ganges are espoused in a dialogue by two Gandharvas, Hāhā and Hūhū and the greatness of Gangā finally asserted<sup>3</sup>

**532 RAGHAVACARIA** was the son of Śrinivāsācārya and grand grandson of Venkatācārya of Śrivatsagotra He was a disciple of Ranganātha, apparently a head of the Ahobilam Mutt The poem teems with alliteration In *Vaikunthavijayacamprū*<sup>4</sup> the gives a description of the various shrines visited by Jaya and Vijaya in the course of a pilgrimage

**533 NILAKANTHA**, was the son of Rāmabhatta of Kaundinya goṭṭa and a disciple of one who bore the title of *Danṭḍyōḍḍivāpradīpa*<sup>5</sup> In his *Kāśikātilakam*, two Gandharvas are sent out by

1 DC, XXI 8422 This was composed in the year Prajōḍpāṭṭi which is likely equal to 1671 A.D

2 DC, XXI 8298 There is a commentary on it by the author himself (*Ibid* 8295)

3 Printed Bombay

4 DC, XXI 8298

5 TU, III 2768.

Kubera in search of Śiva, who had, as Nārada informed him, gone to Avimukṭapuram, and in the guise of mortals, they visit various sacred shrines, which they describe as they go

**534 SAMARPUNGAVA Dīksīta** who was the son of Venkatesa of Vadūlagotra and brother of Suryanārāyaṇa and Dharmā. He lived at Tiruvalangadu in North Arcot District, Madras, about the middle of the 17th century. His *Tīrthayātrāprabandham*<sup>1</sup> describes the holiness of several sacred shrines and waters visited in the course of a pilgrimage.

**535 VENKATAKAVI** was the son of Virarāghava of Bālasayana or Ilampalli family and lived at Ginjee in South Arcot District. He salutes Vedāntadesika and was therefore of the Śrī Vaishnava sect.<sup>2</sup> In *Vibhudhānandaprabandham* he describes various sacred shrines of India visited by two persons Bālapriya and Priyamvada in the course of their journey to Badarikāsrama to attend the marriage there of Silāvatī and Makaranda son of Kandarpa, king of a place called Kamalini. The story is a fiction and is narrated in a conversation between two parrots.

**536** In *Śrutakīrtivilāsa* campū SURYANARAYANA of Bhāradvāja-gotra describes the several places visited by a Brahmin Śrūṭakīrti a native of Virincipuram near Nellore.<sup>3</sup>

**537. RAMACANDRA** was the son of Kesava and fifth in descent from Rañnakhetā Śrinivāsa<sup>4</sup> must have therefore lived the latter half of 17th century A.D. His *Keralābharaṇam* describes the merits and demerits of various countries and their usages in a dialogue of two spies Milinda and Makaranda who were sent out on a tour of inspection, in the course of a debate between Vasistha and Visvāmitra in the Council of Indra.<sup>5</sup>

**538 Sankara Diskita**, son of Bālakṛṣṇa of Bhāradvājagotra, was a poet of the Court of King Sabhāsimha of Bundelkhand. He died

1. DC, XXI, 8226

2. DC, XXI, 8285

3. DC, XXI, 8593

4. Tāṇḍ. VII [3035] Rañnakhetā had three sons Keśava, Arḍhanārīśvara and Rājacudāmaṇi. Keśava's son was Paṭanjali, his son was Keśava, and Keśava's son was Rāmacandra.

5. On Rañnakhetā, see para 151 supra.

in 1780 A D Besides the play Pradyumnavijaya,<sup>2</sup> he wrote Gangāvatāracampū on the story of the Ganges and Sāṅkaracetovilāsa, a campū on the life of Mahārāja Cetasiṁha (Cheytsingh) who was a magnate of Benares in 1770-1781 A D in the time of Governor-General Warren Hastings<sup>3</sup>

**539 Sonthi Bhadradri Ramasastri** (1856-1915) was a Velanati Vaidiki Brahmin of Pithāpur in Codavary District. He was the son of Gangārāmayya of Gauḍamagotra. A great Sanskrit Scholar and poet, he adorned the Courts of the Zamindars of Urlam and Lakkavaram. Besides Muktiāvali a drama and Śrīrāmavijaya, a poem, his Sāṁbarāsuravijaya, a Campū, is a favourite of pandits as a work of literary art.

**540** In Jayarama's Rādhāmadhavavilāsacampū, the loves of Rāmā and Krṣṇa are depicted and in the latter the court life of Sahaji Bhosle<sup>4</sup>

**541 On Ramayana** Campūrāghava of Āśūri Anantācārya (Printed, Bezwada composed, in 1868 A D) with the commentary of Āśūri Venkatanarasimhācārya, Rāmayaṇacampū by Sundaravalli, daughter of N Narasiṁha Aiyangar, Mysore (Printed, Bangalore composed in 1916 A D), Campūrāmāyaṇa of Āpivivila Siṭṭhāmaśāśvī<sup>5</sup> of Kākaraparṭi, Krṣṇa District (Printed, Madras), Amoghārāghava by Divākara, son of Visvesvara (TC, V 6365)<sup>6</sup>

1 CC, I 852, Wilson's Theatre, II 402 Śāṅkara, author of Śāṅkāllakabhaṇa (CC, I 642, Wilson's Theatre II, 884) and Śāṅkara, author of Gauridigambāra (play, OC, III 37) are different authors

2 See Hamilton's Gazetteer, II 455

3 Printed Bombay There is an introductory essay on the rise of Mahārāja kingdoms. See also Puruṣottama's Śivākhyā on the subject of Mahārāja history. Ed. by J B Modak, Bombay

4 He also wrote Siṭṭhāmaśādayālahari, printed there

5 He was different from Divākara, son of Udbāhusundara who wrote the play Lakṣmijmānavedam (TC, V 6351). Amoghārāghava was composed in Śaka 1321 (1299 A D) There are fine verses in praise of Valmīki and Kāliqāśa

वाणी वासमवाप्य यस्य बद्धन्दूरि प्रतीक्षेव ह-  
त्पद्मस्थाम्बुजनामनामिनिवसङ्कोक्षेशसेवाक्षणम् ।  
वल्मीकिप्रमवाय कल्मषमिदे तस्मै परस्मै नभो  
रामोदाचचरित्रवर्णनवचं प्रोद्योगिने योगिने ॥  
रम्याल्लेखती प्रसादमधुरा शङ्कारसङ्कोच्चला  
चादूतैरसिलप्रियैरह रहस्यमोद्यन्ती भन ।  
लीलान्यस्तपदप्रचाररचना सद्गर्णस्त्रोमिता  
माति श्रीमति कालिदासकविता कान्तेव तान्ते रता ॥

Raghunāthavijaya by Kṛṣṇa Kavi (*Printed*, Bombay), Rāmacaryāmṛta by Kṛṣṇayangārya (*Printed*, Mysore), Kusalavacampū by Venkaya Sudhi (*Mys* 264), Rāmākāthāsudhodaya by Śrīnivāsa (*Ibid* 269), Rāmābhiseka by Devarājadesika (*Ibid* 269 *TC*, II 21), Sītāvijaya by Ghantāvatāra (*Ibid* 272), Rāmacandracampū (i) by Rāmacandra, son of Patanjali and great-grandson of Ratnakhetra (*HR*, II vii) and (ii) by Viśvanātha [*Mitra* 1870], Rāmābhudaya by Rāma, (*TC*, II 1818) of Devulapalli

Kakusthavijaya by Vallisahāya of Vādhūlagotra (*IO*, 1539), Sītācampū of Gundu Rāmaswāmi Sāstrin of Agastyagotra,<sup>1</sup> Mārutivijaya of Raghunātha (*Tan* VII 3113), Hanūmadapadāna (*TC*, IV 4397), Ājaneyavijaya by Nṛsimha (*Mys* 261) Laksmanābhitaranya (*Opp* II 3361)

Uttarakānda of Rāghava of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra (*Mys Arch Rep* 1918), Rāmacampū of Bandlamūdi Rāmaswāmi (*Printed*, Madras), Uttara-campū (i) of Brahmapandiṭa, (ii) of Rāghavabhatta, and (iii) of Bhāgavanṭa (*Tan* VII 3031), Rāmābhiseka of Devarāja, son of Padmanātha (*TC*, II 2127, *Mys* 269),<sup>2</sup> Abhinava-Rāmāyaṇa by Lakṣmana Dānta composed in Sāka 1789 (*Bhandarkar's List*, 1893, Part I), Rāmāyaṇa of Rāmānuja of Vādhūlagotra (*DC*, XXI 8504)

**542 On Bhagavata** Bhāgavatācampū of Rāmabhadrā<sup>3</sup> (*Tan* VII 308), Kṛṣnacampū (i) of Sēśasudhi,<sup>4</sup> and (ii) of Parasurāma (*Gough*, 106), Ānandadāmodara of Bhuvanesvara (*CASB*, 23), Vasudevanaṇḍinī of Gopalakṛṣṇa<sup>5</sup> (*CC*, I 161), Prapayimādhava by Mādhabavabhatta (*Bhandarkar's List* (1893), I 110), Mukundācāriṭa by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys* 268), Kṛṣṇānandakanda by Mitramisra (*CC*, I 258), Ānandabṛndāvana (i) by Paramānandādāsa (*Printed*, Benares) (ii) by Kavikāṇapūra (See para 223, *Supra*), (iii) by Kesava (*NW*, X 16) and (iv) by Mādhabānanda (*Oudh*, XXI 92), Bālakṛṣṇācampū by Jivanajī-sarma (*Printed*, Bombay), Mādhabācampū by Ciranjīva<sup>6</sup> and Mandāra-maranda by Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Bombay), Śrīkṛṣṇācampū (*Mys* 271), Gopālacampū (i) by Jīvarāja (*CC*, I 161), (ii) by Kīṣoravilāsa

1 He died at Velangi near Cocanada in 1918-19. He also wrote a play Uṣaparipaya.

2 He also wrote Kīrtijñanjyācampū and Aryāmanjarī (*CASB*, 26)

3 Completed in Durmati year.

4 The manuscript is with P. V. Subramanya Sastry, Rajole, Godavari Dt.

5 Among his other works there noted are Ambādvīṣṭī, Āryāvarpanamālikā, Kumārakāpāmrīṭa, Saubhāgyalaharī, Pancadasavarnamālikā and other stāvas,

6. He also wrote Viḍvanmodaṭarangī (Printed, Calcutta)

(*CC*, III 35), (iii) by Visvanāthaśasinha [*Mitha* (1870)], Kṛṣṇavilāsa (i) by Lakṣmaṇa (*DC*, XXI 8191) and (ii) by Narasiṁhaśaṁsi, son of Anantārāya (*DC*, XXI 8193), Yādavacampū (*Oph*, 5140), Kṛṣṇavijaya (i) by Viśeṣvara (*TC*, II 2260), (ii) by Kṛṣṇa Sāstri (*Rice*, 248) Rukminiśicampū by Govardhana, son of Ghanasyāma (*CC*, I 527), Sanṭanagopālaprabandha (*DC*, XXI 8307), Kālindimukunda (*DC*, XXI 8186, 8567),<sup>1</sup> Jayarāma Pande's Rādhāmādhavavilāsa (*Printed*, Bombay)

**543 On Mahabharata** Bakavadha (*TC*, III 0411), Kumārābhudaya (*TC*, III 3521), Subhadrāharana (*TC*, III 3422), Pancendrōpākhyāna (*TC*, III 3420) on the marriage of Draupadī, Kumārvijaya by Bhāskara, son of Śivasūrya (*TC*, IV 5818), Kumārodaya (*TC*, IV 5894), Nayanidarsana (*Trav* 80)

**544 On Puranas** Vallīparinaya of Yajnasubrahmanya (*Printed*, Madras), Padmāvatīparinaya of Śrīsaila (*Printed*, Karvetnagar), Madrakanyāparinaya of Gangādhara (*Mys* 267, *DC*, XXI 8265), Rukmini-parinaya by Ammal (*Mys* 270) and by Venkatācārya of Praṭīvādi-bhayankara family (*TC*, II 3599), Parvatīparīṇaya by Rāmesvara of Kandukūri family (*TC*, III 4138), Safrājītīparinaya by Kṛṣṇadāsa Gangaya, son of Rāmesvara of Saunakagoṭra<sup>2</sup> (*TC*, III 2732)

Kalyāṇavallīkalyāṇa by Rāmānuja of Vāḍhūlagotra (see *DC*, XXI, 8275), Uṇāparīṇaya (*DC*, XXI 8185), Kalyāṇacampū by Pāpaya-rādhya and Gaurīparīṇaya by Pinnavenkatasūri on Parvati's wedding (*TC*, V 6575, III 3081); Miṇākṣīparinaya by Ādinārāyaṇa (*Mys* 267); Rukmini-vallabhabharinaya by Nṛsiṁhatāta (*Ibid* 170), Pāncāliswayamvara (*DC*, XXI 826), Miṇākṣīkalyāṇa by Kandukūri Nāganātha of Madura (*DC*, XXI, 8270), Padmāvatīparinaya by Śrīsaila (*Printed* Karvetnagar), Damayantīpāṇīyaya (*TC*, V 6415), Godāparīṇaya by Vedādhinātha (*DC*, XXI 8196)<sup>3</sup>

Tripuravijaya (i) by Aṭurāṭrayajvan<sup>4</sup> and (ii) by Nṛsiṁha<sup>5</sup> (*Tan*, VII 3044-6), Karṇānanda by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*Ulvar*, 1552), Kalākamudī by Cakrapāṇi (*CC*, I 777), Kāvyakalāpa by Mahānandādhira, Kumā-

1 The author's great-grand-father wrote a commentary on *Naisadha* of which manuscript is dated 1894 A.D.

2 He was patronised by Amarendra Sobhannidī, Zamundar of Nuzvid.

3 About Āndal of Śrīvilliputthu (Śrīdhārvinavayapuri). For a play on the same theme, see *DO*, XXI 8899.

4 See para 1 65 supra. For Tripurādabāpacampū, see *Tan*, VII, 3048.

5. See para 154 supra,

sambhava by Sarabhoji<sup>1</sup> (*Tan*, VII 3033), Sivavilāsa by Virūpākṣa (*Tan*, VII 3166), Sivacampū by Kavivādīśekhara on the story of Mārkandeya (*DC*, XXI, 8305, *Tan*, VII 3163), Kisoracarita (*CC*, I 108), Viracampū by Padmanānda (*PR*, I 101)<sup>2</sup>, Gangāvilasa and Jagadambā by Gopāla, son of Mahādeva (*CC*, II 32, 37), Bhārgavacampū by Rāmakṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Bombay)

Nṛsimhacampū by (i) Bhattakeśava, son of Ananṭa of Laugaksi family of Punyaśambha on the Godāvari (*Printed* Bombay, *Tan*, VII, 3079, (ii) by Darvajna Sūrya (*Tan*, VII 3073, see para 96 supra), (iii) by Sankarṣana (*Tan*, VII 3076), Śambarāsuravijaya by Bhadri Rāmasāstrin of Gauṭamagoṭra, Candra-ēkharaacampū by Rūmanātha (*Printed*, Benares and Calcutta),<sup>3</sup> Dattatreyacampū by Dattatreya of Āṭreyagoṭra, (*DC*, XXI 830),<sup>4</sup> Bānayuddhacampū by Kochunni Tambiran,<sup>5</sup> Viśramasenacampū by Nārāyana, son of Gangādhara (*Tan*, VII 3153).<sup>6</sup>

Aniruddhacariṇa (i) by Devarāja, son of Raghupati of Sāndilyagoṭra, (*IO*, 1740, *Oudh*, VIII 8), (ii) by Sāmbasiva (*Mys* 263, *Rice* 246), Bāpāsuravijaya (*SR*, I 77, *IC*, III 78), by Surapuram Venkatācārya (*Ibd*, 266), Anjaneyavijaya (i) by Nṛsimhakavī (*Ibd*), Ānandakanda by Miṭramisra (*Ibd* CC, I 258), Bhāgirāthīcampū by Acyutarśarman (*Printed*, Bombay, composed 1814 A.D.), Lakṣmīsvaracampū by Ananṭasūri (*Printed*, Bombay), Rameśvaravijaya by Śrikṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Madras), Gajendracampū by Panta Vittala (*Printed*, composed, in 1864 A.D.),

1 This was probably composed by Cokkannakavī (Cokkanḍha) see *BTC*, 157, *CC*, I 111.

2 It is not known if Kārtavīryaprabandha mentioned as Asvini Maharāja's in *Tree Cat* 182 is identical.

3 He died at Cocanada in 1915-16. He also wrote a play Mukṭāvali. The manuscripts are with his son Gangādhara Śāstri, City Press, Cocanada.

4 It gives the story of the incarnation of Mahādeva in the house of King Poṣya of Brahmapurā.

5 See para 180 *supra*. He was Ellayarāja of Oranganore and died about the year 1927. He is the brother of the present Ellayarāja Kunjunni Tambiran, who is an authority on Nātyāśastra. He wrote also Kṛṣṇāvatāradandaka and completed Rāmavarman's Rāmacariṇa with Ujjāra-Rāmāyaṇa of which the manuscript is in the palace at Oranganore. On Rāmavarman, see para 177 *supra*. He lived in Kollam 975-1026 and wrote also Vallyudhbhava (poem). Kunjunni Tambiran wrote commentary on Sītāpādākīśastava and died 19 years ago. Kunhanrāja wrote commentary on Śrīpādasaptati and died 14 years ago. Rama Varma M.A. of Oranganore wrote a poem Kaumudi, which is an adaptation of Goldsmith's Hermit.

6 See para 164 *supra*, Nārāyana was another son of Gangādhara son of Tryam baka.

Sūdarsanacampū by Kṛṣṇanānda (*Printed*, Bombay), Śrinivāsa-vilāsa (i) by Venkatesa (*Printed*, Bombay), (ii) by Śriḥeṣṇa (*Printed*, Madras) [He was latter Parakālaśvarāmi, see para 221 *supra*], Jagadguru-vijaya by Yalandur Śrīkantha Sāstri (*Printed*, Mysore), Indirābhuya-daya by Raghunātha (*Mys* 264), Kumārabhārgaviya by Bhānu-datta, son of Ganapati (*IO*, 1540)

Sankaracampū by Lakṣmī-pati (*Mys* 271), Śankarānanda by Guru Swayambhūnātha (*Ibid*, 271), Vīrabhadra-vijaya by (i) Ekāmrānātha and (ii) by Mallikārjuna (*Ibid*, 271, IC, IV 6113) Hayavadana-vijaya by Venkatarāghava (*Ibid*, 272), Saṭyasandha-carita by Kalpa-vallikavī (*Ibid*, 271), Cintāmaṇi-vijaya by Seṣakavī (*Ibid* 264), Jñānāṅkura by Lakṣmī-nāṇḍīśa (*Ibid*, 265), Puruṣottama-campū by Narasimha (*Ibid*, 274), Yādavasekhara-campū by Bhāṣyakāra (*Ibid*, 269), Vijaya-vijaya by Vajra-kānta Lakṣmīnarasiṁha (*Ibid* 270)

**545 Local** Mārgasahāya-campū by Navanīṭa of Vādhūlagotra on the temple of Mārgasahāya at Virincipuram (*DC*, XXI, 8265, *TC*, IV, 5828), Ḏivya-cāpavijaya by Cakravarṭi Venkatācārya, on the myths of Darbhāsayanam (*DC*, XXI 8232), Vyāghrālayeśāstamimahotsava (*Ibid*, 8301), on the shrine at Vykkom in Travancore, Vajramukutī-vilāsa (i) by Alasinga and (ii) by Yogānanda (*Mys* 270), and Yadugiribhūṣana by Appalācārya (*Mys* 270), and Sampatkumāra-vilāsa by Ranganātha of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra (*DC*, XXI 8850) on the festivals of Melkote, Japyeśoṣava by Venkatasubba (*Mys* 264), Bhadrācalacampū by Rāghava of Sathamarṣanagoṭra<sup>1</sup> (*Sah* V), Paṭmanābhacariṭa by Kṛṣṇa on the shrine at Trivandrum (*Trav*, 81), Venkatesa-campū by Dharmarāja (*Tan*, VII 3160), and Śrinivāsa-campū by Śrinivāsa, son of Venkatesa of Kauśikagoṭra (*Tan*, VII, 3168) on the shrine at Tirupati,<sup>2</sup> Asvatthakṣetra-rayāga (*Trav* 79)

**546. Biographical** Puradevacampū of Arhaṭdāsa (*DC*, XXI, 8247, *Mys* 266) on the life of Jain saint Purudeva, Jainacārya-vijaya (*DC*, XXVI 9746) on the lives of Mallisena and other Jain saints; Ānandaranga by Śrinivāsa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra on the life of Ānandaranga,

1 On the same shrine, there are poems Venkata-giru-māhātmya by Devadāsa (*CG*, I 600) and Śrinivasa-kāvya by Tryambaka, son of Paṭmanābha (*CG*, II, 160).

2 There are poems Bhadrācalapura-varpa and Bhadrācalana-kṣatramālā by Vedāntam Śrīmaṭṭāśṭriṇi (*Printed*, Cocanada and Bezwada).<sup>3</sup>

3 He wrote also Sumanoranjana, a poem on Kṛṣṇa. Another Śrinivāsa wrote a poem Tarakāvali in 27 verses to which the epithet Septāṭīra is prefixed “because each verse is composed in such a manner as at first sight it deceives the reader regarding its real meaning.” (*HB*, II, viii).

Dubash of Dupleix (*DC*, XXI 8313),<sup>1</sup> Mṛgayaśacampū by Kavirāja on the hunts of King Vicitravikrama of Kalati of Ganjam (*TC*, IV 3218), Śrīvivāśacampū by Venkata in praise of a king Śrīnivāsa (*Printed*, Granthamālā), Samarādityakathā (*Printed*, Calcutta), Rañnasekhara-caritra by Dayāvardhanagaṇi (*Printed*, Bombav)

Nārāyaṇa's Vikramasenacampū describes the adventures of King Vikramasena of Praṭīsthāna.<sup>2</sup> He was the son of Gangādhāra and grandson of Ṭriyambākā who was the minister to King Shahji (1687-1711 A.D.) of Tanjore.<sup>3</sup> In Ānandakanda campū, Samaratungava Dīksīṭa treats of the legends of Saiva saints, male and female, their austerities and rewards.<sup>4</sup> Bāṇesvara composed Cītracampū in 1744 A.D. for his patron Cītraśena of Vardhamāna. He was son of Rāmadasā and was called Viḍyālankāra Bhāttācārya.<sup>5</sup>

Kṛṣṇabhbūṣaṇa gives the life of a merchant Kṛṣṇa of Narkedimalli family (*DC*, XXI 8189)

Maṭreya Rāmānujācārya's Nāthamunivijaya (*DC*, XXI, 8241) Ahobilasūri's Yatirājavijaya (*DC*, XXI 8271) and Rāmānujaḍāsa's Rāmānujacampū<sup>6</sup> (*DC*, XXI 8278) are on the life of Rāmānuja and Govindadāsa and Śrīnivāsarāmānuja wrote Śrīnivāsamuniyatātrāvilīśa on Śrīnivāsamuni of the Muniṭraya line of Vaishnava teachers (*TC*, III 2885, 2892)

Viśākhaṭulāprabandha of A R. Rāja Rāja Varma,<sup>7</sup> Viśākhasetuyātrāvarṇana of Gaṇapatiṣaṣṭri<sup>8</sup> and Viśākhakīrtivilāśa of Rāmaswāmi Sāstrin<sup>9</sup> relate to the life of Viśākha Mahārāja of Travancore

On the history and royalty of Mysore there are the following Mahisūrabhūyddhi by K. Venkatarāma Sāstrin, Mahisūradeśābhuyudaya by Siṭārāmakavi, Śarāvatijalapāṭavarnanam (Jog falls) and Śrikṛṣṇapodayaprabandha by Kukke Subrahmanyāśarmā, Kṛṣṇājendrayasovilāśa by S. Narasimhācāriar, Śrīkṛṣṇarājālāhyudaya by

1. This work gives the history of dynasties of Vijayanagar and the branches of Chandragiri etc.

2. *TC*, II 2641, *Tanj*, VII 8154

3. See para 164 *supra*

4. *IO*, 1698.

5. *IO*, VII 1548, (analysed) This is characterised by a long dream and by an unmistakable inculcation of Vaishnavite Vedāntism.

6. *Trav*, 184, see para 180 *supra*

7. *Trav*, 184, see para 247 *supra*.

8. *Trav*, 81,

Gītācārya<sup>1</sup> (*Printed in Mys Sanskrit College Journal, I-IV*) Bhāgavatā  
Kṛṣṇasāṭṭrin wrote the poem Kṛṣṇarājābhudaya Yadugiri Anantā-  
carya wrote Kṛṣnarājākalodaya

**547 Philosophical Jnānāṅkura** by Lakṣmīṇḍraśimha, Taṭṭvā-  
gurudarsa by Appayārya, Taṭṭvārthadarpana by Appayadikṣīta (*Mys.*  
2652)<sup>2</sup>

### SECTION 3

**548. Udaharana** is a species of quasi-musical proso-poetic  
composition It appears to have been in vogue in very early ages  
Kālidasa mentions it in Vikramorvaśi and Raghuvamśa

पत्रे निवेशितमुदाहरणं प्रियाशा ।  
जयोदाहरणं बाहोर्गापयामास किञ्चरान् ।

Vidyānātha defines it thus

येन केनापि तलेन गथपथसमन्विताम् ।  
जयेत्युपक्रम मालिन्यादिप्रासविचित्रितम् ।  
तदुदाहरण नाम विभक्षष्टागसयुतम् ॥

Bharaṭa thus alludes to this mode of composition

गुरीदिरथ लङ्घादिर्युग्म सर्वलघु स्मृतः ।  
चतुर्मात्रागणा ज्ञेया पूर्वच्छदोविकल्पना ।  
पातोऽर्धकलिकान् पातान् कुर्याण्डवज्ज्ञरेषु च ।  
गुर्वक्षरे तालगीतपातास्तु कलिका स्मृताः ॥

It is said in the Pūrṇa that when Daksa composed stutis called  
Sapta-gīta the Gods improved on that composition by the introduction of  
stobha-alṣaras and used them to eulogise Mahesvara after his Tāndava  
in the form of songs of varying tālas In this class of composition, we  
have only a piece extant Basavodāharapa of Somanātha (Pālkuniku).

कलिका—अपि च पुरातननूतनशिवगणपादोदकपरिलक्षदमिषेक ।  
क्षपितविष्णवजगमलिगसमर्थैननिचितविषेकः ॥  
सततविकस्वरमासरनिजमूखमडलसुडितरजनीनाथ ।  
कृतयुगवर्तनकीर्तननिरसनानिपुणपविवरिक्षसनाथः ॥

1. He is the father of Rājagopala Cakravarṭin about whom, see previous chapter

2. DC, XXI. 8278 He was son of Bhavanācārya of Vāḍhulagoṭra, His paternal uncle Rāmānuja wrote Kalyāṇavalli-Kalyāṇa, Vedapāda-tāmāyaṇa etc. He probably lived at Trivellore, Chingleput District.







## CHAPTER XXII

### Dravyakavya

(Drama)

#### SECTION 1

549 “**Manu, Svayambhu**, the emperor of the human world, in days of yore, besearched his father the Sun to suggest to him some diversion of relief from the cares of sovereignty. Then the Sun related to him a tale —The Creator, soon after creation, approached Mahavishnu with a similar request and at Vishnu’s direction the creator went to Siva. Siva commanded Nandi, who has already learnt the Gandharva art from him to teach the creator the principles. The creator came and when he thought of an actor, a muni appeared before him with five descpiples. Then in the presence of Sarasvati, Brahma told them to adopt Natya Veda. They studied Natyaveda in its various applications and delighted Brahma with performances replete with songs and sentiments. Brahma pleased with their interest and devotion, conferred on them the boon that they would thereupon be known to the three worlds as Bharatas and that Natyaveda would also be known after their names, that is, Bharatam. Thus informed by the Sun, Manu resorted to Brahma and made his entreaty, Brahma ordered Bharatas to go with Manu to Bharatavarsha and at Ayodhya, they put on boards the various stories relating to Devarshis, as enacted in the theatres of the Gods. The art of the stage was introduced into the various countries of India by the pupils of these Bharatas. Then it was that at the request of Manu that Bharatas embodied a summary of Natyaveda in two works Devadasasāhasri and Satsahasri, and this summary has come to be known, after their names, as Bharatam.” This is the account given by Śāradāṭanaya of the advent of music into this world.

In the Śatsāhasri itself, that is the extant Nātyasāstra, there is this version of the origin of Nātyaveda. “Soon after creation Indra asked Brahma to create a fifth Veda, available for all the castes, because the four Vedas could not be studied by Sudras. Brahma drew upon the vedas for expression, music, gesticulation and sentiment respectively and made up the Natyaveda. He then called upon Bharata and his hundred descpiples to put it into practice and the first play was then

1. The verb अर्ति is 2nd person plural of the root अ-

staged, with the plot, the destruction of the Danavas by the Devas So the art progressed in the divine world When Nahusha occupied the throne of Indra, it was his desire that the art should be imported into his terrestrial dominions and as an obligation, the sons of Bharata were sent down to this world, when they mixed up with the population and created a progeny well versed in the theatrical art. It was then that Kohala, Sandilya and other Bharatas, composed 'this Sastra' for the education of men "<sup>1</sup>

" The dramatic representations first invented consisted of three kinds *Natya*, *Nṛtya*, and *Nṛitta*, and these were exhibited before the gods by the *Gandharvas* and *Apsarasas*, the spirits and Nymphs of *Indra*'s heaven, who were trained by Bharata to the exhibition Siva added to these two other styles of performance, the *Tandava* and *Lasya* Of these different modes of representation, only one, the *Natya*, is properly the dramatic, being defined to be gesticulation with language The *Nṛtya* is gesticulation without language, or pantomime, and the *Nṛitta* is simple dancing The *Tandava* and *Lasya*, which appear to be grafts upon the original system, are merely styles of dancing, the former so named from *Tandu*, one of Siva's attendants, whom the god instructed in it, whilst the *Lasya*, it is said, was taught by Parvati to the princess Usha, who instructed the *Copis* of Dwaraka, the residence of her husband, in the art, by them it was communicated to the women of Surashtra, and from them it passed to the females of various regions "

" Music, dialogue, gesticulation and imitation were the precursors of Sanskrit drama<sup>2</sup> Music in its theoretical and practical aspects may be traced in India to the Vedic age Besides, the dull incantations of Hotrs or the monotonous recitations of Adhvaryus, there was something to charm the people, in the chants of Udgatris of the Saman of humns borrowed from Rig Veda and adapted to singing Dialogue was often employed in the Vedas and the Epics In Rig Veda we occasionally find conversations between supernatural beings and Rsis, for instance, the dialogue between Yama and Yamī and of Indra, Agastya and Maruts<sup>3</sup> The epics often contain dialogues, the whole of

<sup>1</sup> *Nātyatātra*, I 1-25.

<sup>2</sup> See Yami Yama samvāda (*Rg* X. 10), Pāṇi sarama-samvāda (*Rg* X 108); Urvashi Pururavas-samvāda (*Rg* X 85)

<sup>3</sup> "In all likelihood, the germ of the dramatic representations of the Hindus as of the Greeks is to be sought for in public exhibitions of dancing, which consisted at first of simple movements of the body executed in harmony with singing and music,

Mahabharata being composed in the form of a dialogue between Suta and his disciples Upanisads contain many dialogues of which the pathetic conversation between Yājnavalkya and his wife Maitreyī on the occasion of their mutual separation, is an instance In the Mahāvraṭa rite there is "a struggle between a Vaisya, whose color is to be white, and a Sudra black in color, over a round white skin, which ultimately falls to the victorious Vaisya "<sup>1</sup> "It is impossible" says Keith "without ignoring the obvious nature of this rite, not to see in it a mimic contest to gain the sun, the power of lights the Aryan, striving against the darkness, the sudra "<sup>2</sup> Hillebrandt<sup>3</sup> and Konow<sup>4</sup> asserted that these are indeed ritual dramas, but that they are borrowed by the ritual from the popular mime of the time, which accordingly must have known dialogue, abusive conversation and blows, but of which the chief parts were dance, song and music

**550 Gesticulation or abhinaya** is a natural and primary instinct of the human race Acting embraces the use of gestures, and laws of gesticulation deduce from observation what is appropriate for the expression of particular sentiments of the human mind Aristotle in his *Poetics* says

"Epic poetry and Tragedy, Comedy also and Dithyrambic poetry and the music of the flute and of the lyre in most of their forms, are all in their general conception modes of imitation They differ, however, from one another in three respects, the

---

Very soon dancing was extended to include pantomimic gesticulations accompanied with more elaborate musical performances, and these gesticulations were aided by occasional exclamations between the intervals of singing Finally natural language took the place of music and singing, while gesticulation became merely subservient to emphasis in dramatic dialogue" (*Monier Williams*)

1 See Kathaka Samhitā, XXXIV, 5, Pancavimśa Brāhmaṇa, V, 5, 14  
Āpastambha, Śrautasūtra, XXI, 19, 3-12

"At the great Mahavrata ceremony, one of the most interesting features of the ritual is the fight of a Sudra and an Aryan on a round, white skin which represents the Sun (vide Kathaka Samhitā, XXXIV, 5 and Dr Keith's Samkhyana Aranyaka p. 78) Now the Kathaka Samhitā, which narrates the struggle of the Aryan and the Sudra, expressly says (XI 6) that the colour of the Vaisya is white and it is recognised that the colour of the Sudra is black, so that it is almost certain that we have here again another form of the strife of winter and summer in this case, summer or spring represented by the white Aryan prevails over the winter represented by the dark Sudra. The Mahavrata rite is one which continued late in the Sutra ritual and was clearly performed throughout the Vedic Age, being in essence a popular not merely a priestly rite (see Aitareya Aranyaka, I and V, Śrauta Sutra, XVII and XVIII)"

2 SD, 24

3 ALD, 22.

4 ID, 42

medium, the objects, the manner or mode of imitation, being in each case distinct. For as there are persons who, by conscious art or mere habit, imitate and represent various objects through the medium of color and form, or again by the voice, so in the arts above mentioned, taken as a whole, the imitation is produced by rhythm, language, or 'harmony', either singly or combined. Thus in the music of the flute and of the lyre, 'harmony' and rhythm alone are employed, also in other acts, such as that of the shepherd's pipe, which are essentially similar to these. In dancing, rhythm alone is used without 'harmony'; for even dancing imitates character, emotion, and action, by rhythmical movement."

"Poetry in general seems to have sprung from two causes, each of them lying deep in our nature. First, the instinct of imitation is implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons, and no less universal is the pleasure felt in things imitated. We have evidence of this in the facts of experience. Objects which in themselves we view with pain, we delight to contemplate when reproduced with minute fidelity such as the forms of the most ignoble animals and of dead bodies. The cause of this again is, that to learn gives the liveliest pleasure, not only to philosophers but to men in general, whose capacity, however, of learning is more limited. Thus the reason why men enjoy seeing a likeness is, that in contemplating it they find themselves learning or inferring, and saying perhaps, 'Ah, that is he.' For if you happen not to have seen the original, the pleasure will be due not to the imitation as such, but to the execution, the colouring or some such other cause."

Imitation, then, is one instinct of our nature. Next, there is the instinct for 'harmony' and rhythm, metres being manifestly sections of rhythm. Persons, therefore, starting with this natural gift developed by degrees their special aptitudes, till their rude improvisations gave birth to Poetry."

Pischel advanced the theory that the Sanskrit drama had its origin in the Puppet play<sup>1</sup> and Luders pointed to the shadow as an essential element in the development of the Sanskrit drama<sup>2</sup> and thought<sup>3</sup> that Saubhikas mentioned by Patanjali spoke in explanation of the moving pictures. But it will be seen that a class of plays, called Chāyānātakam, has come to us without being classified by rhetoricians.

**551 The Greek connection<sup>4</sup>** Weber started a theory that the Sanskrit Drama had its beginnings 'in the influence of the Greeks wielded on the Hindus'<sup>5</sup>. E Brandes, the Danish Scholar accepted

1 R Pischel, *Die Herkunft des Puppenspiels*, Halle, *Home of the Puppet play*, Translated by M C Tawney, London.

2 *SBAF*, (1916), 698, see Hillebrandt, to the contrary *ZDMG*, LXXII, 280. For Ridgway's objections, see his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European races*

3 *Ibid* Winteritz, *ZDMG*, LXXIV 120

4 See Keith, *SD*, 57

5 *IL*, 210 n 1st XIV 194 note Zubaiy, *On the development of the Indian drama and its relation to the Greek drama* (in Bohemian) Tu Listy filologique of Prague XIV 1-7, 98-108, 198-205 (chiefly on the hetairai of the Hindu and the Greek drama.)

this hypothesis and undertook to prove the reality of the internal connection between the ancient plays and the new Attic comedy of the school of Menandar as chiefly preserved in the Roman adaptation of Plautus and Terence.<sup>1</sup> After Fischel's repudiation of this theory,<sup>2</sup> in his paper before the Congress of Orientalists held in Berlin in 1882,<sup>3</sup> Windisch elaborated this view of Brandes and collected various texts that attest Greek representation in the Orient after the conquest of Alexander and concluded that the Indian Drama was first developed in the city as a direct result of the intercourse with Alexandria.<sup>4</sup>

Weber laid stress on the use of the words Yavani and Yavanikā, as indicative of the Greek influence.<sup>5</sup> This is well answered by A B Keith.<sup>6</sup> More value attaches to the argument from the use of Yavanika,<sup>7</sup> or its Prakrit form Jayanika, for the name of the curtain which covered the tiring room and formed the background of the stage. The word primarily is an adjective meaning Ionian, the Greeks with whom India first came into contact. But it was not confined to what was Greek in the strict sense of the word, it applied to anything connected with the Hellenized Persian Empire, Egypt, Syria, Bactria, and it therefore cannot be rightly limited to what is Greek. As applied to the curtain it is an adjective, and describes doubtless the material of the curtain (pati, apati) as foreign, possibly as Levi suggests, Persian tapestry brought to India by Greek ships and merchants. The word Yavanika has no special application to the curtain of the theatre, as would be the case, if it were borrowed as a detail of stage arrangement from Greece. Nor in fact was there any curtain in the case of Greek drama, so far as is known, from which it could be borrowed. Windisch's contention merely was that the curtain was called Greek because it took the place of a painted scenery at the back of the Greek stage.

As little can any conclusion of Greek borrowing be drawn from the Yavanis,<sup>8</sup> Greek maidens, who are represented as among the body-

1. Largoven (1870), III, V Smith, *JASB*, LVIII I 184.

2. On the differences between Greek and Hindu Dramas, see Gauranganath Benerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India*. Keith, *SD*, 57.

3. *Das Recension Alexander Sakuntala*, (1870) III. See also *SBAW*, (1906), 502.

4. *Samskṛti Phal*, 398.

5. *ZDMG*, XJV 269, *ISI*, XIII 492.

6. *SD*, 51.

7. P Konow, *TD*, 5 note, Levi, I 348.

8. Levi, *Quid de Gracis sit*.

guard of the king, for this the Greek drama offers no parallel, it represents the fondness of the princes of India for the fascinating hetaerae of Greece, and the readiness of Greek traders to make the high profits to be derived from shipping these youthful cargoes ”

Levi did not accept the Greek influence<sup>1</sup> and Wilson agrees and has a long examination \*

“ The Hindu theatre belongs to that division of dramatic composition which modern critics have agreed to term *romantic*, in opposition to what some schools have been pleased to call *classical*. This has not escaped the observation of one of the first dramatic critics of any age, and Schlegel observes, “ The Drama of *Sakuntala* presents, through its oriental brilliancy of colouring, so striking a resemblance, upon the whole, to our romantic drama, that it might be suspected the love of Shakespeare had influenced the translator, if other orientalists had not borne testimony to the fidelity of his translation ” Besides being an entertainment appropriated to the leading or learned members of society, the dramatic entertainments of the Hindus essentially differed from those of modern Europe in the unfrequency of their representation. They seem to have been acted only on solemn or public occasions. In this respect they resembled the dramatic performances of the Athenians, which took place at distant intervals, and especially at the spring and autumnal festivals of Bacchus, the last being usually preferred, as the city was then filled with strangers, its tributaries and allies. According to Hindu authorities, the occasions suitable for dramatic representations are the lunary holidays, a royal coronation, assemblages of people at fairs and religious festivals, marriages, the meeting of friends, taking first possession of a house or a town, and the birth of a son. The most ordinary occasion, however, of a performance was, as will be seen, the season peculiarly sacred to some divinity ”

“ Like the Greek tragedy, however, the *Nataka* is to represent worthy or exalted personages only, and the hero must be a monarch, as Dushyanta, a demigod, as Rama, or a divinity, as Krishna. The action, or more properly the passion, should be but one, as love or heroism. The plot should be simple, the incidents consistent, the business should spring direct from the story as a plant from its seed, and should be free from episodical and prolix interruptions. The time should not be protracted, and the duration of an act, according to the

---

1. TI, I 845 II 60

2. *Theatre*, I xi et seq

authority, should not exceed one day, but the *Sahtya-Darpana* extends it to a few days, or even to one year. When the action cannot be comprised within these limits, the less important events may be thrown into narrative or may be communicated to the audience by one of the actors, who holds the character of an interpreter, and explains to the persons of the assembly whatever they may require to know, or what is not conveyed to them by the representation, a rather awkward contrivance to supply the deficiencies of the piece, but one that would sometimes be useful to insinuate the plot into the audiences of more polished communities. The diction of a *Nataka* should be perspicuous and polished. The piece should consist of not fewer than five acts, and more than ten.

"In many of its characteristics, the *Nataka* presents an obvious analogy to the tragedy of the Greeks which was, "the imitation of a solemn and perfect action, of adequate importance, told in pleasing language, exhibiting the several elements of dramatic composition in its different parts represented through the instrumentality of agents, not by narration, and purifying the affections of human nature by the influence of pity and terror." In the expansion of this definition in the "poetics," there are many points of affinity, and particularly in the selection of persons and subjects, but there are also differences, some of which merit to be noticed.

"With regard to the Unities, we have that of action fully recognised and a simplicity of business is enjoined quite in the spirit of the Greek drama. The unity of place is not noticed, as might have been expected from the probable absence of all scenic embellishment. It was impossible to transport the substantial decorations of the Grecian stage from place to place, and therefore the scene was the same throughout, but where everything was left to the imagination, one site was as easily conceivable as another, and the scene might be fancied, one while a garden and another while a palace, as well as it could be imagined to be either. The unity of time is curiously modified, conformably to a principle which may satisfy the most fastidious, and "the time required for the fable elapses invariably between the acts." In practice there is generally less latitude than the rule indicates, and the duration of an act is very commonly that of the representation, or at most "one course of the sun," the night elapsing in the interval. In once piece, the *Uttara-Rama-Charitra*, indeed, we have a more extensive period, and twelve years are supposed to pass between the first and second acts. This was the unavoidable consequence of the

subject of the play, and affords and analogy to the license of the romantic drama<sup>1</sup>

"Another important difference from the classical drama, and from that of most countries, is the total absence of the distinction between Tragedy and Comedy. The Hindu plays confine themselves neither to the "crimes nor to the absurdities of mankind," neither "to the momentous changes, nor lighter vicissitudes of life," neither "to the terrors of distress nor the gaieties of prosperity." In this respect they may be classed with much of the Spanish and English drama to which, as Schlegel observes, "the terms Tragedy and Comedy wholly inapplicable, in the sense in which they were employed by the ancients." They are invariably of a mingled web, and blend "seriousness and sorrow with levity and laughter." They never offer, however, a calamitous conclusion, which, as Johnson remarks, was enough to constitute a Tragedy in Shakespeare's days, and although they propose to excite all the emotions of the human breast, terror and pity included, they never effect this object leaving a painful impression upon the mind of the spectator. The Hindus, in fact, have no Tragedy, a defect that subverts the theory that Tragedy necessarily preceded Comedy, because in the infancy of society the stronger passions predominated, and it was not till social intercourse was complicated and refined, that the follies and frivolities of mankind afforded material for satire. The theory is evidently more ingenious than just, for a considerable advance in refinement must have been made before plays were written at all and the days of Æschylus were not those of the fierce and fiery emotions he delineates. In truth, however, the individual and social organisation of the native of India is unfavourable to the development of towering passion, and whatever poets or philosophers may have insinuated to the contrary, there is no doubt that the regions of physical equability have ever been, and still are, those of moral extremes.

"The absence of tragic catastrophe in the Hindu dramas is not merely an unconscious omission, such catastrophe is prohibited by a positive rule, and the death of either the hero or the heroine is never to be announced. With that regard, indeed, for decorum, which even Voltaire thought might be sometimes dispensed with, it is not allowed in any manner "*ensanglanter la scène*," and death must invariably be inflicted out of the view of the spectators. Attention to *bienseance*

---

1. A. V W Jackson, Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays 1. The Dramas of Kalidasa, 2. The Dramas of Harsha JAS, XX. 341-369, XXI. 88-108,

is carried even of a serious nature are, hostile defiance, solemn imprecations exile, degradations, and national calamity, whilst those of a less grave, or comic character, are biting, scratching, kissing, eating, sleeping, the bath, inunction, and the marriage ceremony Dramatic writers, especially those of a modern date, have sometimes, violated these precepts, but in general the conduct of what may be termed the classical drama of the Hindus is exemplary and dignified. Nor is its moral purport neglected, and one of their writers declares, in an illustration familiar to ancient and modern poetry, that the chief end of the theatre is to disguise, by the insidious sweet, the unpalatable but salutary bitter, of the cup

"The extent of the Hindu plays is another peculiarity in which they differ from the dramatic writings of other nations, and even the *Robbers*, or *Don Carlos*, will suffer in the comparison of length. The *Mrichchhakati* would make at least three of the plays of *Aeschylus*. In actual representation, however, a Hindu play constituted a less unreasonable demand upon the patience of an audience than an Athenian performance, consisting at one sitting of three Tragedies and a Farce. If the Hindu stage exhibited a long play, it exhibited that alone."

## SECTION 2

Besides defining and classifying dramas, Bharaṭamuni composed plays in illustration. They were Jāmaḍagnayajaya (Vyāyoga), Kusumā-sekharavijaya (Īhāṃga) and Sarmiṣṭhāyayāṭi (Anka). The last of these was enacted before Nāhuṣa while he was holding the position of Mahendra among Devas.

To Piṭṭamaha himself are attributed Samudramāṭhana (Samavakara) enacted at Indradhvajamahotsava and Ṭripuradāha (dūma) enacted before Paramesvara on the nothern slopes of Hymālayas. Sarasvatī wrote Lakṣmīsvayamvara (nāṭaka) and had it performed in Indra's theatre by Apsarasas trained by Bharaṭamuni himself.

There were other writers on dancing that followed Bharaṭa who are quasi-divine and quotations from their works are plenty in later rhetorical writings. Their age is anterior to the Christian era, and according to Indian tradition, some of them are far earlier than the kali age.<sup>1</sup> Vātsyāyana mentions earlier writers of remote ages whose works are lost, save in stray quotations. In describing the recreations of a nāgaraka, the cityman, he says

---

1 See chapter on BHARATA, post

पीठमर्दविट्ठिदूषकायत्ता व्यापारा । प्रदोषे च सङ्गीतकानि । पक्षस्य मासस्य वा प्रकातेऽहनि  
सरस्वत्या मवने नियुक्तानां निलं समाजं । कुशीलवाशागतव प्रेक्षकमेषां दद्यु । द्वितीयेऽहनि तेभ्य  
पूजा नियत लमेरन् । ततो यथाश्रद्धमेषां दर्शनपृत्सर्गो वा ॥

Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata refer to nata, nartaka, nātaka and sūtradhāra and dances and theatricals in cities and palaces<sup>2</sup>

**552 Harivamsa** (8672-4), makes “direct mention of a dramatic treatment (*nātakibṛtam*) of the Ramayanam mahakavyam, without indeed connecting therewith the name of Valmiki, but with statements so definite as clearly to show that so far as regards its main elements, our present text of the Ramayana existed even at that time, and already in its Vaishnava form. We are informed, namely, that the renowned actor, to the eulogising of whom the passage in question is devoted, represents in a drama “the birth of the immeasurable Vishnu for the purpose of fulfilling his wish to put to death the prince of the Rakshasas Lomapada (and) Dasaratha (in the drama) caused the great muni Rishyasringa to be fetched, by means of Santa and the courtesans Rama, Lakshmana, Bharata and Sathrugna, Rishyasringa and Santa were personated by actors characteristically dressed”

1 Rāmāyaṇa (Srirangam Edn.)

- i रसैऽन्तङ्गारकरुणहास्यरौद्रभयानकै ।  
वीरादिमीरसैरुक्त काव्यमेतदगायत्राम् ॥ I 49
- ii नाराजके जनपदे प्रहृष्टनटनर्तका । II 87 15
- ii श्रैष्ण शाख्समूहेषु प्रान्तो व्यामिश्रेषु च । II 117.
- iii वादयन्ति तथा शान्ति लासयन्त्यपि चापरे ।  
माटकान्यपरे प्रादुर्हास्यानि विविधानि च ॥ II 69 4
- iv शैलधार तथा श्रीभिर्यान्ति । II. 88 15

See also Hopkins, *Great Epics of India*, 55, Hildebrandt, *ZDMG*, LXXII 229, n 1, Hugh Nevill, *The Ramayana as a play*, (Tabrobanian, II 150, 170)

2 See M. Winterstein, *The Mahabharata and the Drama*, JRAS, 1908, 571 Mahābhārata (Kumbakonam Edn.)

- i इत्यत्रवीत्सूतधारसूत पौराणिकस्तथा । I 51 15
- ii नन्तुर्नर्तकाशैव जग्गेयानि गायका । I 219 4
- iii पश्यन्तो नटनर्तकान् । I 218-10, II 88 40.
- iv नाटका विविधा काव्या कथाल्यायिककारका । II. 12-86
- v आनतोश तथा सर्वे नटनर्तकगायका । III 15 18

See also XII 69-60, XII 295-5, IV 22 8, 16, IV. 16-48, I 184-10, III. 20-27, III. 89-12 (as referred to by Hopkins)

**553** During the time of Gauṭama Buddha, Saugandhikāharapa, a rūpaka was enacted at Rājagṛha by his disciples Upaṭīṣya and Maudgalyāyana<sup>1</sup> Pāṇini refers to Natasūtras (IV iii 110-1) composed by Śūlin and Kṛṣṇasva<sup>2</sup>

**554** To Pāṇini are ascribed the plays Kamsavadha and Bali-bandha. Śyāmlaka mentions Vararuci as a writer on dramaturgy Paṭanjalī,<sup>3</sup> wrote (*Mahābhāṣya*, BSS, II 36)

इह तु कथ वर्तमानकालता कस घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति, चिरहते कसे चिरबदे च बलौ । अत्रापि युक्ता । कथम्<sup>4</sup> येतावेदते शोभनिका(सौभिका)नामैते प्रत्यक्ष कस घातयन्ति, प्रत्यक्ष च बलिं बन्धयतीति । चित्रेषु कथम्<sup>5</sup> चित्रेषुपि उद्घूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कसस्य च कृष्णस्य च । ग्रान्थिकेषु कथम्<sup>6</sup> यत्र शब्दग्रन्थनभूमात्रलक्ष्यते तेजीहि तेषामुत्पत्तिप्रस्तुता । विनाशाद्विद्विर्यचक्षाणस्सतो बुद्धिविषयान् प्रकाशयन्ति । अतव्य सत व्यमिश्रा हि दृश्यते, केचित् कसभक्ता भवन्ति, केचिद्वासुदेवमक्ता । वर्णान्यत्वं खलु पुष्पयन्ति । केचिद्रक्तमुखा भवन्ति, केचित्कालमुखा ॥

**555** This passage has been the theme of controversy among some European scholars, a controversy that often expressed itself in unseemly personal attacks. While according to Keith the drama there represented is essentially religious in origin, Hillebrandt,<sup>7</sup> Grosse,<sup>8</sup> Gray,<sup>9</sup> and Ridgeway<sup>10</sup> say that "the imitation of the happenings of life may have given rise to comedy, a fact, which explains the failure of India to rise to tragedy, the play remaining on its original popular line". So that according to them the Indian drama had its origin not in religion, but

1 S F Oldenburg, Ukaṣaniya na predstavleniye buddiskoi dramy In Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imp. Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva, (IV 893-894) [Mention of a representation of a Buddhist Drama Text from the Avāḍānaśāṭaka 75]. Levi, TI, I, 819, Winternitz, VOJ, XXVII 88, Schiefner, IST, III 488, Keith, SD, 42. E Schlaggenweit, JASB, (1865), 71, Buddhism in Tibet, 288, Lalitavistara, XII 178, Divyāvadāna, 857, 860 Avāḍānaśāṭaka, II 24 For Jain references, see Keith, SD, 44, 'Ayārāṅga Sutta, II xi 14, Rājapraśnīya, IST, XVI 385, Hultzsch, ZDMG, LXXV 59

2 (i) पाराशर्यशिलालिम्या सिष्टुनटसूत्रयो ।

(ii) कर्मदकुण्डाश्यादिनि ॥

3 See R G Subrahmanya, *Patanjali and Kavya Literature* (Pr Or Confer 1924), Swami Saradananda, *Poetry and Drama in ancient times* (Brahmavedin, III, 846-855)

4 Über das anfangs des indischen drama

5. Anfänge der Kunst, 214

6. ERE, IV 868

7. *The origin of tragedy with special reference to Greek tragedies*, Cambridge,

on the primitive mime of the Indian popular strolling actors and their wives.

556. Ridgeway propounds the theory that all religion is to be traced to the reverence shown to the dead and that all drama is born from such reverence, but Keith does not agree and he answers Ridgeway's criticism of his views<sup>1</sup>. The following extracts from an article by A B Keith in *JRAS*, (1916), 335 et seq will enlighten the reader —

" But though the theory of Professor Ridgeway must remain a mere hypothesis, which has no probability, it is important to examine his criticism of the rival theory that the Indian drama is an offshoot from the religious practices of early India. The criticism of this theory as already set out in this Journal [*JRAS*, 1911, 1001] by me is contained in the following passage (pp 140-2) —

' The slaying of Kansa by Krishna, as we shall soon see, was the subject of the earliest dramatic performance recorded for us in Hindu literature. According to the *Mahabhasya*, which cannot be later than the first century after Christ, in this performance the *Granthikas* divided themselves into two parties, those representing the followers of Kansa had their faces blackened, those of Krishna had their faces red, and they expressed the feelings of both sides throughout the struggle from Krishna's birth to the death of Kansa. On this story alone Dr A B Keith rests his belief in the theory of the origin of tragedy still held by Sir James Frazer and Dr Farnell, and with which I have dealt at length on earlier pages (pp 18-21). 'The mention of the colour of the two parties,' he writes, 'is most significant, red man slays black man the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter. The parallel is too striking to be mistaken, we are entitled to say that in India, as in Greece, this dramatic ritual, the slaying of winter, is the source whence drama is derived.' This too is the only reason that he gives for his opinion expressed in the same place 'Ridgeway's theory of the origin of drama from the festivals in honour of the dead seems to be still improbable, as an explanation of the origin of tragedy.' But Dr Keith forgets that the red men who slay black men are themselves led by Krishna 'the black', and thus red men led by black man slay black men, which on his own principle can only mean that winter aided by summer slays winter. Plainly, then, winter is divided against himself and commits suicide. The judicially minded reader will opine that in the slaying of the

1. *JRAS*, (1911), 1008; *JRAS*, (1912), 421

negro doctor by Punch without the aid of another gentleman of colour we have really more cogent evidence for *Punch and Judy* being a drama of summer slaying winter than that on which Dr Keith bases his theory of the origin of the Hindu drama. Moreover, when we recall the fact admitted by Dr Keith himself of the conquest by the fair-complexioned Aryans of the dark aborigines of Hindustan, and their admixture as time went on, and when we are further told that Krishna the Black was quite different in colour from the rest of his race, it is but natural that the Yādavas should be represented with ruddy faces, and the followers of Kansa as dark-skinned aborigines. Dr Keith might just as reasonably see a combat between winter and summer in any of the many battles between British troops and native armies in the long struggle which eventuated in the conquest of India. Krishna, who eventually was made the eighth Avatar of Vishnu, a god regarded by Dr Keith as the sun, must also be held by that scholar to be the sun-god, or at least the spirit of light and spring. But as all traditions agree in making Krishna black, Dr Keith thus represents the sun-god himself as a black man, which may be regarded as the wildest of all the many vagaries of his school."

The judicially minded reader will probably opine that this is excellent fooling, but very bad logic. In Professor Ridgeway's own view we have in the slaying of Kamsa merely a representation of doubtless a real episode in the life of the hero Kṛṣṇa. But how on this hypothesis is the difference of colour to be understood? The account given above by Professor Ridgeway is plainly ludicrous. Kṛṣṇa is quite different in colour from the rest of his race, therefore the Yādavas are made red, Kamsa and his supporters black. But Kamsa was the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, who was a Yādava on both sides, his supporters and he are here represented as of the colour of Kṛṣṇa; but the rest of Kṛṣṇa's race is, Professor Ridgeway argues, quite different from Kṛṣṇa, whence it follows that Kamsa should be red. Accordingly the absurdities of my view are even on Professor Ridgeway's own showing at least no greater than those of his own view. That he should be guilty of such a bad piece of argument is undoubtedly due to his forgetting that Kamsa is the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, and that therefore he cannot be treated as belonging to a different section of the population. The forgetfulness is the more amazing in that Professor Ridgeway has himself given the traditional account of the origin of Kṛṣṇa, an account which he does not and obviously cannot criticize. But there is a more amazing blunder still to chronicle. at p 21

Professor Ridgeway asserts that "Dr A B Keith finds the origin of the Hindu drama in the slaying of the dark Koravas by the fair Pandavas. But Dr Keith omits the important point that in the Hindu story the fair Pandavas were led to victory over the dark Koravas by Krishna, 'the Black,' a fact in itself fatal to his theory." This remarkable assertion, which of course is wholly untrue, is due not to any deliberate desire to mislead his readers on the part of Professor Ridgeway, but to a confusion between Kamsa and the Koravas—a spelling strangely adopted by the author for Kauravas—and between Kṛṣṇa exploits *per se* and his connexion with the Pāṇḍavas, who are not, it may be added, pale at all, but descendants of a man called Pāṇḍu.

The extraordinary confusion of mind of Professor Ridgeway explains his criticism of my theory, he has overlooked the fact that, so far from not appreciating the question of Kṛṣṇa's name, I was the first<sup>1</sup> to point out the error into which Levi<sup>2</sup> fell in ascribing to the followers of Kṛṣṇa the colour black, and that I expressly on more than one occasion have refuted the theory that Kṛṣṇa was a sun-god. The fact that Kṛṣṇa is an Avatar of Viṣṇu no more proves that he was originally a sun-god than the fact that the Buddha is also an Avatar of Viṣṇu proves that he was a sun-god. The fact that Kṛṣṇa's company is mentioned as red is of the utmost importance as a piece of evidence of the real character of the ritual, had it not been traditional, the effect of the name Kṛṣṇa would undoubtedly have carried with it the dark colour of his company, for we cannot suppose that at the time when the *Mahābhārata* relates to us the dramatic performance of the Kamsavadha there was any longer an understanding of the legend in its primitive sense. It was a human drama to the actors, understood in purely historic sense, the slaying by Kṛṣṇa of his wicked uncle, and I have laid stress<sup>3</sup> on the fact that the existence of this drama is the earliest clear proof we have of the stories of the infancy of Kṛṣṇa, a fact which establishes their anteriority to the Christ-child legend. But whereas if we take the story as a mere piece of history we are landed in hopeless difficulties in the explanation of the colours assigned, of which Professor Ridgeway's account affords a perfect specimen, a very clear sense and meaning are obtained if we accept the natural conclusion that in India, as in Greece, we find at the source of drama

1. *JRAS* (1908), p 172, n 4

2. *Theatre indien*, p 815.

3. *JRAS*, (1908), pp. 169 seq., a view now accepted by Garbe.

the old ritual of the slaying of the vegetation spirit in winter as in India or in summer as in Greece, the differing choice of aspect being the cause of the existence in India of no real tragedy, while in Greece tragedy is predominant

Professor Ridgeway argues<sup>1</sup> that if Kṛṣṇa is a sun-god, then his birthday should fall at the winter solstice, but in point of fact he is born according to tradition in July or August. The argument seems singularly without force. Apart from the late date of the tradition of the time of Kṛṣṇa's birth, it seems inexplicable why a sun-god must be born at the winter's solstice. Professor Ridgeway accepts my proof that the Mahāvrata was celebrated at the winter solstice, but I have not suggested at any time that this festival represents the birth of the sun, it is a period when the strengthening of the sun for its tasks is required, and is provided by sympathetic magic in the ritual by which a light takes place for a symbol of the sun which is eventually taken away from the Sudra. But this ritual, though it is interesting and though it is rightly mentioned in any account of the beginnings of drama as one of the ultimate sources from which drama developed—not of course as in itself drama since the element of mimesis<sup>2</sup> is absent—is not a Kṛṣṇa ritual at all, a fact which Professor Ridgeway should have remembered, as he cites<sup>3</sup> with approval my express statement that the Mahāvrata has no vegetation spirit in its ritual and that the prominence of such a spirit may have been due to the influence of the aboriginal tribes, even assuming that it was also Aryan in character. In the case of Kṛṣṇa we have a real vegetation spirit ritual, the killing of a representative of the spirit of vegetation. But we see more than this, we see a conflict in the process of the killing, and curiously enough Professor Ridgeway, who credits<sup>4</sup> me with following Dr Frazer in my views of the vegetation spirit, is ignorant still, it seems, as he was in 1910, of the contents of the paper of Usener, on which, as I have expressly stated, my views of the origin of Indian drama which were first formulated by me in 1908 are based.<sup>5</sup> The paper of Usener cites instances in which there occurs a mimic fight intended clearly to secure sunlight and to prosper vegetation. In the case of the Mahāvrata we have this fight in a solar form, in the

1 p 144

2 On this point Professors Ridgeway agrees with me, see pp. 154, 156

3 p 145 Of *JRAS*, (1909), pp. 203, 204.

4 p 142

5, *JRAS*, (1908), p. 173, n. 5

case of Kamsa in a vegetation form, but the fight is an essential feature of both,<sup>1</sup> and it is an essential feature of the drama which is an agon, a contest. Therefore the essence of drama is revealed to us in the very drama of which we have the first distinct record in India, and it is idle sophistry to wave aside this most striking piece of evidence."

557 Elsewhere A. B. Keith says [*JRAS*, (1912), 411]

"The clear evidence of the MAHABHASYA proves the connection of the earliest Indian literary form which was clearly dramatic with the contest of the two figures Kamsa and Kr̥ṣṇa, and the actors coloured their faces, the followers of Kr̥ṣṇa being RAKTAMUKHA, those of Kamsa KĀLAMUKHA. It is true that Indian tradition tells us that Kamsa was Kr̥ṣṇa's uncle, and that we can, if we like, insist that time is a piece of history but such euhemerism is, if at present again fashionable, hardly likely to remain long in vogue. That Kr̥ṣṇa was divine is, of course asserted by the earliest texts which refer to him, and the MAHABHASYA parallel is of singular importance in that it shows the drama dealing with a subject which reveals itself clearly as one side of the widespread belief in the slaying of the vegetation spirit, which is certainly found also in India.

On its merits, therefore, and apart from the evidence of the MAHABHASYA, Aristotle's account of tragedy seems to demand full adherence. The evidence of that text adds to the theoretical probability of the Aristotelian version, the unexpected parallel of an actual stage in development, which is not directly recorded in Greek literature. The only way to minimise the value of the evidence is to declare that the MAHABHASYA which dates probably about 145 B.C., perhaps later, is recording a state of affairs introduced from Greece, and it is as well to point out how many improbabilities are involved in such an assumption. The text recognizes the expression of a dramatic theme the death of Kamsa at the hands of the Kr̥ēa by two parties of "actors", who do not use action proper, i.e., who are in effect performing a dithyramb, it recognizes also the full action, and it knows of actors who are to sing, and on the other hand we have no reliable evidence of any performance of Greek plays, or still less of dithyrambs, in India.

In the MAHABHASYA the two parties of GRANITHIKAS, "reciters," who represent the feelings of either side, do so by words alone

---

1 I have never rested my case on the Kamsavadha alone. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 172, 1911, p. 1008, 1912, p. 428, *ZDMG*, lxxv, 584 seqq.

(SARDAGRANTHANAMATRAM), that is to say, they do not act as do the SAUBHIKAS. Surely we have here in perfect form the dithyramb on its way to complete drama, as it has regularly been conceived in reconstructing the probable history of drama as sketched by Aristotle. No doubt the drama already existed at the time of the MAHABHASYA, but the dithyrambic form has not disappeared as a species of art."

**558** Viewed impartially, Pañjali's expressions do not admit of any confusion and obscurity. Saubhikas were teachers of the actors and they managed the stage and directed the theatrical operations which included music and dancing and dialogue. It was not a matter only for the eyes but for the ears too. Elsewhere Pañjali (*MB*, II 253)<sup>1</sup> says

यदारम्भका रङ्ग गच्छन्ति नटस्य, श्रोत्यामः ।

In Padamanjari, Haradatta speaks of Grānthikas

येऽपि प्रथं वाचयन्त कसवधमाचक्षते काथिका नाम तेऽप्युत्पत्तिप्रभूत्याविनाशात्  
रसादीन् वर्णयन्ति, तेऽपि वर्णमाना स्तोतृणा बुद्धिस्था प्रत्यक्षवद्वन्निति, चित्तमपि तेषां  
तादात्म्यमिव भवति, अत एव व्याश्रिताश्च मवन्ति, नानापक्षसमाश्रयो व्याश्रय ।

In his Vākyapadiya, (II p 177 Benares Edn) Bharṭṛhari says

शब्दोपहितरूपोऽपि युद्धविषयनां गतान् ।

प्रत्यक्षमिव कसादीन् साधनत्वेन मन्यते ॥ (II 177, Benares Edn)

and Helaśāra's gloss is

एव कृतानुकरणेनाद्येऽपि कसवासुदेवातुकारेणसादश्याचद्रूपत्वोपपत्ति ॥

"It is the faces of the hearers that change color at hearing the incidents of the story so vividly pictured before them by the reciters, and it is the hearers that feel pity and pleasure during the narration of the incidents."

**559.** Beyond the ingenuity displayed in attempting to prop up theories assumed *a priori* and the unity among them all the same in denying its deserved antiquity to the Sanskrit stage, the controversy is futile and to a scholar with an open mind, the only view possible is that long before the days of Pāṇini, Sanskrit drama had become perfected and a science of dramaturgy evolved by rhetoricians for future compositions.

Of the progress of the art of histrionics, for earlier than the dawn of the Christian era, we have instances in the devices used by poets

1 Also नटस्य शृणोति, प्रान्थिकस्य शृणोति (I iv 29), अगासीचट (II iv 77) नटस्य भुक्तस् II iii 67, नटमन्ताना, (III ii 127). See also IV i 8 and VI. iii 48,

such as dream (*swapna*), magic (*indrajāla*), portrait-painting (*citra-lekhana*), inter-drama (*anṭarnātka*) and the like. In Guṇādhyā's *Bṛhaṭkathā* which has furnished the theme for many later plays and romances, these devices were used in the progress of the tales.<sup>1</sup>

### SECTION 3

#### The Dramatic Arrangement

**560.** Every drama opens with a prelude or introduction, in which the audience are made acquainted with the author, his work, the actors, and such part of the prior events as is necessary for the spectators to know. The actors of the prelude were never more than two, the manager and one of his company, either an actor or actress, and they led immediately into the business of the drama. The first part of this introduction is termed the *Purva Ranga* and opens with a prayer invoking in a benedictory formula the protection of some deity in favour of the audience. This is termed the *Nandi*, or that which is the cause of gratification to men and gods. There is a difference of opinion as to who recites the *Nandi*, and the commentator on the *Mudra-Rakṣasa* observes, "that it is equally correct to supply the ellipse after *Nandyante* by either *Pathati* (reads) or *Pravicitu* (enters), in the former case the Sutradhara reciting the *Nandi*, and then continuing the induction, in the latter, benediction being pronounced by a different individual. Sutradhara, according to the technical description of him, "was to be well-versed in light literature, as narrative, plays and poetry, he should be familiar with various people, experienced in dramatic details and conversant with different mechanical arts." The prayer is usually often followed by some account of the author of the piece, in which most of the authors "give a long description of their

1. See V. Saunders, *Magic in Sanskrit Drama, Portrait painting as a dramatic device* (JAOS, XXXIX, Dec.) A V. W. Jackson, *Disguising as a dramatic device*, (Pro of Am Phil Assn XXIX 18), *Children on the stage in Hindu Drama* (The Looker on, New York, June 1897 pp. 509-16, abstracted in Pro of Am Phil. Assn, XXVII v, vi) K. Krishnamacharya, *Child-heroes of Early Sanskrit stage, and Heroines in Early Sanskrit stage* (Collegian, 1915, Feb to May)

On Sanskrit Drama generally, see Das Indische Theatre, *Globus*, XLIX 380, Th. Bloch, *ZDMG*, LVIII 455, R. Bohme, *Vohrsche Deckung* (1908) No. 87, J. Hertel, *WZKM* XVIII 59, 180, J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, III 1-878, S. Levi, *Le Theatre Indian*, Paris F Nee, *Museon*, I 528, Ig. Sladomek, *Vlast* XIII 885, S. M. Tagore, *The Hindu Drama*, Calcutta, P. N. Patankar, *Indian Dramaturgy*, S. Konow, *Indian Drama*, Hillebrandt, *Beginnings of Indian Drama*, Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dance*, *Tales from Sanskrit Dramatists*, Madras. For translations and other works of criticism, see Schuyler, *Bbl* 16 28,

genealogies and of their own attainments, while it is a characteristic of Kalidasa's writings that they all begin with a charmingly modest introduction, marked by great diffidence," and in some places, the mention of the author is little more than the particularisation of his name "The notice of the author is in general followed by a complimentary appeal to the favour of the audience, and the manager occasionally gives a dramatic representation of himself and his concerns in a dialogue between himself and one of his company, either an actor or an actress, who is termed the *Pariparswika* or associate. The conclusion of the prelude, termed the *Prastavana*, prepares the audience for the entrance of one of the dramatic personages, who is adroitly introduced by some abrupt exclamation of the manager, either by simply naming him as in the *Sakuntala* and *Malavikagnimitra*, or by uttering something he is supposed to overhear, and to which he advances to reply, as in the *Mṛtchakati* and *Mudra Rakshasa*. The play being thus opened, is carried forward in scenes and acts, each scene being marked by the entrance of one character, and the exit of another, for in general the stage is never left empty in the course of the act, nor does total change of place often occur. Contrivances have been resorted to, to fill up the seeming chasm which such an interruption as a total change of scene requires, and to avoid such solecism which the entrance of a character, whose approach is unannounced, is considered to be."<sup>1</sup>

## SECTION 4.

561. "Bharata mentioned ten types of Rūpaka and 14 types of Uparūpaka." Dhānanjaya accordingly named his work Daśāūpaka. Kohala named twenty, Sāradāṭanaya, the usual ten and another twenty, Visvanāṭha, twenty-eight, and Vema, twenty. Agni Purāṇa gives twenty-seven. The ten Rūpkas are Rasāśrāya or Vākyārthaṁbhinaya and the others Bhāvāśraya or Padārthaṁbhinaya. Bharata brings under the former the ten Rūpkas, Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Dīma, Prahasana, Samavakāra, Vyāyoga, Ihāmpga, Vīthi, Utpattiśkānka and Bhāna as also Nāṭukā and Sattaka.

Kohala classifies plays into mārga and desī based on the principle whether song and dance predominate in each of them. Among mārga

1. On *Vidusaka*, see J. Hinonga, *De Vidusaka N het indisch Tornsel*, (Groningen, 1897, 155) and P. M. Pavolini's review of it, in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, II 86, M. Schuyler, *Origin of Vidusaka* (*JACS*, XX 888), P. V. Rama nujaswami, *Vidushaka in Sanskrit plays*, (*Pr Or confrace*, 1924).

2. See V. Raghavan, *On the name Dasarupaka*, *JOB*, VII 278.

kind the names of the well-known ten with nāṭikā, prakarāṇīka, bhāpiकā, hāsiकā, viyogini, dimikā, kalotsāhavatī, chitrā, jugupsitā, citratāla are cited. None of these twenty allow song or dance in them. Under desī plays he gives again dombikā, bhanaka prasthāna, shidgaka, bhaṇīka, preraṇa, ramakṛīda, ragakāvya, hallisa, rāsaka. Among these the last six are fascinating only as rapturous dances of delicate or wild type (*sukumāra* or *uddhata*).

मार्गे देशीति नाट्यस्य मेदद्रव्यमुदाहृतम् । ब्रह्मणा यत्पत्तपत्वा मार्गिंश्च शिवयोः पुरा ॥  
 मार्गनाट्यं ततः प्राहुस्तच्च विश्विष्ठोच्यते । नाटकं च प्रकरणं भाणः प्रहसनं डिमः ॥  
 व्यायोगः समवकारो वीथेष्वेहामृगा अपि । रूपकाणि दशैतानि शङ्करेण विभाषिरे ॥  
 माटिका प्रकरणिका भाणिका ह्वासिका तथा । वियोगिनी च डिमिका कलोत्साहवती पुनः ॥  
 वित्रा खुगुप्तिता चैव चित्रतालेति दुर्गया । एवमुक्तं मार्गनाट्यं शिवान्यां ब्रह्मणा पुरा ॥  
 अथ देशीनृतकाव्यप्रमेदा डोम्बिकादयः । कथ्यन्ते डोम्बिका भाणः प्रस्थानं विद्रकोऽपि च ॥  
 भाणिका भ्रेण चाथ रामकृीडं तथैव च । रागकान्यं च हङ्गीसः रासकं चेत्तभी दश ॥

Dattila names 16 of the latter kind as saṭṭaka, toṭaka, goshthī, blindaka, śilpaka, prekṣhaṇa, sallāpaka, hallisa, rāsakā, ullāpya, sri-gadita, nāṭyarāsaka, durmallī, prasthana, kāvya and lāsikā. Thus it will be seen that all those which are exhibited before audience are classed as plays only figuratively; Saradātanaya gives support to this view, तेषां रूपकसंज्ञापि प्रायो दृश्यतया कचित् ।”

562. The following table has been prepared by M Ramakrishna Kavi

Type of the play	Theme	Kotaka's Uparpakas	Hero and his nature	Extent in acts.	Unity (Sandhis)	Vritti	Rasa	Specialties
1. वाटक	Well-known नाटिका and Paranci,	Heroic and noble or 5 to 10 दित्य	5 Unities of 64 angas.	Four	All rases शुभर and द्विर prominent	All rases शुभर and द्विर	High and noble type.	Civilised and worldly
2. प्रकरण	Created by the poet (उपर्याप्त)	Excluding divine beings Brahmans, Kshatryas and Vaishyas	Do	Do	Do	Do	Do	Civilised and worldly
3. समवकार	Known (स्वत)	चिता	Devis and Rākshasas. Uditis heroes (twelve)	3 in 9 nights total 18½ hours	All the four except विमर्श.	Vira and Śringāra subsidiary	Fight, deceit, invasion विघ्नयांगस may be used.	
4. ईहास्थान	Do.	चित्रताता	Divine being for a Divine heroes. Well known hero (16 heroes)	4	8 Unities	Ārabbhati.	Footable abduction, fight बद्धन etc.	
5. दिम	Do	दिमिका	Well known hero (16 heroes)	4	4 except विमर्श.	Bṛahvati and Ārabbhati (Śringāra not allowed)	Light Śringāra Raudra Maya, Indrajīla Devas' plications etc Entertainment and fear	
व्यापोग	Do	उग्रप्रिया	Known Uddhatta Feminine characters are very few	1	3 Unities. नो गम्भीर अव्याप्ति	Ārabbhati	Vira and hasya	Fight, besting, hullying etc
7. उत्सुकिकृ	Well-known विषेशिती or created by the Poet, Created	No divine beings.	1	First and the last unites.	Bhartati	Karuna.	Grief of women ग्रीष्म, desertion etc	
8. प्रहसन		हासिका	Banniyatin, शास्त्रे, Brahmin, Vaśīka, Vite etc	1	Do.	Do.	Hasya.	Worldly life वृत्ति not very vulgar
9. राण	Do	आरिका	Single character vira द्विरा.	1	Do.	Do	Śringāra and लायंगस allow.	
10. वीरी	Do.	कठोरसाहस्री	One or two characters, vira or durya.	1	Do.	Rasikī	Touch of Śringāra, Angas specially thirteen.	

563. Sanskrit plays have been classified very elaborately under various sub-divisions, and Visvanatha in his *Sahityadarpana*,<sup>1</sup> divides them into his great classes, viz. 1. RUPAKA, 'principal dramas,' of ten species, 2. UPA RUPAKA, 'minor dramas' of eighteen.

A 1 The NATAKA, or 'principal play' should consist of from five to ten acts (*Anka*) and should have a celebrated story (such as the history of Rama) for its plot (*Vastu*). It should represent heroic or god like characters, and good deeds, should be written in an elaborate style, and be full of noble sentiments. Moreover, it should contain all the five 'joints' or 'junctures' (*Sandhi*) of the plot the four kinds of action (*Vritti*), the sixty-four members (*Anga*) or peculiar properties and the thirty-six distinctive marks (*Lakshana*). The hero or leading character (*Nayaka*) should be of the kind described as high-spirited but firm, being either a royal sage of high family (as Dushyanta in the *Sakuntala*), or a god (as Krishna), or a demigod (*Divyadvya*), who, though a god (like Ramachandra) thinks himself a man. The principal sentiment or flavour (*Rasa*) should be either the erotic (*Sringara*) or heroic (*Vira*), and in the conclusion (*Nirvahana*) the marvellous (*Abhuta*). It should be composed like the end of a cow's tail (*Gopucchagra*), i.e so that each of the acts is gradually made shorter. If it also contain the four *Pataka-sthanaka* or 'striking points' and the number of its acts *Anka* be ten, it is entitled to be called a *Maha-Nataka*. An example of the *Nataka* is the *Sakuntala*, and of the *Maha-Nataka* is the *Bala-Ramayana*.

2 PRAKARANA should resemble the Nataka in the number of its acts as well as in other respects, but the plot must be founded on some mundane or human story, invented by the poet, and have love for its principal sentiment, the hero or leading charater being either a brahmin (as in the *Mric-chakatika*), or a minister (as in the *Malati-madhava*), or a merchant (as in the *Pushpa-bhushita*), of the description called firm and mild (*Dhura-Prasanta*), while the heroine (*Nayika*) is sometimes a woman of good family, sometimes a courtesan, or both.

3 BHANA, in one act, should consist of a variety of incidents, not progressively developed, the plot being invented by the poet. It should only have the opening and concluding juncture. An example is the *Lila Madhukara*.

---

1 M. Wilson, *IW*, 470 3 Saradātanaya call a Bhāṇukā as Dombī and adds some classes of Upārūpakaś, Bhāṇa, Mallukā, Kalpavalli and Parijātaka. For a complete account of classifications of dramas, see Int to *Bhāṇaprakāśa* (GCS), by Yadugiri Yaṭirājswami

4 VYAYOGA, in one act, should have a well known story for its plot, and few females in its *Dramatis Personae*. Its hero should be some celebrated personage of the class called firm and haughty (*Viroddhata*). Its principal sentiments or flavours should be the comic (*Hasya*), the erotic (*Sringara*), and the unimpassioned (*Santa*)

5 SAMAVAKARA, in four acts, in which a great variety of subjects are mixed together (*Samavakiryante*), it dramatizes a well-known story, relating to gods and demons, e.g. *Samudramathana*, *Abdhimathana* or *Payodhmathana*

6 DIMA, in four acts, founded on some celebrated story, its principal sentiment should be the terrible (*Raudra*), it should have heroes (a god, a Yasksha, a Rakshasa, a serpent, goblin &c) e.g. is *Tripuradaha*, *Tarakoddharana*, *Vrtroddharana*, *Virabhadrasyvrbhana*, *Manmathonmathana*

7 IHAMRIGA, in four acts, founded on a mixed story (*Misra-vritta*), partly popular, and partly invented, the hero and rival hero (*Pratinayaka*) should be entier a mortal or a god. According to some it should have six heroes. It derives its name from this, that the hero seeks (*Ihate*) a divine female, who is unattainable as a deer *Mriga* e.g. *Urumasekhavijaya*, *Mayakurangjka*, *Viravtjaya*

8 ANKA or UTSRISHTIKANKA, in one act, should have ordinary men *Prakrtianarah* for its heroes, its principle sentiment should be the pathetic (*Karuna*), and its form (*Srishti*) should transgress (*Utkranta*) the usual rules, e.g. *Sarmishthayati*, *Karunakandala*, *Gangabhagiratha*, *Saktu amanna*

9 VITHI, in some act, is so called because it forms a kind of garland (*Vithi*) of various sentiments, and is supposed to contain thirteen members (*Anga*) or peculiar properties, e.g. *Maahavi Indulekha*,<sup>1</sup> *Malatika*, *Vaknlavithika* and *Kamadatta*,<sup>2</sup> and *Premabhirama* of *Ravipati Tripuranataka*

10 PRĀHASANA, properly in one act, is a sort of farce representing reprobate characters (*Vindya*) and the story is invented by the poet, the principal sentiment being the comic (*Hasya*), it may be either pure (*Suddha*), of which the *Kandarpakeh*, 'love-sports,' is an example,

1 Mentioned by Bhūrūpamīśa in his commentary on *Dāśarupa*

2 The original is lost, but there is the Telugu Translation *Kridābhīrīmam* of Vallabha. See Andhra *Sah. Par. Patrakā*, II. 389 and *Bharat* (1927), 21.

or mixed (*Sankirna*), like the *Dhurtacarita* ‘adventures of a rogue, or it may represent characters transformed (*Vikrita*) by various disguises’

B The eighteen Upa rupakas’ names are as follows :—

1 नाटिका, which is of two kinds, *Natika* pure, and *Prakaramaka* differing little from the *Nataka* and *Prakarana* e.g *Ratnavah*

2 श्रोटक, in five, seven, eight, or nine acts, the plot should be founded on the story of a demi-god, and the *Vidushaka* or ‘Jesting Brahman’ should be introduced into every act e.g *Vikramorvasi*, *Stambhuśārambhaka*, *Maṭalekhā*, *Menakānāhusa*

- 3 गोष्ठी, e.g *Raiyatamadanikā*
- 4 सदृक्, e.g *Ānandasundarī*, *Karpūramanjari*
- 5 वात्यरात्रक, e.g *Narmavaṭī*, *Vilāsavaṭī*
- 6 प्रस्थान, e.g *Śrṅgāraṭilaka*
- 7 उडाप्य, e.g *Devimahādeva* (*Devimahodaya?*), *Udāttakunjara*
- 8 कन्ध वात्र, e.g *Gaudavijaya*, *Sugrīvakelana*, *Yādavodaya*
- 9 त्रेषुण, e.g *Tripuramardana*, *Nṛsimhvijaya*, *Vālivadha*
10. रासक, e.g *Menakāhūṭa*
- 11 सङ्खापक, e.g *Māyākāpālikā*
- 12 श्रीगदित, e.g *Rāmānanda*, *Kridārasāṭala*
- 13 चिल्वक, e.g *Kanakavatīmādhava*
- 14 विलासिका
15. दुर्मिष्टिका, e.g *Bindumatī*
16. प्रकरणी.
- 17 हर्षीस, e.g *Kelvaraivaṭaka*
- 18 माणिका, e.g *Vināvaṭī*, *Kāmaḍatī*, *Dānakelikamudi*.

#### SARADATANAYA ADDS NEW CLASSES OF UPARUPAKAS

- 19 पारिजातलता, e.g *Gangāṭarangikā*.
- 20 कल्पवल्ली, e.g *Mānikyavallilikā*
- 21 डौबिका, e.g *Guṇamālā*, *Cūḍāmaṇi*
22. माण, e.g *Nandimati*, *Śrṅgāramanjari*

These examples are mentioned in *Abhinavabhāraṭī* (AB), *Sarasvatī-kanthābharaṇa* (SK), *Śrṅgāraprākāṣa* (SP), *Dasārīpa* (DR) and *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* (ND) and are mostly known only by name.”

564. *Harsa*,<sup>1</sup> very likely Sri Harṣadeva, King of Ujjain, lived about the 6th century B C and commented on Bharata's Nātyasāstra. Sāradātanaya quotes his classification.

नाट्यवेद विधायादौ क्रषीनाह पितामह ।  
धर्मादिसाधन नाट्य सर्वदु खापनोदनम् ।  
आसेवच्च तद्वयस्तस्योत्थान तु नाटकम् ।  
दिव्यमातुषसयोगो यत्राङ्कैरविदूषकै ।  
तदेव तोटक मेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक् ॥

*Bhāvapratkāsa*, Baroda Edn p 238

565 Subandhu was an ancient play-wright and rhetorician. According to Sāradātanaya he divides nātaka into five kinds, Pūrṇa, Prasānta, Bhāsvara, Lalīṭa and Samagra.

सुबन्धुर्नाटकस्यापि लक्षणं प्राह पञ्चधा ।  
पूर्णं चैव प्रशान्तं च भास्वरं ललितं तथा ॥  
समग्रभिति विहेया नाटके पञ्च जातय । (*Ibid* 238)

As an example of Samagranātaka i.e., in the fullest form, he mentions Kṛtyārāvata (now lost) and names such a play Nṛttapāra (or Nātyapāra). To illustrate this class Subandhu wrote a play Vāsavaḍatīṭṭā-nātyapāra obviously on the story of Vastarāja and Vāsavadatīṭṭā. It is this Subandhu that is alluded to by Dandin thus

सुबन्धु किल निष्कान्तो विन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।  
वत्सराजो ॥

*Avantiśundarikathā*

It is quite likely that Dandin's verse

मृतेति प्रेलं संगन्तु यथा भे मरणं स्मृतम् ।  
सैषावन्ती यथा लब्धा कथमन्त्रै जन्मनि ॥

is taken from Nātyapāra

Vāmana (*KSV*, III 21) quotes a verse in part  
सामिप्रायत्वं यथा —

सीर्वं तपति चन्द्रशुरेतत्त्वयः चन्द्रप्रकाशो युक्तः ।  
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतजिग्या दिष्टक्षा कुतार्थेश्वरः ॥  
आश्रयः कृतजिग्यादिष्टक्षा च सुबन्धुसारस्योपस्थेष्ठ वरस्त्वात् सामिप्रायत्वम् ।

1. He was older than Bāṇadeva.

2. The word Nātyaqhāra, as till recently read, is an error for Nātyapāra.

3. The reading Vasubandhu is obviously wrong and the manuscript No 4/B 820 of the Oriented Manuscripts Library, Madras, gives the reading Subandhu only. See Gangaswami Sarasvati, *Subandhu or Vasubandhu* (JMS).

Abhinavagupta (*AB*, XXII) thus comments on *Nātyāyita* which he says elsewhere is a synonym of *Nṛtīpāra* or *Nātyapāra*<sup>1</sup>

(a) समे सप्तान्तर तत्राप्यन्यत्, सस्यान्तरमित्यादिन्यायेन वा भवत्येकसप्तायितवृत्ता वा सर्वथा तत्त्वायायितम् । तत्रात्य बहुतरव्यापिगो बहुगर्भसप्तायिततुल्यस्य नाव्यायितस्योदाहरण महाकविसुबन्धुनिबद्धो वासवदत्तानाव्यपाराल्य (धाराल्य is a clerical error) समस्त एव प्रयोग । तत्र हि बिन्दुसार प्रयोज्यवस्तुक उदयनन्तरिते सामाजिकीकृत, असावप्युदयनो वासवदत्ताचेष्टिते ।

एष चार्थ—स्त्रिमन् सूत्रस्तपके दृष्टे सुक्षानो भवति । अतिवैतत्यभयात् न प्रदर्शितः, एकस्तु प्रदेश उदाहिते । तत्र हुदयने सामाजिकीकृते सूत्रधारप्रयोग “तत्र सुचरितैरेष जयति” इति । तत्र उदयन—“कुतो मम सुचरितानि” इति साङ्ग विलपति—

पृष्ठम् किं कटकपिङ्गलपालकैस्तै भक्तोऽहमप्युदयन सुतलालभीय ।

यौगन्धरायण ममान्य राजपुत्रो हा हर्षरक्षित गतस्त्वमप्रमाव ॥ XXII 45

(b) नाव्यायित च वासवदत्तानाव्यपारे प्रतिपद दश्यते । XXII 47

(c) सविर्गेहणं वा सनिवन्धनवन्धनमिति । यथा वासवदत्तानृतपारे वत्सराजस्य सन्धि । XVIII 21 sl

Bindusāra, son of Candragupta Maurya, ruled according to the Purāṇas in 1501-1473 BC and according to modern historians in 4th century BC<sup>2</sup>

1. In the same work and in a different chapter Abhinava speaks of Vāsavadattā *nṛtīpāra* only as a synonym “In the fourth and fifth quotations *nṛtīpāra* and *nātyapāra* are mentioned to show that in *nātyāyita* characters on the stage in one drama are represented to sit as audience in some other sub-drama exhibited in the development of the main theme as in the Bālārāmāyaṇa of Rājasekhara. In *Nātyapāra* of Subandhu the main character, the hero Udayana, is made to witness the dramatic performance of his own story played by Bindusāra. When the latter extols the glorious deeds of Udayana the hero suddenly forgets his being the audience of the drama and exclaims his own miserable state of separation from Vāsavadattā before her mother.”

2. On this controversy, see Introduction. On the birth of Bindusāra, Buddhistic works give a story “Hearing an attempt at poisoning by his enemies, Cānakya fed him with small doses of poison without his knowledge, so as to keep him immune of poison. One day, the Queen who was in full pregnancy, and within 7 days of delivery was about to swallow the food sent to the king with whom she was about to partake the food containing poison. As the child in the womb would be destroyed by the effects of poison, if the Queen swallowed the food of which a morsel was put into her mouth, Cānakya who only entered the apartment just then, cut the head of the Queen by a sword before she swallowed the morsel. The child was removed from the womb, and kept in the stomach of goats successively for seven days to complete the full term of gestation. The child was then delivered to a female slave and was nourished and reared by her. In consequence of the spot left on the person of the child by the blood of goats, he was called Bindusāra.”

It is not unlikely it was this Subandhu that wrote an Ākhyāyikā Vāsavadaṭṭā that is instanced by Paṭanjali.<sup>1</sup>

**566** Rāmila and Saumila were probably brothers. The works of Rāmila and Saumila are not now available. Rājasekhara calls them the joint authors of Śūdrakakaṭṭā.

तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ वन्धौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।  
योद्दीपो काव्यमासीदधैनारीश्वरोपमम् ॥

They are Kaviputra mentioned by Kālidāsa.<sup>2</sup>

In Āḍībodhendrasarasaṭṭī's commentary on Gururāṭnamālikā, there is a quotation for Rāmila's play Maniprabhā.

There it is said that these poets were contemporaries of Arbhaka-Sāṅkara the 20th in descent from Ādi Sāṅkara in the Kāmakoti-peetha.

विद्याधिप रामिलारुय स्त्रैवाश्वीयशालाविचारकस्तादात्तिकचिबुधजनमाननीय-  
तद्विरुद्वाही मणिप्रभाकारो मैथिल इति लक्ष्यम् ॥

अतातुसन्धेय यत्किल मणिप्रभाय—

सूत्रधार । आर्ये, अवधीयताथ ।

मङ्ग चन्दनमादिन प्रणतयो स्फूर्जद्रसां साहिर्तीं  
हर्षस्त्रीणिपतेश्च हर्षमतुल दृष्टैव ये तानिषु ।  
धर्मस्तान् गुरुशङ्करेन्द्रयमिनश्चेस्मरत्रामिल  
प्राणैषित्स मणिप्रभां प्रथयितु भक्तेगृहोर्गैरवम् ॥

नटी—अञ्जउत्त कोसों च दणमहीके पणदाको अहरिसमहीवालोके शा सुगर्हीतणामहे  
असरिदा इति सकितिञ्च इशुसपदेण समचे अक इणा ।

सूत्रधार —न जानासि ?

मूकामोऽपि जगदशुरो करुणया विद्याघनस्याप्तवा-  
गाचार्योऽस्ति हि शङ्करेन्द्रविशदस्तर्वशपीठाधिप ।  
अर्चाकिङ्करमातुगुप्तकवितागर्वस्य निर्वासना-  
याद्यायोश्वपनागपावपि कवी रामिलमेदू क्षणात् ॥<sup>3</sup>

(Gururāṭnamālikā, p 53)

1. See para 470 *supra*.

2. There is a Śūdrakakaṭṭā of Pancasikha mentioned in KS of Hemacandra (p 285) under their joint names. Vallabhaṭṭa quotes

शूद्राचार्यं कुञ्चितान्ता कटाक्षा लिङ्गा हावा लञ्जितान्ताय हासा ।

लीलामन्द प्रस्थित च स्थित च झीणामेतद्भूषण चायुध च ॥

3. There it is said that Rāmila and Mentha was the keepers of the horses and elephants of Emperor Harṣa. See para 87 *supra*, where Mentha's verse about this Sāṅkara is quoted.

किन्द्व—

आचार्येणादिजन्मार्थ्यतिथिषु विनतो वैनतेयशकाहे  
करसीरानेव काव्य किमपि कवयितुर्देत्वानप्रभर्तम् ।  
रक्षादत्तप्रहृष्टप्रकृतिकृतिशताभ्मातहृष्टसहृष्ट  
कणान्यर्णवतीर्णं कथमथतदनो विक्रमी विक्रमार्क ॥

इत्यादिना

यच्च हृष्टग्रीवघेऽपि —

स्थातश्रीशङ्करेन्द्रप्रचुरतरकृपालध्यसाहित्यविषयं  
सद्यसाधुतिसमोदयपि परकवितामर्षिणो मातुरुप्तात् ।  
प्रौढः प्रीढोत्तिरुद्दैनिविडरसभरैरुम्भनैर्यत्र भेद-  
मेंद्रुमोदादिनादीद्युषवदनवध वाग्म्यकुण्ठस्स मेण्ठ ॥

इति च प्रपञ्चितम् ।<sup>1</sup>

**567. Bhāsa** Antiquity of Bhāsa goes to an age so removed that he has been called a Muni: Kālidāsa refers to the glory of ancient poets like Bhāsa, Saumila, Kaviputru<sup>2</sup> &c, and contrasts his own work as new<sup>3</sup>. Bāna describes the fame attained by Bhāsa by his dramas commenced by Sūtradhāra, and displaying various characters<sup>4</sup>. Dandin praises the scientific perfection of his dramas which are said to be the embodiment of his glory<sup>5</sup>. Jayadeva calls Bhāsa, the Smile of Sarasvatī<sup>6</sup>. Rājasekhara mentions a tradition that the merit of Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatā was manifest, when even fire would not consume it<sup>7</sup>.

1 There it is said Mukārbhaka Śankara died in 359 Śaka (437 A.D.) See para 87 *supra*

2 प्रथितयशसा भाससौमिलक्ष्मिपुत्रादीनां । Mālavikāgnimitra, Prologue.

3 पुराणगित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्य नवमिलवद्यम् । Śākuntalā, Prologue

4 सूतधारकृतारम्भैर्नार्तकैर्बृहभूमिकै । सपताकैर्यशो लेखे भासो देवकुलैरित्र ।

Harsacarita, Int. Verse 16

5. सुविभक्तमुखाध्वैर्व्यतलक्षणदृचिभिः । परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासशरीरैरित्व नाटकै ॥

Avantisundarīkaṭhā, Int.

6 हासोभास Prasannarājyava, I

7 Compare 14, XLII, 52.

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छैकै क्षिपते परीक्षितुम् !

स्वप्नवासवदत्तस दाहकोऽप्यूष पावक ॥

Abhinavagupta mentions Bhāsa<sup>1</sup> and quotes a verse from a drama of which the theme was the story of Rāma.<sup>2</sup> Somadeva quotes two verses under Bhāsa's name.<sup>3</sup> The anthologies have preserved some verses too.<sup>4</sup> Bhāsa's language possessed a peculiar grace, his dramas were well designed and variety of characters was their feature and in versatility of imagery and originality of conception, he attained a name.

**568** The antiquity of time attributed to Bhāsa is seen from a tradition which represents Bhāsa as a rival of Vyāsa and his poem Viśpudharma, as having triumphed over Vyāsa's work of the same name.<sup>5</sup> T S Narayanāśastry, in his introduction to Raṭṇāvalī propounded the opinion that Bhāsa was the later name of Dhāvaka alias Ghatakarpara and he lived in the days of Śrī Harṣa Vikramaditya who flourished according to him in the beginning of the 6th century B C. He relied

1 महाकविना भासेनाऽपि स्वग्रन्थे उक्तं ।

त्रेतायुगं ततिह हृतं न मैथिली सा रामस्य रागपद्मी पृष्ठु शास्य चेत् ।

लङ्घा जनस्तु यदि रावणमस्य कायं प्रोत्कृत्य तश्च तिलघो न वित्तितगामी ॥

Abhinavabharati, Adhy VI.

2. This verse is not found in the publication of the Trivandrum Sanscrit series.

3 पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुखसीक्षणीयं भ्रात्स्त्वमावललितो विकटश्च वेषं ।

येनेदभीरुद्धमदश्यत मोक्षकर्मं (वस्त्रं) दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान्स्तु पिनाकपाणि ॥

Yāstikālakacampu.

4 Peterson Subh 80—1

यदपि विद्युधिस्तिसन्धोरत् । कथचिद्दुपार्जित तदपि सकलं चारु छीणा मुखेतु विलोक्यते ।

सुरसुमनसश्वासामोदे (शशी) च क्षोलयोरमृतमधरे तिर्यग्मूते विष च विलोक्ने ॥

5 In Prthvirājavyākya Mahākavya written by Jayānaka in 12th century A D, there is a verse,

सत्काव्यसहारविधौ स्तुलानां दीप्तानि वहेरपि भानसानि ।

भासस्य काव्यं स्तु विष्णुष्वर्गान् (?) सोऽन्याननात्पारदक्ष्युमेत्त ॥

In commenting on this verse Jonarāja says that to test the relative merits of Bhāsa and Vyāsa, who were then rivalling, one work of each was thrown into the fire and fire did not consume the excellent work of Bhāsa (भासमूर्ते काव्य) called Viśpudharma (See IA XLII, 528) In fact there are now two works of this name, both professing to be Purānas (See IA, LIX, 408) It is probably on account of this tradition that Vākpati in his Gaudavālī has भासान्वित जलमित्ते (V 80) "Bhāsa, friend of fire" T Ganapati Sastry (Int to Pratimānātaka p 10, note) ignores the reference in the above verse to a Kāvya called Viśpudharma, and says विष्णुष्वर्गप्रतिपादकानश्चानग्निने दक्ष्यतात् ।

on passages in Rājasekhara's *Kavivimarśa* and Hemacandra's *Kavyānusāsana*<sup>1</sup> to say that Dhāvaka was a washerman by birth and he composed a number of dramas among which he sold one to King Harsa, it is this sale that is mentioned in Mammata's *Kāvyaprakāsa*. It is unfortunate that *Kavivimarśa* is not anywhere traceable and in *Kavyānusāsana* now in print, the passage cannot be discovered.

Rājasekhara in his *Kavivimarsa* wrote

मासो रामिल्सौभिलौ वरसचिश्श्रीसाहसाङ्ग कवि  
मेण्ठो मारविकालिदासतरलास्कन्धस्तुन्धुश्च य ।  
दण्डी बाणदिवाकरौ गणपति कान्तश्च रत्नाकर.  
सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती भगवती के तस्य सर्वे वयम् ॥  
कारण तु कवित्वस्य न सम्पन्न कुलीनता ।  
धावकेऽपि हि यद्वासः कवीनामाग्रिमो भवत् ॥  
आदौ मासेन रचिता नाटिका प्रियदर्शिका ।  
निरीर्घ्यस्य रसाश्च स्य कस्य न प्रियदर्शना ॥  
तस्य रत्नावली तून रत्नमालेव राजते ।  
दक्षरूपककामिन्या वक्षस्यत्यन्तशोभना ॥  
मागानन्दं समालोक्य यस्य श्रीहर्षीविकम ।  
श्रीमन्दानन्दमरितस्संसभ्यमकरोत्कावेश ॥  
उदात्तराववं तूनमुदात्तरसगुणिभतम् ।  
यद्वीक्ष्य मवभूत्याथा प्राणिन्युर्नाटिकानि वै ॥  
शोकपूर्यवसानानासा नवाङ्गा किरणावली ।  
माकन्दस्येव कसात् प्रददाति न निर्वृतिम् ॥  
मासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकै शिष्टे परीशिष्टुम् ।  
सञ्जवाससदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभ्युज पावक. ॥

And Hemacandra in *Kāvyānusāsana* (commentary on Dandin's *Kavībhāṣya*)

सम्प्रति परो काषायारुदेनापि भासेन भूतपूर्वी स्फीयदशा न विस्मृता ।  
यतोऽनेन पूर्वचरितं घटकर्पेणोदकबैहनमेव प्रतिक्षातम् ।  
प्रतिक्षां वेमामसहमानां परे कवयं परिहसितुमनसो विकमार्कसम्यमेन  
भासि तज्जातिस्मारकघटकपैरनाम्ना व्यबन्धु ।  
क्रमेण च स पृथक् व्यपदेशो भासमहाकवेस्तुप्रासिद्धसम्यक् ॥

1. See Int to Ray's *Hdn. of Rajnāvali*,

Elsewhere the following verse is quoted as Bhāsa's

एको हि दोषो गुणसंविपाते निमज्जतीन्दो किरणेण्विवाङ्क ।  
तून न दृष्ट कविनापि तेन दारिद्र्यदोषो गुणराशिनाशी ॥

569. T.S NARAYANA SASTRI, High Court Vakil, Madras, was an ardent student of Sanskrit literature and his Age of Sankara in which he attempted to collect the results of his research was left unfinished owing to his premature demise. He thus summed up his conclusions

- (i) That a comparative study of works akin to the plays of Sri Harsha shows (a) that there is a close identity of plot between the Malavikagnimitra on the one hand and the Ratnavali on the other and that if the Malavikagnimitra were the earlier, it is difficult to explain how the other two ever came to be written, (b) that 'Sri Harsha' was not as a matter of fact indebted to Kalidasa for his plots, but to certain accounts and traditions about historical personages, which were afterwards embodied in the Brihatkatha of Gunadhyā and that his plays follow a certain order of sequence and had their origin in connection with certain popular historical characters, (c) that Kalidasa in his Malavikagnimitra and nowhere else makes reference to poets before him, and that the manner of such reference, coupled with his allusion to the tales of Udayana in his Meghaduta, can have meaning only when taken as applying to writers whom he was in some way trying to excel,
- (ii) That Bhāsa is mentioned by a long list of eminent writers as one of the greatest of Sanskrit poets, as a dramatist of the highest reputation and as the author of the Ratnavali, Priyadarśika and Nagananda and a host of other plays,
- (iii) That by 'Sri Harsha' is meant Sri Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjain, not Harshavardhana of Kanouj, and that it is by identifying the former with the latter that scholars have fallen into the great error of ascribing the plays in question either to Bana or to some other poet of Harshavardhana's court,
- (iv) That this Sri Harsha must have lived in the 6th century B.C. as borne out by a host of references to him in our ancient works.<sup>1</sup>

1. For a criticism of these views by R.V Krishnamacharya, see his Introduction to Priyadarśika, when the arguments, are elaborately set out in lucid Sanskrit prose. See also S. P. Ray's Int to Ratnavali.

**570** It was in the year 1910 that Mahamahopadhyaya T Ganapathi Sastri of Travancore discovered a collection of 13 plays,<sup>1</sup> with a similarity of expression and construction and declared that they were Bhasa's composition.<sup>2</sup> In his introduction to *Svapnavasavadatta* he says "it is usual in Natakas to begin with Nandi and then to state नान्धन्ते सूतवारः: But the Natakas in this collection as a rule begin with the stage direction नान्धन्ते तत् प्रविश्यति सूतवारः and then the *Mangala Sloka* is introduced Again instead of the word Prastavana these Natakas use the word Sthapana Thirdly, in the Natakas of Sudraka, Kalidasa and others, in the Prastavana mention is made of the name of the author and of his works and in some instances in terms of praise But in the plays before us in the Sthapana, not even the name is brought in, either of the works or of the author<sup>3</sup> In the Bharatavakya or the closing sentence of everyone of these plays, invariably occurs the

1 Mahalinga Sastri has written a fine prose summary of the story of these plays, Printed, Madras. For an English translation of these plays, see edition by Ashtakar & Co, Poona

2 These arguments have been thus summaries by R Vasudevasarma in the *Hindu*, 2nd Feby 1937, where he answers objections to the view

(1) That there is in these plays discernible a distinct departure from the rules of dramaturgy as laid down by Bharata in making his stage manager enter after the "nandi" or the benedictory invocatory song, in the non mention of the name of the author, in calling the prologue a "sthapana" and not a "prastavana", in representing death, sleep and fight on the stage and in closing without a Bharatavakya pronounced by one of the characters, all leading to the inference that these plays belonged to Pre-Bharatan days

(2) That Bhatta Bana, Bhamaha, Vamana and other ancient rhetoricians have referred to him in unmistakable terms as a poet of ancient renown

(3) That Kautilya quoted him, thus fixing him up to the pre-Kautilyan age

(4) That Bhasa uses no Panonian archaic forms, arguing a pre Panonian date

(5) That he was a Puranamuni according to Kalidasa and Jonaraja

(6) And that by virtue of his writings being characterized by an intensity of rasa and by a marvellously exquisite flow of language, he was comparable to Valmiki and Vyasa and so was possibly contemporaneous with them

*Sakuntalācaraṇī* an elaborate commentary on *Sakuntalā* an unknown author (about 800 years old) mentions all these plays, but without the author's names, as well as *Traivikrama*, *Vatsarajacarita*, *Vināvāsavadatta* &c (See Kuppusamisastri's Rep. (1919) 41.

3 But these three characteristics are found in some other plays discovered later viz., *Bhagadṛṣṭjuka*, *Traivikrama*, *Nalābhvyudaya*, *Vipāvaravadājita* (whose last benedictory verse mentions King Rāmasvarma), *Pāḍmaprabhrja*, *Ubhayābhishikṣikā*, *Dhurjavitasamvāda* and a Bhāna nicknamed *Kundāyappali Bhāna*.

player "May our greatest of kings or may our King rule the land"<sup>1</sup> In all these plays there is in the end a sentence announcing such and such a Nataka is finished and the name of the work is given .....

Besides a structural similarity, these plays also contain several passages in common e.g., एवमार्यमित्रान् विज्ञापयामि, अये कि तु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शृण्व इव श्रूयते ।<sup>2</sup> The Sloka लिप्पतीव तमोऽज्ञानि etc., appears in the 1st Act both of Carudatta and Bālacariṇa. The passage कि वश्यतीति हृदय परिशक्ति मे occurs in the 6th Act of Svapnanataka and also in the 4th Act of Abhiṣekanātaka. The part धर्मस्तेहान्तरे न्यस्ता of a sloka is seen in both Praṭīmā and Abhiṣekanātaka. Many more points of similarity of this kind can be observed in the plays.

**571** The common characteristics of the technique in these plays are not as pointed out in the notes below peculiarly their own and cannot by themselves lead to the conclusion that they are all the works of the same author. But much must be said in regard to the six plays which contain the expression Rājasimha in the ending verse and probably of Praṭīmā also, where that ending verse is almost of a similar form and which contains a passage common with Abhiṣekanātaka,<sup>3</sup> that they may be fathered on the same poet and if one of them, Svapnanātaka, is definitely known to be the work of Bhāsa, the other works may also be ascribed to him. But to say the same of other plays in the group, we shall have to await further evidence.

- 1      इमा सागरपर्यन्तां हि मवद्विन्यमेवलाभ ।  
महीमेकातपत्राङ्कां राजसिंहं प्रशास्तु न ॥
- 2      यथा रामश्च जानक्या बन्धुमिश्रं समागतं ।  
तया लक्ष्म्या समायुक्तो राजा भूमि प्रशास्तु न ॥

The former is found at the end of Svapnāvāsavadatta, Bālacariṇa and Duṭṭavākya and a slight modification of it but containing the word Rājasimha is found at the end of Praṭīmā, Avimāraka Abhiṣekha and Pāncarāṭṇa.

These verses are not found at the end of Duṭṭaghāṭakas, Madhyamavyāyoga, Kārgabhbāra and Urubhangā. The latter is found only in Praṭīmā. Cārudatta as found is incomplete though the manuscript says it is finished.

2 But this very expression is used in Ubhayābhāsārikā, Pāṭṭadādīṭaka and Ascarayacudāmaṇi.

8. This when compared with the Nāndī of the Anṭarāntaka in Viṇāvāsavadatta, would lead to an inference that the latter is a work of Bhāsa, for it contains besides other characteristics of technique referred to by T. Ganapatiśastri. But Viṇāvāsavadatta is the work of Śudraka (For this, see under Śudraka).

T Ganapatisastri considers that Bhāṣa refers to the Nyāyasātra of Medhātiḥī, Pāṇini,<sup>1</sup> an ancient sage prior to Bharata,<sup>2</sup> Kautilya,<sup>3</sup> Guṇḍhya,<sup>4</sup> Bhāmaha<sup>5</sup> and Śūdraka, and GIORNALE on these considerations places him not later than the 5th century B.C.<sup>6</sup>

On the authenticity of this attribution of authorship opinion is divided<sup>7</sup>

1 See Int to Praṭīmānātaka, xxv-xxvi Bhāṣa's verse of unpaninean words is discussed

2 Ibid xxxi-iii, where it is said that Bhāṣa does not follow Bharata's rules of dramatizing, and must have followed earlier works of Kṛṣṇava etc On this simple question scholars differ S Levi says "the Trivandrum Bhāṣa conforms scrupulously to the classical rules of the Indian Aristotle Bharata" (Vasavadatta, par Albert Baston, Preface iii) and Haraprasadsastri (JASB, 1912) says "Bhāṣa (of the Trivandrum series) disregards altogether the rules of drama hereby laid down in Bharata"

3 T Ganapatisastri says that the verse नव शराव &c, found in the fourth act of Praṭīgñayangundharāyana is quoted by Kautilya in his Arthaśāstra (See Int to Svapnavasavadatta, xxvii) But in the commentary on Arthaśāstra by Mādhabamīśra, it is stated that it is a quotation from Manusmṛti so that it would follow that the author borrowed the verse from the same source, if Bhāṣa had not borrowed it from Kautilya

4 According to T Ganapatisastri, Guṇḍhya lived in the 1st century A.D. (I.e. xxvii)

5. According to T Ganapatisastri, Bhāmaha lived not later than 3rd or 2nd century B.C (I.e xxvii).

6 Lesny (ZDMG, 1918, 208) and Winternitz (Festschrift für Ernst Kuhn, S. 301) and Banerjee (JRAS, 1921, 368) on their examination of the Prakrit passages conclude that these plays are older than Kalidasa (5th century A.D.), but younger than Aśvaghoṣa (3rd century A.D.) Keith (SD, 98) gives 300 A.D Sukthankar (JAOS, XL, 241, XII, 107) says Bhāṣa was later than Pāṇini and discusses the prakrit passages Antiquity of these passages is established also by G Morgenstierne and W Printz (I.c) P Choudhury (Mod. Rev., XIV 882) discusses T Ganapatisastri's views See also Belloni Filippi, Vasavadatta of Bhāṣa (JIOS, XXVII)

7. Jacobi, Vasavadatta, Jolly (Göttingen Nachrichten, 1916, 353), Winternitz (GIL, III 186, 945), Keith (IA, LII, 59, SD, 92-8), M Baston (Tr. of Vasavadatta); Suali (Giornale della Soc. As. Italiana, XXV 111), Pavolini (Ibid) Lesny, (ZDMG, LXXII 208-8) Lindenau, Bhāṣa studien, G. Morgenstierne, Carudaita and Mṛitachakatka, Leipzig, Imots (JA, XIII, 498), F W Thomas, (JRAS, 1922, 79), Printz (Bhāṣa's Prakrit, Franport, A M), and A Banerjee (JRAS, 1921, 367) Among scholars of the negative view are L D BARNETT (JRAS, 1918, 288 1921, 587-9) on the ground that Rajasimha referred to is a Pandyan King Teramaran Rajasimha of 7th century A.D. and that these plays resemble Maṭṭavilāsaprakasana Ramavatarasarma (Śāradā, Allahabad, 1st Part i) says that verses quoted in anthologies are not found in this group and the Nāndī is not dedicated to Śiva, but Bhāṣa was a devotee of Śiva BHATTANATHA SWAMI (IA, XLV 189) for which see note under Svapnavasavadatta post. K GHANASYAM-(Int. to translation of Meghaduta in Gujarat, Bombay) assigns Bhāṣa to the time of

**572** Of these dramas, Pratiñā is Īśāmīga, Pāncarātra is Samavākūra, Urubhangā is Uṭṣṭrikānka, Cārudatta is Prakarana, Dūtavākyā, Madhyama, Kārtabhbāra and Dūta-Ghatotkaca are mostly Vyāyogas, and the rest Nātakas.

**573** *Svapnavasavadatta* is a drama in 91 Acts,<sup>1</sup> and is really a continuation of the *Pratigñāyaugandharājya*. Having heard a prediction from a sage that Udayana Vatavarāja<sup>2</sup> would marry Padmāvatī, sister of King Darsaka and with his help would recover his lost dominions, Udayana's minister Yaugandharājya with intent to hasten the marriage with Padmāvatī resorted to a stratagem. He gave

King Chandragupta in 3rd century B.C. and Kālidāsa to the Court of King Agnimitra about B.C. The Introduction is a valuable essay on Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Stein Konow (JA, XLIII 66) put Bhāsa not before 3rd or 4th century A.D. K. K. PISHARODI denies the correctness of the attribution to Bhāsa and goes to the extent of saying that Bhāsa was the author of a *Svapanavāsavadaṭṭa* and that quotations from *Svapanavāsavadaṭṭa* by various authors not found in the present edition show the existence of these works of that name, *Shams'a Madras*, V 178-186, *Bull of Or. Studies*, III 107.

A. Rangasami Sarasvati (JMy, XIII 686) says that Rājasimha referred was the Pallava King Narasimhavarman II, who was also known as Rājasimha and who lived in the last decade of the 8th century A.D. In his introduction to his own editions of several of these plays, T. Ganapatināstrī has attempted to answer these objections and has done so in a separate monograph.

For a complete discussion of the question, see Jyotisendra Ghatak's *Dramas of Bhasa* (Jubilee Research Prize Thesis, Calcutta University, 1923). For an examination of the criticisms by R. Vasudevaarma and R. Mahadevaarma, see *The Hindu*, Madras, 1927 Feb 2nd and 9th.

Sukthankar, *The Bhasa Riddle*, (JBRAS, I 187), Hiranandasātri, *Bhasa and authorship of the 18 plays*, *Studies in Bhasa* (JAOS, XL Oct., XLI April.), Lespēy, *On the Prakrit of Bhasa* (ZDMG, 1918), C. R. Devadhar, *Plays ascribed to Bhasa* (*Annals*, VII, 29, VIII 17-42), P. V. Kane, *Kundamala and Bhasa* (*Annals*, XI, 155) K. Krishnamacarya, *Bhasa, a study* (C. H. Coll. Mag., Oct. 1917) and *Duryodhana as portrayed by Bhasa* (Collegian, March 1914), R. Vasudevaarma, *On Tamil Influences on Bhasa* (*The Hindu*, 19th June 1928). See also Levi, JA, (1923), 193 and JRAS, (1925) 100, Col. Rev (1924), 280.

1. Ed TSS, Trivandrum by T. Ganapati Sastri with an elaborate introduction and again with a commentary Ed by Lakshmana Sarup, Lahore Translated by K. Pisharodi (JMy X, 184-203, 972), by L. H. Gray (New York), by Baston (Paris) and into verse by Pannalal (Allahabad), and by H. B. Bhide (Allahabad) Ed with translation by C. R. Deoīhar, Bombay. See C. R. Deoīhar, *Svapnavasavadatta*, (*Annals*, VI).

2. P. V. Kane in *Pradyota, Udayana etc.*, in *Jain Legend* (*Annals*, 1920-21, July) collects different allusions of the story of Udayana and the essay is very interesting with the titular verse of Meghadūta

प्रथोतसं प्रियदुहितर वत्सराजोऽन् जहे हैम ताळुमवनमभूतलं तस्थैव राह ।

अग्रोद्भ्रान्तः किल नलगिरिस्तन्मधुत्पात्रं दर्पदिलागन्त्वमयति जनो यत्रै बन्धूनभित्त

out that Udayana's queen Vāsavadattā (daughter of King Mahāsena of Avantī) was lost in a conflagration and disguising her as his sister whose husband was away, he donned the garb of a Muni and approaching Padmāvatī entrusted her to Padmāvatī's care under the pseudonym of Avantikā. Then Udayana married Padmāvatī. Once when asleep Vāsavadattā came to his side and when she touched him he opened his eyes, but before he could get hold of her, she flew away. This made Udayana all the more dejected. As he was diverting himself with a picture of Vāsavadattā in her wedding attire, Padmavatī mentioned to him that in her harem there was a lass called Avantikā quite like the image in the picture, entrusted to her care by a brahmin. Then Vāsavadattā was brought before him and the lovers met once again and all was well when the secret was divulged.

#### 574 References in rhetorical works are as follow

(i) DANDIN in Kāvyāḍarsa (II 280) has

मृतेति त्रेल सङ्गन्तु यथा मे भरण भत्तम् ।  
सैषावन्ती मया लक्ष्मा कथमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥

In commenting on this Tarunavācaspati says

अत्र अवन्तीविवेदे वत्सराजस्य जाता रति ॥

and Bhoja says (SP. Ch X) that Avantī here means Vāsavadatta. In this edition Vāsavadattā is called Avantī or Avantikā by Yaugandharāṇya when she was entrusted to Padmāvatī.

[NB—M R Kavi points out that this verse is found in Tāpasa-vaṭsarāja when Vatsarāja attempted suicide in Yamunā and Vāsavadattā appears then in the scene]

(ii) VAMANA's quotation (V. 1 3)

श्रद्धशाङ्कगौरेण

is found in this edition

(iii) Bhoja writes thus

सप्नवासवदर्चे पशावतीमस्त्वा द्रष्टु राजा समुद्गृहक गत । पशावतीरहित च तदत्त्वलोक्य तस्या एव शयने मुष्पाप, वादसवदत्ताच स्वप्नवदस्प्ने ददर्श । सप्नायभानश्च वासवदत्तामाबमाणे । सप्नशब्देन चेह सापो वा सप्न वा सप्नदर्शन वा सप्नायित वा विवक्षितम् ॥

(Śringāraprakāśa, Chap XII)

This description agrees with the story in the present edition

(iv) ŚARADAIANAYA mentions the sandhis in Svapnavāsavadattā. Of these first verse is found in the Trivandrum edition, but the 2nd and 3rd stages are absent.

प्रशान्तरसभूयिष्ठ प्रशान्त नाम नाटकम् । न्यासो न्याससमुद्देशो बीजोत्तिर्णजदर्शनम् ॥  
 ततोऽनुदिष्टसहारं प्रशान्ते पञ्च सन्धय । सात्वतीवृच्छिरत्रस्यादिति द्रौद्धिणिरब्रवीत् ॥  
 सप्नवासवदत्ताख्यमुदाहरणमत् तु । आच्छिद्य भूपात्सव्यसना देवी मागधिकाकरे ॥  
 न्यस्ता यतस्तो न्यासो मुख्यसन्विधय भवेत् । न्यासस्य च प्रतिमुख समुद्देश उदाहृत ॥  
 पश्चावदा मुख वीक्ष्य विशेषकविभूषितम् । जीवल्यवन्तिकेलेतज्ज्ञात भूमिभुजा यथा ॥  
 उत्कण्ठितेन सोद्देश बीजोत्तिर्णमर्कर्त्तनम् । एहि वासवदत्ते क यासील्यादि च दृश्यते ॥  
 सहावस्थितयोरेकप्राप्त्याऽन्यस्य गवेषणम् । दर्शनस्पर्शनालापैरेतत्स्याद्वीजदर्शनम् ॥  
 विरप्मुन्त कामो वा वीणया प्रतिबोधित । ता तु देवी न पश्यामि यस्या बोधवती मित्रा ॥  
 किं ते भूय श्रिय कुर्यामिति वाग्यत्र नोद्दते । तमनुदिष्टसहारमिलाहुभेरतादय ॥

(v) SARVANANDA (who lived about 1159 A D ) in his commentary on Amarakosa in commenting on the Sloka शृङ्गारवीरकरुणा etc, says that सदिशमात्मसात्कर्तुमुदयनस्य पश्चावतीपरिणयोऽर्थशृङ्गार सप्नवासवदत्ते, तृतीयस्तस्यैव वासवदत्तापरिणय कामशृङ्गार and this description tallies with the story in the present edition Bhaitanāthaswāmi (I.A, XIV 101) thinks that the work referred to by Sarvānanda must be different He finds an allusion to the story in Malaṭī-Mādhava and says that the main theme of Svapnavāsavatā of Bhāsa was the marriage of Vāsavadattā and not Padmāvatī, whereas the present play deals with the events subsequent to the marriage of Vāsavadattā, that is, the marriage of Padmāvati.

The following verse quoted by Abhinavagupta in Dhvanyāloka as from Svapnavāsavatā is not found in the Trivandrum Edn .

सञ्चितपक्षकवाट नयनद्वार सरूपताडेन ।  
 उद्घात्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृह मे नृपतनृजा ॥

Nor is the verse quoted by Rāmacandra in Nātyaśāraṇa :

यथा भासकुटे सप्नवासवदत्ते शेफालिकामण्डपशिलातलमवलोक्य वत्सराज.—

“ पादाकान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोप्य चेद शिलातल ।  
 तून काचिदिहासीना मी हृष्ट्वा सहसा गता ॥

पूर्वार्थ लिङ्गम् । उच्चरार्थमनुमानम् । ”

Nor is the following quoted by Sāgaranandin in Nātakalakṣana-taṭnakosā

नेपय्ये मूलवार.—(उत्सारण क्षुत्वा पठति)—अये ! कथ तपोवनेऽनुत्सारणा । (विलोक्य)-  
 कथ मन्त्री यौगन्धरायणः वत्सराजस्य राज्यप्राप्त्यानयनं कर्तुकाम. पश्चावतीयजनेनोत्सार्वत  
 इति—

**575 Pratignayaugandharayana,**<sup>1</sup> is a Natikā in four Acts. In the course of an elephant hunt Vatsarāja sees a false elephant,<sup>2</sup> prepared and stationed in the forest at the orders of King Pradyota and when unknowingly attempting to tame it with his Vinā, Pradyota's soldiers overpower him, and take him prisoner. Then Pradyota's minister Śālankāyana intervenes and hands him over to Pradyota. Pradyota takes the Vinā and gives it to his daughter Vāsavadatṭā and imprisons Vatsarāja in his own house. Vatsarāja and Vāsavadatṭā meet each other and soon Vatsarāja happy in his love forgets all thought of his own kingdom. Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa, his minister, discovers Vatsarāja's predicament. He arranges by careful espionage that all his army in disguise pervades the capital of Pradyota and himself in a garb of a madman begins to run through the streets, watching an opportunity. At the appointed signal the army rises up and in trying to take away Vatsarāja and Vāsavadatṭā on an elephant by force, Yaugandharāyaṇa is subdued and caught. But Pradyota is pleased with the minister's sagacity and he sends him back home in royal state with Vatsarāja and the princess.

**576 Carudatta** is a fragment in four Acts without the initial or final verses. Carudatṭa, a merchant unprosperous by his generosity, fell in love with a helara Vasantāsena. Pursued by the king's brother-in-law Sambhāna she took refuge in Carudatṭa's house and left her jewels in his care. The jewels were stolen away at night by a thief Sajjalaka in order to purchase the freedom of a slave girl of Vasantāsena. In the morning Carudatṭa offered his wife's necklace to Vasantāsena in lieu of the lost jewels, but Vasantāsena handed the slave girl to Sajjalaka and herself went to Carudatṭa. Here the play

1. Vāmana quotes a line यो भर्तुपिण्डस्य कृते न युद्धति (Adhyaye II). This is found in this drama. In Kumudimahotsava there is reference to the names of Vatsarāja, and his horse Sundarapātala and his servant Kātyāyana.

In the same connection, Pratignayaugandharāyaṇa mentions the name Sundara pātala (page 12).

तदो कीला अमाणोवि आ अलतचन्द्राणुवचिण मुन्द्रपाटेण अस्सेण

2. Bhāmaha (IV, 40) remarks that Vatsarāja could not have been deceived by an artificial elephant and if caught, his life would not have been spared by the enemy. He gives this as an instance of unnaturalness or Nyāyaviroḍha.

सचेतसो वनेमस्य चर्मण निर्मितस्य च । विशेष बेद जालोऽपि कष्टं कि तु कथं तु तत् ॥

3. Ed. TSS, with commentary by T. Ganapatisastri (Trivandrum). Of dramas having similar plots, ore Uḍayanacarīṭa and Viḍavāsavadatṭa. For these analogies, see M. Ramakrishnākavi's introduction to Viḍavāsavadatṭa (Madras).

ends abruptly and "it seems as if Carudatta were accused of theft and that Vasantasena herself is in grave danger of her life"!<sup>1</sup>

**577 Pratimanataka**<sup>2</sup> begins with banishment of Rāma to the woods and the miserable condition of Dasaratha ending in his death Bharata infers the death of his father from the statue of his father erected in the statue house of the family and from this the play takes its name. Bharata then interviews Rāma in the forest and returns back to the capital with his sandals to be crowned in his stead. Then follows the story of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana and the war with Rāvana ending in his destruction and Rāma's return with Sītā to his hermitage, where Bharata and the queens go to receive him and Rāma is crowned on the spot. In this play the author has often copied expressions from Rāmāyana.<sup>3</sup>

1 Edited by T Ganapati Sastri, (TSS) Trivandrum, and again with his own commentary. See K V Vasudevasarma, *The Source of Daridra-Carudatta in The Hindu*, Madras, June 6th, 1928. Vāma in his kāvya-lankarasuṭa (V i. 8) quotes a verse (I 2).

यासी बलिर्भवति मदगृहदेहलीना

which is found in this play. The word Daridra Carudatta is used by Śākara in Mrochakaṭikā (Act I, in his first speech).

अं स्मृतं भया, दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्येद कृपणचेष्टितं पातयिष्यामि

In Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bhāratāṇḍibyasasṭi we have the following references to a drama called Daridra-Carudatta.

1 अनर्थक वचो यत् सप्रलाप इति । परस्परमस्मद् मौर्यादिवशादित्वर्थ , । यथादरिद्र-  
चारुदत्ते शकार । मुण्डि महगन्धम् (Adhyāya XXII)

This passage is found in Mrochakaṭikā, Act I, above verse 35

ii यत् तु देवायत्त फल वर्णयते, तत् कथं न च वर्ण्य, पुरुषकारमात्राभिमानिनां देवमजानाना  
चार्वाकादिमतमेयुवां संदेव बहुमानव्युत्पत्तये हि पुरुषकारोऽप्यफल तदभावोऽपि सफल-  
प्रदर्शनीय , अथ एव दरिद्रचारुदत्तादिरूपकाणि तद्रिष्याणि ॥

(Adhyāya XIX).

2 Ed Trivandrum (TSS) with an elaborate and valuable introduction by T Ganapati Sastri. Translated by Rama Pisharoti with critical notes (JMy, XII 58, 875, XIII 595, XIV 89, XI 858), Ed with translation by S.M. Paranjape, Bombay.

3. Here is a nice description of an identity.

लक्ष्मण.—अये, अयमार्ये राम ! ननु रूपलादश्यम ।

मुखमनुपम त्वार्यस्याम शशाङ्कमनोहरं समं पितृसमं पीनं वक्षस्तुरारिष्ठरक्षतम् ।

द्युतिपरिवृतस्तेजोशाक्षिर्जगत्रियदर्शनो वसपत्तिरथं देवन्द्रो वा स्य मधुसूदन ॥ (IV. 8)

**578 Balacarita<sup>1</sup>** in five acts describes the birth of Kṛṣṇa and his miraculous performances from sucking out of the life of Pūṭanā and the killing of Cāṇūra to the killing of Kāliya and Rābhāsura, the destruction of Kamsa, and the coronation of Ugrasena.

**579 Urubhangā<sup>2</sup>** begins with a prologue describing the actual fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana in which Duryodhana is struck with a mallet on his thigh and falls down disabled. The scene follows in which Dhṛitarāṣṭra and his wife go to see the last dying son and Duryodhana recovers his sense of rectitude and commends a life of friendship. The last scene introduces the furious Asvatthāman<sup>3</sup> and his violent vow to destroy the last scion of the Pāṇḍava race. The play ends with the passing away of Duryodhana in the stage<sup>4</sup> and the renunciation of Dhṛitarāṣṭra.

**580. Pancaratra** The play takes its name from the period of five nights referred to in the plot, which is briefly as follows — “After wandering for twelve years in the forest the Pandavas were living incognito in the thirteenth year. Drona, the family preceptor of the Kurus, knew the reluctance of Duryodhana and others to give a bit of land even, to the Pandavas. Hence he apprehended a fratricidal war. To avoid such a calamity he was looking for an opportune moment to unite the brothers. At the instance of Drona, he (Duryodhana) performed a sacrifice. At the end of the sacrifice he performed his bath and wanted to render Gurudaksina. Drona cleverly demanded half of the kingdom for the Pandavas. Duryodhana assented to it on the condition that Drona would bring within five nights

1. Ed. Trivandrum See Winternitz, ZDMG, LXXIV 125, Lindenau, BS, 22, V Prabhakarasastri, Bharata, IV. 29. Balaçarīṭa quoted by Viśvacātha in Sāhiyadarpana (VI) is a different work and must refer to Rāmāyaṇa, for the verse there quoted उत्साहातिशयं कृत्वा is not found in this play, and that is addressed by Parāśurāma to Rāma.

2. Ed. Trivandrum It is also called Gaḍgāyuddham in some manuscripts

3. Here is Asvatthāman's address to Duryodhana after the hurt,

मोऽकुरुराज ! सयुगे पाण्डुपुत्रेण गदापातकच्चग्रहे ।  
समभूद्धयेनाथ दर्पोऽपि भवते हत ॥

4. Thus he is described

श्रीभारत् सयुगचन्देन रुदिरेणार्द्धालुपिन्दच्छविः ।

भूसर्सप्तण्ठरेणुपाटलमुजो बालब्रत ग्राहितः ।

निमुर्देऽप्युत्तमन्यने क्षितिभरान्मुक्तस्मृतेसामृते-

रात्माप्रिक्षिप्त मोगमर्णवजले आन्तोचितो धामुकिः ॥

the news of the whereabouts of the Pandavas Drona found out Bhima from the news of Kichaka's being slain in secret in the capital of Virata Bhisma induced the Kauravas to carry off the cattle of Virata under the pretext of ministering him for his absenting himself from the sacrifice Thus he located the Pandavas And half the kingdom was given to the Pandavas ”<sup>1</sup>

**581 Rama Datta** Pant's Aparapancarāṭra is based on this play He was professor of Sanskrit in Bareilley college He lived in Almora District in 1861-1928 A D He also wrote Lekhnīkṛpāṇa and Dīpasatāka<sup>2</sup>

**582 Dutavakyam** is an one-Act drama “This is woven from the Mahabharata story of Krisna acting as an ambassador of the Pandavas Kancuki intimated the arrival of Krisna to Duryodhana saying ‘Purushottama is come Just then Duryodhana was holding his ministerial council He corrected Kancuki's language telling him to name Krisna as Kamsabhritya Damodara As an evil omen Duryodhana fell from his seat at the advent of Vasudeva Krisna When Vasudeva was seated in Duryodhana's council hall, he found there a picture of Draupadi's Kesakarsana Vasudeva then demanded the division of the paternal property Duryodhana pointed to Pandu's remaining free from intercourse with females and there was a curse from a sage and refused any division of property Vasudeva also then pointed out that Vicitravirya got Pthisis Pulmonalis and that Dhritarastra was born on Ambika through the agency of Vyasa and that therefore he also, on the same ground as Duryodhana held out,

1 Ed Trivandrum and again with his own commentary and an elaborate Introduction by T Ganapati Sastri As summarised by J Ghatak (lo )

2 Here is a description of prious brahmans

इमेऽनभवन्तो द्विजातय —

राहो वेष्टनपट्टृष्ठृचरणश्लाघ्यप्रभूतश्वाः  
वार्षक्येऽप्यमिवर्णमाननियमास्त्राचायशूरैर्दुर्द्वैः ।  
विप्रा यान्ति व्रय प्रकर्षिणिला यस्तिक्षिपादक्षमाः ॥  
शिष्यस्कन्धनिवेशितान्वितकरा जीर्णं गजेन्द्रः ॥ ५ ॥

end of Abhimanyu's chariot,

आलम्बितो भ्रमति धावति तेन मृक्तो  
न प्राप्य वर्णयति नेञ्जति विक्रक्तुर्मृ ।  
आसनभूमिचपलं परिवर्तमानं  
बोग्योपदेशमिव तस्य रथः करोति ॥ II, 27

could not claim paternal property. Then Duryodhana tried to use force, when Vasudeva took his Visvarupa, and the former found him everywhere in every possible shape and size. Sudarsana, the discus of Vasudeva, was called in by the latter into action and there came Sudarsana, Kaumodaki, Pancajanya and all other weapons in the train. Duryodhana's fear and bewilderment were highest. Then Vasudeva again cooled down. Just then Dhritarashtra came in on the scene, and fell at the feet of Vasudeva, to atone for the fault of his sons. The Lord Vasudeva complied with his request.<sup>1</sup>

**583 Madhyamavyayogam** "Bhimasena rescues a Brahmin family from the hands of Ghatotkaca." Ghatotkaca and his mother Hidimbi wanted human food and caught sight of a group of brahmins, an old man, his wife and three sons and it was after some discussion arranged to give up the middle son. Just then Bhimasena came on the scene and in the course of the fighting with Ghatotkaca, they recognised each other as father and son, and the victim was rescued.<sup>2</sup>

**584 Karnabharam** begins with the relation by Karna of the story of a curse that just at the moment of need his weapons would prove ineffectual. On his way to battle against Arjuna, Indra encounters him in the garb of a poor brahmin and asks for a gift. Karna with his characteristic generosity promises anything that he desired. Indra asks for his armour and earrings and walks away with the gifts. The play ends with the gift of an invulnerable Sakshi by Indra to Karna in lieu of the extortion he had committed.<sup>3</sup>

1 Ed Trivandram and again with his own commentary by T Ganapati Sastrī As summarised by J Ghatek (i.e.)

2 अये ! अय पाञ्चजन्यं प्राप्त —

कूर्णेन्दुकुन्दकुमुदोदरहारगौरनारायणाननसरोजकृप्रसादः ।

यस्य स्वं प्रलयसागरघोषतुल्यं गर्भा निशम्य निपतन्त्यसुराङ्गनानाम् ॥

अये ! इय कौमोदकी प्राप्ता —

मणिकन्कविचित्रा विसमालोचरीया सूररिपुणगाश्रवसने जाततुण्णा ।

गिरिवरतटरूपा दुर्लिंगारातिरीर्थं बजति नमसि शीघ्र मेवबृन्दान्यगात्रा ॥

3 Ed. Trivandram, and again with his commentary and an introduction by T Ganapati Sastrī. Translated by S P Janvier, Myrore, with introduction and notes. There is a stage adaptation of this drama called Haidimba Vaidagdhyā by T S Narayana Sastrī with an introduction on Bhāṣā and KāMīśā (Madras). Pavolini, (GSAI, XXIX, 1) points out that Bakavāśha of Mahābhārata has been adopted here for the plot.

4. Ed Trivandram It is also called Kavacikundālāharajam in some manuscripts

The nāndī here is fine

पायात्स वोऽसुरवधूदयावसाद् पादो हरे कुवलयामलग्निंल ।  
य ग्रोथतस्मिभुवनैकमणे राज वैद्यर्यसङ्कम इवाम्बररसागरस्य ॥

**585 Duta-Ghatotkacam** When Abhimanyu was killed by the Dhārtarāstras cruelly and illegally, Gāndhārī, Dhṛtarāstra and Dussalā repudiated the conduct of the Kauravas. Ghatotkaca was sent on a mission of peace by the Pāndavas to the Kaurava camp, but he was insulted. Ghatotkaca became defiant. Dhṛtarāstra interferred and appeased him.<sup>1</sup>

**586 Abhishekānatakam** is based on the story of Rāmāyana in Kākīndhā, Sundāra and Yuddha Kāndas. It begins with the fight with Vāli and runs through the plot until the fall of Rāvana and Sītā's ordeal of fire. Then follows a charming eulogy.<sup>2</sup>

**587 Avimarakam** "Viṣṇusena the king of Sauvira, became a candalā for a year, along with his family by the curse of Dīrghaṭapas. While thus living in Kuntibhoja town incognito he killed an Asura named Avi, and became known as *Avi-mūraka*. One day he rescued his maternal uncle's daughter Kurangi from the clutches of an infuriated elephant. On hearing this, the father of Kurangi, Kuntibhoja intended to marry her to Avimāraka, but he could not do so, as Avimāraka was of a very low caste. But Kurangi and Avi met, grew in mutual amour, and the love reached a climax. Through Dhātri's contrivance Avimāraka once entered Kurangi's chamber. Coming out and finding no help out of the difficulty, he resolved to die by throwing himself down from a hill. At that time a Vidyādhara met him, and gave him a ring by whose power he could secretly enjoy the companionship of Kurangi every night with a buffoon of his as his comrade. Kuntibhoja on finding him there became perplexed, and thought of marrying her to Jayavarman, another nephew of his on the sister's side. But Narada intervened and married the couple publicly with celebrations."<sup>3</sup>

1. Ed Trivandrum

2. Ed. Trivandrum and again with his own commentary by T. Ganapati Sastri  
Here is Rāma's news to Sītā about his coronation

सम बाष्पेण पतता तस्मोपरि ममान्यथ ।  
पितुमे क्लेदितौ पादौ ममापि क्लेदित शिर ॥

3. Ed. Trivandrum As summarised by J. Ghatak, JIOS, XXVIII Beccarmi-Creecenzi, *L'Avimarakā dī Bhāṣa* The story is found in Kāṭhāsantīgara. It is alluded to by Vāṭayāyana in Kāmasūtra and in Kaumudi-mahostava

Here is a fine description of night-fall

व्यामृष्टसूर्येतिलको विततोहमालो नष्टातपो मृदुमनोहरशीतवात् ।  
सलीनकामुकजन प्रविकीर्णचोरो वेषान्तर रचयतीव मनुष्यलोक ॥

and of the darknight

तिथिरथिव वहन्ति मार्गनध पुलिननिभा प्रतिभानिति हर्ष्यमाला ।  
तमसि दशादिशो निमग्नरूपा च्छवतरणीय इवायमन्धकार ॥

**588 Dāmaka and Traivikrama** are two peculiar pieces of dramatic composition. There are too short even to last for a half hour and for parity of diction and structure, they have been called ‘Two more dramas of Bhasa’.<sup>1</sup> In DĀMAKA,<sup>2</sup> says V Venkatram Sastri “the sentences, slokas, and even words occurring herein are to be found in the Swapnavasavadatta and other dramas, in the Maitavilasa, Kautilya’s Arthashastra, Kumarasambhava of Kalidasa and in such other books, the only exception being the Bharatavakya at the end of the play.<sup>3</sup> The nandi verse can be seen in the arthashastra,<sup>4</sup> the anustubh in the middle occurs in Kumarasambhava,<sup>5</sup> while in the body of the play there is the drama named Karnabhara of so-called Bhasa.”

Dāmaka is a friend of Karna, king of Anga and acts as a Vidūṣaka. He accompanies Karna to the hermitage of Parasurāma during his sojourn there for learning missiles in archery. He finds himself ill at

शोनकसिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविभारक कुरङ्गीव ।  
आहृति कीर्तिमतीय कान्त कल्याणवर्मणम् ॥

Bhoja, in Śringāraprakāśa mentions the story of Avimāraka (Chapter XXII) अहूल्याविभारकश्चकुन्तलादीन्यन्यानि च सोत्कण्ठानि च कथयेत् ।

In Natākuśa (of Mahima ?) it is stated कुरङ्गीप्रभृतीनां च वृथैवाकल्पना and Kurangi is the heroine of this drama. An account is given in Jayamangala’s commentary on Kāmasutras about the origin of name Avimāraka (Bombay Edn. 275) meaning literally *Killer of Goats*.

1. Paper read at Or Confe., Madras, 1924, by M. R. Kavi
2. Ed, Punjab Sans series, Lahore, with Translation and Introduction by V. Venkataram.

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 8. | सर्वंत्र सम्पदस्सन्तु विपदोऽपि न सन्तु च ।<br>सर्वे सन्तु च सन्तुष्टा असन्तुष्टा न सन्तु च ॥    |
| 4. | सुर्वाण्पुर्ण्या त्रिशार्णी त्रिशृण च कुशब्दनय ।<br>सर्वान् देवांश वन्देऽह वन्देऽह सर्वतपसान् ॥ |
| 5. | कृत्तायशोपर्वतानि विभ्रतो हैमवल्कला ।<br>रत्नाक्षसूत्रा प्रवर्ज्या कल्पवृक्षा इवान्धिता ॥       |

ease in the many royal comforts which he is forced to enjoy in the king's company and is upset, and says

मम बुद्धिश्वेदानीमादर्शमण्डलगतेव छाया वामेषु दक्षिणा, दक्षिणेषु वामा, मवति ।  
अह सलु शृणोमि गन्ध श्रवणाभ्याम् । अन्धकारपूरिताभ्यां नासापुटाभ्यां पश्यामि । रैम्यस-  
गोत्रो ब्रह्मबन्धुरह यस्य कस्य वा भागिनेय खलु भीमसेनस्य घटोत्कच इव ॥

The description of āśrama is picturesque. The main story relates how Karṇa got initiated into the mysteries of the bow on the false representation that he was not a kṣatriya and how when Parāśurāma discovered the fraud by chance he cursed Karṇa "Let your Astras prove futile in need"

This plot appears a complement of Karnabhāra, where Karpa's kundalas were taken away on the pretext of a gift and if clubbed with Karṇabhara may rightly fit in a dramatisation of Mahābhāraṭa

**589 Bodhayana's Bhagavadajjuka**, a prahasana, is so named because Bhagavān namely Parivrāṭ or Yogi and Ajjukā a hataera play the roll. Of the three commentators, one attributes it to Bodhāyana, another to Bharaṭa and a third leaves it anonymous.<sup>1</sup> A poet Bodhāyana is praised by Sukumāra in his Raghuviracarita, a play of the 12th century.<sup>2</sup> In the Māmandur inscription of Mahendravikramavarman dated 610 A.D., Bhagavadajjuka is mentioned.<sup>3</sup> A quotation in it from

1 Ed JBORS Ed by Prabhakarasastrī, Madras Ed by Anujanachan, Sendamangalam, with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa (TC, IV 5492, 4885).

बौद्धायनकविरचिते विश्वाते भगवदज्ञाकामिहिते ।  
अभिनेयेऽतिगमीरे विशदानधुना करोमि गूढाथान् ॥  
यश्चासौ मवभूतिसूक्तिजलधेरथीवयादोगण-  
प्रश्नोमोत्पत्तिभीतिभञ्जनकर्णं व्याख्यातर्णं निर्ममे ।  
तेनेय विषमेतिवृत्तगहने बौद्धायीये पुन  
नात्ये गर्भितशास्त्रजूम्भितवचोगम्भीरयुम्भे कृता ॥

This shows that Nārāyaṇa also wrote commentaries on Bhavabhuṭi's plays.

Another commentary by Acyūṭa's pupil Rāma is yet unprinted. For an anonymous commentary, see DC, XXI 8437.

2 यैर्बौद्धायनवाक्यपृष्ठकलिका कर्णावितसीकृता ।

3 See under Mahendravikramavarman poet.

शाणिष्टस्य —सुणाहु भजवो । “अष्टौ प्रकृतय, षोडश विकारा, आत्मा, पञ्चवयवा, त्रैगुण्यम्, मन, सञ्चार, प्रतिसञ्चारव्य” इति । एव्य हि मध्यवदा जिणेण पिङ्गलपुत्रेषु उत्तम् ।

परिमाजकः—शाणिष्टस्य ! साक्षवसमय पृष्ठ., न शाक्यसमव्य ।

Tatvasamasa, one of the oldest and basic works on Sāṅkhya philosophy and a classification of dramas in an ancient mode<sup>1</sup> amply attest its antiquity<sup>2</sup>. In any view the work must have belonged to about the beginning of the 1st century A D or earlier and never later than the 4th century A D.

This play was "apparently intended by its author to bring into ridicule the doctrines of Buddhism—a method, among others, which the Brahmins employed to stem the rising tide of that religion. The chief characters in the play are a Parivrajaka, or saint, his disciple Sandilya, and a young and beautiful courtesan. The play opens with a discussion between the master and the pupil on Hindu Dharma, but the attention of the latter is all for the young woman in the adjacent garden. As this one-sided discussion proceeds, the woman suddenly falls down dead from snake-bite. The young man is very much affected, but the older one seizes the opportunity to demonstrate to his pupil the powers of Yoga and transfers his soul into the body of the courtesan who presently rises up and continues the philosophic discussion. The beholders are very much surprised, but their astonishment is not diminished when the body of the Parivrajaka, which had fallen lifeless, starts up again and talks and behaves as the courtesan used to do. For, the agents of Yama had made a mistake in taking the Jiva of the girl and had returned to restore it, but finding her body alive, infused her Jiva into the Parivrajaka's frame."

590 To the beginning of the Christian era or earlier must be referred, four bhāṇas edited as a collection, CAJURBHANI. Tradition has coupled them as anterior to Kālidāsa.

वरुचिरी-धरदत्तयामिलकशश्रूकश्च चत्वारः ।

एते माणान् बमणु का शक्ति कालिदासस्य ॥

and it is not unlikely that these four poets are named in order of time. Parity of motifs, likeness in humour and unity in aesthetics display their proximity and intimacy. References to Kāṭṭāntra school of grammar, to Dattaka's Vaiskā sūtras and to the stories of Pāṭalipūṭra justify the inference of their antiquity.

### 1. सूतधार.—

जबैव मे चिन्ता । अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवासु पारेहामुगडिमसभवकारव्यायोगमाणसहापं  
कवीपूत्सुष्ठिकाङ्गभहसनादितु दशजातिषु नाथरसेषु हास्यमेव प्रधानमिति पश्यामि ॥

2. See Asokanath Bhattacharya, *Bhagavadajjuka and some new problems*, (Pr. Or. Conec, 1926), and Prithibhaktisastri, *Bharata*, I 47.

**591 Vararuci** is mentioned as a poet by Paṭanjali. Syāmilaka mentions him as a writer on rhetoric also. In *UBHAYABHISARIKĀ* Vararuci describes the lives of Kuberadatta and Narāyanadatta.<sup>1</sup>

**592 Iavaradatta** or Vireśvaraḍatta wrote bhāṇa *DHURTA-VIĀSAMVADA*. The scene is laid in Patalipuṭra and in the guise of a conversation the poet propounds the tenets of Kāmāśāṭra in all intricacies.<sup>2</sup> The play is quoted by Bhoja and unlike many other plays of the class has a sociological value.<sup>3</sup>

1 S. K. De gives date, 6 and 7th century. Keith places them in 1000 A.D. and later and W. Thomas (Centenary sup to *JRAS*, 126-36, & *JRAS* (1924), 762) in the time of Harṣa of Kanouj.

Here is an instance of fine humour emanating from a damsels and a philosophising lover

किं त्रीषि, वट्पदार्थविहृतैस्सह समाषणमस्माक गुरुमि प्रतिविद्धम् ।  
भगवति युक्तमेवैतत् । कुत्—

द्रव्यं ते तनुरायताक्षिं दयिता रूपादयस्ते गुणा  
सामान्यं तव यौवनं युवजनस्तस्तौति कर्माणि ते ।  
तथ्यार्थं समवायमिष्ठति जनो यस्माद्विद्येषोऽस्ति ते  
योगस्ते तर्हैमनोमिलवित्तमौक्षोऽन्यनिष्टाऽननात् ॥

2 Is he the same as King Iavarasena?

In a Nasik inscription in *Arch. Surv. of Western India*, IV, 103, king Iavarasena, son of Ābhira Śivadasa is mentioned as a ruling sovereign and "is thought to have reigned in the 8th century A.C." "Besides Mahākṣatrapa Iavaradatta is considered on reasonable grounds to have been an Ābhira and his coins show that he reigned sometime between circa 286 and 289 A.C." These dates are surmised by H. C. Chakdalkar in his *Studies in Kamasutra of Vaisayayana* (p. 91). See also Bhagavanlal Indrajī, *The Western Kshatrapas* (*JRAS*, 1890, 659) and H. P. Rouse, *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, xxxii. D. B. Bhandarkar assigns Iavaradatta to A.C. 188-190 (*Arch. Surv. India, Annual Rep.* 1913-4, p. 280), and see also his papers on *The Gurjaras* (*JBRAS*, XXI, 480).

3 For instance here are some questions answered.

- (i) कामयमाना वेश्या कथं विहारेत् ?
- (ii) प्रथमस्तमागम, केळ कारणेन सोऽप्यस्तपादयति ?
- (iii) कथं वेश्यावन्धनं न प्राप्त्वा त्वक्षुक्त ?
- (iv) दर्शनमात्रकैव कथं शक्य, रहोन्नपुण्यम् ?

Here is something laudatory of the society of *Veṣya*.

प्रागरम्य स्थानशोर्यं वचननिषुचतो साडये सत्यदीर्घं  
विस्त्राणं प्रयोद भूरतगुणविहृतं दत्तमारीविषुणिम् ।  
चिक्कादीर्णा कलालाभविगममयौ सौख्यमग्रवं च कामी  
प्राज्ञोलाभिष्ठ वैष्ण वैष्ण एवं वैष्णवस्त्रसंस्कृतोऽपि त्रीति ॥

**593.** **Syamilaka** was the son of Īśvaradatta or Viresvaradatta. He calls himself an Udīcya. His PADATADIIAKA<sup>1</sup> is quoted by Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra, Vallabhadeva and others. It describes the foolish actions of Viśṇunāga an orthodox Brahmin employed as Registrar of Royal Inscriptions and is intended as a satire of urban society. The scene is laid in Sārvabhaumendrapuram in Sourashtra country. Viśṇunāga was hit on his head by a courtesan with her feet<sup>2</sup> and he sought expiation for it from an assembly of debauchees and they prescribe a hit with her other foot as the remedy.<sup>3</sup>

**594** Bāna praises ĀDHYARAJA's plays of variety of characters<sup>4</sup>

आद्यराजकृतोत्साहैन्नटकैर्बहुभूमिकै ।  
जिह्वान्तं कृष्णमणिदं न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥

*Harṣacarita, Int.*

Utsāha is a species of dramatic composition. The commentary says—

उत्साहो नृते ताळविशेषः उदीर्यमाणगीलाधारभूतपदोपचारात्काव्यमुत्साह इति केचित् ।  
यस्म पूर्वं क्षेत्रेनार्थं उपशिष्यते, पश्चात्स एव गदेन वितन्यते, भये वृत्तनिबन्धश्च मवति, सपरिसमाप्तार्थं उत्साहं उच्यते इतन्ये ।

**595** Sudraka, known as Indrāṇigupta, was a Brahmin of the Asmaka country. He was brought up along with a prince called Svāti. Svāti quarrelled with him while at game in boyhood and the ill-feeling was nurtured as he grew in age. Among Śūdraka's friends was one

1. Ed by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras. F. W Thomas, *JRAS*, (1924)

2. Also written as Śyālaka or Syāmala. It is not likely that he was the same as the teacher of Mahimabhatta or Bāpa's paternal uncle's son mentioned in Harṣacarita. Śyāmalika refers to poets Ruḍravarman and Āryarakṣita and Āryaka

3. Viśṇunāga thus deplores the incident

हा विक् पुश्चलि ! अनास्त्वे ! यथा भयास्मिन्—

प्रयतकरया मात्रा यत्नात्प्रबद्धसिञ्चण्डके  
चरणविनते पित्राद्वाते शिरुर्गुणवानिति ।  
सकुम्भलवैश्चान्त्यम्भोमिर्दिजातिभिरुक्षिते  
शिरसि चरणो न्यस्तो गर्वाङ्ग गौरवमीक्षितम् ॥

4. अथ चेदमस्याः प्रायश्चर्तं श्रूयताम्—

तस्मा मदालसविद्यौर्णीतलोचनायाः श्रीण्यपितैककरसहतमेखलायाः ।

सालकेन चरणेन सन्तुपुरेण पश्यत्वयं शिरसि मामदुगृह्णमाणम् ॥

5. For the identification of Ādhyaraja with Harṣadeva, see R. Fischell, *Nachrichten Phil., Lit., Klasse* (1901), 485.

Bandhudatta. When once a Buddhist mendicant Sanghālikā inveigled Śūdraka into a solitary cave and attempted assassination, Śūdraka overpowered the mendicant, killed him and escaped. Then he visited various cities, like Viśāla, Ujjain and Mathurā and his adventures were many. He seized the kingdom of Ujjain and became its king, but in grateful recollection of youthful associations he spared the life of the old king Svāti.<sup>3</sup> He was well versed in the Rk and Sāma Vedas, in mathematics, in the art of dancing girls and in taming elephants. He was a votary of Śiva, who favoured him with his boons. He won many wars and had a glorious reign. He performed Aśwamedha, lived for 100 years and ten days and immolated his frame in fire, having duly appointed his son as sovereign.<sup>4</sup> Śūdraka's name as sovereign and poet has acquired a traditional dignity. His exploits and adventures are as glorious and charming as those attributed to Vikramāditya and universal interest in their narration has contributed to gather around them many tales almost of a legendary nature.

The celebrity of Śūdraka's reign has commended his name into a hereditary appellation in later royal dynasties such as the Ganga and Pallava and in this respect also he bears an analogy to Vikramāditya. Some lexicographers quote Śūdraka, Vikramāditya, Sahasāṅka etc., as synonymous.

**596** Kathāsaritsāgara represents him as king of Śobhāvati and saved from imminent death by a Brahmin who gave up his life to assure the king a life of a hundred years. So says Vetalapancavimsati which calls him King of Vardhamāna, Dásakumaracarita alludes to his adventures in successive incarnations, Harṣacarita makes him an enemy of Candraketu, prince of Cakora, and Kādambarī describes him as the king of Viśāla. Rājatarangini mentions him as the type of firmness and as predecessor of Vikramāditya.<sup>5</sup>

The story of his life has been the theme of several works<sup>6</sup> Śūdrakacarita, an Ākhyāyikā,<sup>7</sup> Śūdrakakaṭhā of Rāmila and Śaumila,<sup>8</sup>

1 This information is given in the prologue to Myōchōkōshū.

2 For the Founder of the Vikramā Era (JMS, XII, 203, XIII 506) A. Bangaswamy Sarasvati, has now propounded the theory that the founder of Vikramāditya era was Śūdraka.

3 Raj III, 343, Lezs, 107

4 ZDMG, XXVIII 117, Keith, SD,

5 Mentioned by Viśidiganghāla in his commentary on Kāvyādarśa

6 Rājāśekhara names it

ताशूद्रकथाकारी वन्धो रामिलसीमिलो ।

यगोदयो काव्यमसीदर्द्देननारीभरोपद् ॥ Sukumuktāvali

Sūdrakakaṭhā (prakrit poem) of Pancaśikha,<sup>1</sup> Vikrāṅga-Śūdraka (a play).<sup>2</sup>

**597** In Viracariṇa,<sup>3</sup> a heroic poem in 30 adhyayas ANANTAKAVI narrates the events supposed to have taken place at Pratisthāna (Paithan) on the Godāvarī in connection with Śālivāhana (the conqueror of Vikramāditya of Ujjain) and his son Śakṭikumāra. Sūdraka is described as the friend and afterwards co-regent of Śālivāhana and of his son and when the latter attempted to disembarass himself of his influence, he was overthrown and Sūdraka himself became king.

**598** When did Sūdraka live? On this question, as usual in the studies of Orientalists, views are various. But the synchronism mentioned in Avantisundarikaṭhā that Sūdraka was a contemporary of Svāti is a new standard for consideration, though this again depends on the unsettled chronology of the Āndhra dynasty of Magadha. According to Purāṇas and Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta, Simhaka Śrī Śāṭakarna, read variously as Sipraka, Kṣipraka, Sīndhuka and Sīsuka founded the dynasty in 2305th year after Yudhisthira's coronation and the dynasty ruled for 506 years. The 24th in the line was Śivasvāti, the son of Mahendrasāṭakarṇi and he reigned for 28 years from 2705th year of Yudhisthira's coronation, that is, 434 to 409 B.C. But Puranic chronology is discredited by modern scholarship! Pargiter who now seems to be the authority whom modern historians adore gives 'on the footing of inscriptions' to Āndhra kings 230 B.C. to 225 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Purāṇas give a list of 32 kings of whom the last that bore a name ending in Svāti was Śivasvāti, the 27th king of the line. Śivasvāti was the earliest bearing the appellation after Hāla, who was first in the line Hāla, alias Śāṭavāhana, inaugura-

1 Mentioned by Bhoja in Śringāraprakāśa (XXVIII)

शुकोजरद्वि शूद्रककथायां हरिमतीवृत्तान्ते यथा । जवदणरव इविण ओ \* \* \*  
And also (ibid XXX.) शूद्रकचरिते

सम्भ्रान्तस्त्वरितमसौ मलिम्लुचानामूर्वीक्षशमितमयोधयद्गृह्ण्यात् ।

कालेऽस्मिन् विनयवती कनेचु चार्ता वार्तायै कमितुरित्सतो जगाम ॥

and by Hemacandra in Kāvyānuśāsana (Bom. Edn. 888)

आनन्दं पञ्चशिखस्य शूद्रककथायाम्

2. Mentioned by Bhoja and Abhinavagupta.

3 See para 203 supra. For an account of Śālivāhana, see also the poem Śāli-vāhanakathā by Śivadasa (para 204 supra).

4 *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age* (Oxford) 85-48, 71, based on H. Lüders, "A list of Brahmin inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A.D." (*BL*, X, App.) and V. Smith, *MH*, 207 217.

ted the Katantra School of grammar and at his instance Sarvavarmān wrote the Katanṭra system for speedy and easy instruction in grammar by the grace of God Kārtikeya If Satavāhana Hāla, the 18th in the Āndhra line of kings, lived according to Pargiter about the beginning of the 1st century A D , it is likely that Śudraka who thought it fit to ridicule Kātanṭra grammar<sup>1</sup> was a contemporary of a king Svāti of Āndhra dynasty , that king was Śivasvāti who ruled about 81 A D Śivasvāti ruled for 28 years On this consideration Śudraka may be assigned to the end of the 1st century A D

According to Purānas, Śudraka ruled in the middle of the 5th century B C as Śivasvāti ruled in 462-434 B C<sup>2</sup> —

	Purānic dates B C	Pargiter's dates A D
1 Simhaka Śri Swatikarna		834-811
2 Kṛṣṇa Śri Śātakarnī	.	811-798
3 Śrimalla Śātakarnī	.	798-788
4 Purpoṭsanga	.. ..	788-765

1 BKR, (1875-6), 74 , Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 81) accepts the date 1st century A D , for the origin of this School

2 See T S Narayanasastri, *Age of Sankara*, Part I D, 92-100, where also, see for sources and varieties of names of kings

Wilson (*Theatre I* 6) gives 190 A D on the authority of Skanda Purāna, which says Śudraka would reign 8298 years after Kali A local Māhātmya of Paithama says he founded a dynasty there in 879 A.D (*Avāč, Sur of Western India*, III, 56). Other accounts make him the first of the Āndhra Kings and say that the name given as Śīruka or Śīrpika elsewhere is an error for Śudraka (JBRAS, XIII 812).

Lassen (*Alt*, II, 965) is uncertain but is inclined towards 150 A D Ferguson (*Indian and Eastern Arch*, 717 , JRAS, (N S), IV, 122) gives 81 B C Wilford (*As Res*, IX 101) gives between 1st and 3rd century B C and Princep (*Useful tables , Arch Sur of Western India*, II, 182) 21 B C , Regnau (Int to Edn., Paris) says Buddhism was then prevalent and assigns between 250-600 A.D rather near the first Weber (IL, 205) refers to the use of the word Nānaka (*Mrsi* I, 28) as a term borrowed from the coins of Kanerki who reigned in 40 A D , and gives Śudraka a subsequent date M. Williams (IW 471) gives 1st century A.D Fischel (Int to Śringaratalaka) bases his view on the verse दिव्यपत्रीव तमोऽप्युत्ति and makes Śudraka contemporary of Dandin and Dandin the real author Mrochakatīkī Macdonell (SL, 361) agrees with Fischell and gives date 5th century A D See also Peterson (*Sabh* 180) Note this verse now found in Bhāsa's Cāndrēśa and Bālaçarita. For criticism of these opinions, see K P. Jayab's Introduction to Mrochakatīkī (Bombay) N Chatterpadhyaya, *Mrochakatīkī, a study*, Bombay and Mysore. M. Nyayaratna, *On the authorship of Mrochakatīkī* (JASB, 193 200). For articles in other languages, see Schuyler, *Bdl*, 88-9 and *Bhārat* (1924), 82 K. O. Mahendale [Date of Śudraka's Mrochakatīkī] assigns Śudraka to the middle of 6th century A D J O Ghatak [Date of Mrochakatīkī from astrological data] fixes the date latest 3rd century B.C

		Purānic dates	Pargiter's dates
		B C	A D
5	Śri Śāṭakarṇi	765—709	
6	Skanda Swāmī	709—691	
7	Lambodara	691—678	
8	Āpiṭaka	678—661	
9	Meghasvāti	661—648	
10	Śāṭasvāti	648—631	
11	Skandasvātikarna	625—618	
12	Mrgendra Svātikarna	618—615	
13	Kunṭala Svātikarna	615—607	
14	Saumya Svātikarna	607—595	
15	Śāṭasvātikarna	595—594	
16	Puloma Śāṭakarṇi or Puloman I	594—558	
17.	Megha Śāṭakarṇi	558—520	
18	Arīṣṭa Śāṭakarnī	520—495	
19	Hāla	495—490	
20	Puriṇdrasena or Purikasena	485—464	59
21	Mandalaka	490—485	
22	Sundara Śāṭakarṇi	464—463	80
23.	Cakora Śāṭakarṇi	468	81
24	Maheudra Śāṭakarṇi	462	
25	Śivāśatakarṇi or Śevaravātī	462—454	81
26	Gauṭamiṇḍra	454—409	109
27.	Puloman II	409—377	135
28	Śivāśri Śāṭakarṇi	377—370	165
29.	Śivākaṇḍa Śāṭakarṇi	370—368	170
30	Yagnāśri Śāṭakarṇi	362—344	178
31.	Vajayāśri Śāṭakarṇi	344—338	205
32	Candraśri Śāṭakarnī	338—335	208
28	Puloman III	335—322	218

**599 Mṛcchakatika**, a play in 10 acts, describes the loves of Cāruḍatṭa and Vasanṭasenā. Cāruḍatṭa was a virtuous Brahmin of affluence. He lost his fortune but did not forsake his piety. Vasanṭasenā, a courtesan, was enamoured of him and his qualities, and sent valuable jewels to him covered up in a cart used by his child Śakāra, the brother-in-law of the reigning king Pālaka, was in love with Vasanṭasenā. But Vasanṭasenā did not reciprocate the love. Śakāra assaulted Vasanṭasenā as a result of which she fell down stunned and unconscious. Thereupon Śakāra accused Cāruḍatṭa as the murderer and the prosecution ended in a sentence of execution. In the meantime Vasanṭasenā had recovered and she appeared on the scene of execution just in time to save Cāruḍatṭa. About the same time, a revolution is said to have occurred in the state Āryaka, whom Cāruḍatṭa rescued.

from prison, marched upon Ujjain deposed king Pālaka and installed himself on the throne and Cārudatta was in grateful appreciation of the kindness made one of his chief officers 1

**600** There are commentaries on the play by Gaṇapati,<sup>2</sup> by Pṛthvīdhara,<sup>3</sup> by Rāmamayasarman,<sup>4</sup> by Lallādikṣiṭa,<sup>5</sup> by Srinivāsa-cārya,<sup>6</sup> by Vidyāsāgara,<sup>7</sup> by Dharānanda.<sup>8</sup>

**601** "The Mrcchakatika" says Wilson "is in many respects the most human of all the Sanskrit plays. There is something strikingly Shakesperian in the skilful drawing of characters, the energy and life of the large number of personages in the play, and in the directness and clearness of the plot itself. It is a ten-act *prakarana* or comedy of middle class life, and the scene is laid in the city of Ujjain. The subject of the plot is the love and marriage of Carudatta, a brahman merchant reduced to poverty by his generosity and Vasantasena, a rich courtesan. In the third act there is a long and humorous account of a burglary in which stealing is treated as an art or science provided with rules and conventional procedure. The chief value of the Mrcchakatika, aside from its interest as a drama, lies in the graphic picture it presents of a very interesting phase of everyday life in ancient India. The elaborate description of the heroine's palace in the fourth act gives us a glimpse of what was considered luxury in those days. The name 'Clay Cart' is taken from an episode in the sixth act, which leads to the finding of heroine's jewels in the terra cotta cart of the hero's little son and to their use as circumstantial evidence in a trial. This complicates the plot until all is resolved in the *denouement*."

**602.** The discovery of the play Carudatta, and its attribution to Bhāsa has led to very serious conjectures in literary history on the originality of this play, on the identity of Bhāsa and of Śūdraka and of the

1. Ed. with various commentaries everywhere. Translated into English prose and verse by A. W. Radier with an introduction (*HOS*, Harvard), by Wilson, *Theatre*, I, 182 and partly by K. B. Parab (Bombay). For translation into various other European languages, see Schuyler, *Bab 87*.

2. *CC*, I 465

3. Ed. by N. B. Godbole, also by K. P. Parab (Bombay)

4. Ed. by V. Mukundar (Calcutta).

5. Ed. by N. B. Godbole (Bombay).

6. Ed. Madras.

7. Ed. Calcutta.

8. *DG*, XXI, 8475. - He was son of Rāmabala. It was composed by 1814 A.D.

condition of the classical literature before the Christian era<sup>1</sup> Carudatta, as extant, extends only to 4 acts and it is there incomplete and so far as these four acts go Mrīchakatikā is about a copy of it "The first acts of the two plays differ very little except that Vasantasena is pursued by two persons in Carudatta, while she is pursued in Mrīchakatikā by three persons, namely Vīta, Cheta and Sakara. In the second Act of Carudatta are not found the characters Madhura, Dyutakara and Darduka of Mrīchakatikā and the sham Vasantasena to turn a parivrat, but not a Sakya Sramanaka as in Mrīchakatikā. In the third Act the plot is the same in both the plays. In the fourth, where Vasantasena has overheard the conversation between Madana and Sajjalaka, Vīdushaka has stepped in to carry out his mission, and Sajjalaka appears before Vasantasena only after Vīdushaka is gone unlike in Mrīchakatikā."<sup>2</sup>

The light thrown on the life of Sūdraka by Avanṭisundarīkathā-sāra helps to trace the real intent and import of the Mrīchakatikā. Āryaka appears to be Sūdraka and Carudatta to be Sūdraka's friend Bandhudatta.<sup>3</sup>

**603. Vatsarajacaritra**, or Viṇavāsavadatta,<sup>4</sup> does not give the name of its author but it resembles in dramatic character the plays attributed to Bhāsa. "In a manuscript of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitavali preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, the nāndi verse

1. While advocates of authorship of Carudatta say that Mrīchakatikā was a later enlargement of Carudatta, the opponents say that Carudatta was an abridgment of Mrīchakatikā. There are now springing up scholars who think Bhāsa was a poet of the Court of Sūdraka.

2. As summarised by T. Ganapathi Sastri in his Introduction to Carudatta. In his introduction to Svapna-Vasavādattā (xxxviii et seq.), he gives instances of common and similar passages.

3. A Rangasami Sarasvati (*JMy*, XII, 271) also suggests that Vasantasena means Malayavaṭī, who was hurt by Kunṭala Śātakarṇī (See Kamasutra) and the latter may mean Śākra. The known epigraphical date for Purikasena (20th Andhra king) in 59 A.D. and Kunṭala Śātakarnī (18th Andhra King) lived according to the Purāṇas 190 years before Purikasena. That would place Kunṭala's accession about 80 B.C.

K P Jayaswal, Bhandarkar and P. D. Gune also attempted to extract historical information from Mrīchakatikā. According to them king Pradyoṭa of Ujjain had two sons Gopālaka and Pālaka and a daughter Viśvavādattā. Pālaka appears to have ascended the throne after his brother either because his eldest brother abdicated or he died leaving his son young. This child Āryaka of the play later on dethroned Pālaka, probably with the help of his aunt's husband Udayana, who thus gained power and influence over Ujjain.

4. *TG*, III, 8986. So says the author of Śākuntalācarita (in O.M. Library)

is quoted under Sūdraka<sup>1</sup>. This reference coupled with the graceful language and the similarity of style where the word "Kuvalaya" is often used (a character of Sūdraka's works), lends an authority to Vallabhadeva's citation. Mahāsena, King of Ujjain, had a daughter Vasavadattā of marriageable age. Instructed to marry her to a suitable prince, he did penance and Śiva, pleased with it, blessed her with a husband of specified qualities, all of them excellent. The king was at a loss to know who that prince was and when his ministers assembled rejected the names of several contemporary kings, Darsaka of Magadha, Satamanyu of Matsya, Subāhu of Sindhu and others the minister Vasuvarma lighted upon Vatsarāja of Kausāmbī, as the object of Śiva's description. But Vatsarāja was proud and inaccessible. They thought of means of bringing him round. Because Vatsarāja in the garb of an elephant threw dust on a sage and was cursed to be imprisoned through an elephant, the minister devised the stratagem by alluring him by an artificial elephant, for in the capture of elephants Vatsarāja was an expert. So the elephant was made and stationed in the woods. The perfection of its form baffled all reality. News reached Vatsarāja that a splendid elephant had entered his forest and off went he to capture it with the aid of his Veena Ghoṣavati. As he approached the elephant, then came out hidden warriors and Vatsarāja was overpowered and taken to Ujjain where he was kept an honourable captive. His minister Yaugandharayana affected much pain at the loss of Vatsarāja and proclaimed his proposed immolation in fire at once. In the presence of the bewailing population, Yaugandharayana entered the fire, but by the help of Tīraskarīṇī-viḍyā, became invisible. He put on the garb of a lunatic and entered the city of Kausāmbī at night, in the description of which the poet cannot be too far appreciated<sup>2</sup>. In the meantime Yaugandharayana contrived to let loose an elephant in rat from Kausāmbī on Ujjain and when none there was to prevent its havoc, Vatsarāja was temporarily let out for its subjugation. This he did with ease and he saw Vasavadattā watching his movements from the apartaments of the palace. The dawn of love was instant and the impression that she made on Vatsarāja is exquisitely delineated. The lovers were pining. Mahasena's minister Śālankārayana noticed the

१ यन्मण्डल पापविनाशदक्ष यद्यज्ञस्त्राममर्गपुत्रम्।

विराजते येन च भूमिवस्तुवं पुनातु वस्तस्त्विर्बुरेण्यम् ॥ embedding Gāyatrīmantra

२ उपेगतं वाणिदिव दिल्लमुसैस्तमो निश्चक्षुद्वे परद्वतकणीग्रेवकम् ।

पारिस्फुराचिमिरपरातिमन्त्र छनेत्वा नैरक्षतरतीव मेदिनीप् ॥'

inclination and suggested to the king that Vatsarāja should be made to instruct Vāsavadattā in Vīpa Yaugandharāyana by this time was able to interview Vatsarāja and moved by the sight of his sorrows blessed him with a near victory Day by day the association of the lovers in the course of musical instruction was fanning the fire of love and in a short time the mutual enchantment was in a climax Here follows an Antarnātikā, with a regular Prastāvana Then follows a scene in which Vāsavadattā having reached the perfection of her tuition, exhibits her art in music and dancing The bewitching poses and movements tended to enslave Vatsarāja's mind and there remained only an open expression of the mutual fascination This was accompanied by messages of the maids and exchange of a ring On a day when the townsmen were regaling themselves in a festival on the Narmada bank and when the king was out on a hunting excursion, Yaugandharāyana by the merit of his charms created an apparent fire in the palace and in the midst of the confusion of attempted escapes, the lovers escape to Kausāmbī on their favourable elephants Nalagiri and Bhadravati to the amazing joy of his subjects and a Bharatavakya is its own. The play is available in full only for the first three acts and for the rest there is only the collection of verses, so that it is not possible to say what was the theme of the sub-play It closes with the expression of Vatsarāja's devotion to Vāsavadattā, a description of her charms and a diversion on the Vīnā" Here are verses worthy of Śūdraka

या शेते कौस्तुभस्य द्रुतिकिसलयते शारदव्योमनीले  
 विष्णोदीक्षस्युदारे रजनिकरकराहारोपहारे ।  
 साम्येस्यालिङ्गतु त्वं प्रथिथिलगलतेनोत्तरीयेण लक्ष्यी  
 हर्षादापिडयन्ती नवकमलरजोरोचनाभ्यां स्तनाभ्याम् ॥  
 विष्णोर्जयलक्षणताम्रतलसपादो य प्रोच्छ्रुतः सखिलतस्त्रिजगत्प्रभातुम् ।  
 कापि प्रविष्टरुचिराख्युठिराजमासे वैदूर्यसङ्घम इवाभ्यरसागरस्य ॥

**604** In Kṣemendra's Auciṭyavivacāracarcā (p 152), there is a quotation from some work of a poet Dipaka in which Vinayavaṭi figures न तु यथा तस्यैव (दीपकस्य) —

अयि विरहविचिन्ते भर्तुरर्थे तथार्ता सपदि निपतिता त्वं पादयोष्पिण्डकाया ।  
 सयमुपहितधूपस्थालकच्छत्रशृङ्गोद्धलितमपि ललाट येन नैवाललक्षे ॥

अत्र बिनयवस्ता: मुचिराम्बलावगते ललाटद्वयोऽल्लापिहववचने सस्या समुपदिश्यमाने  
 त्वैरापहविष्णामात्रमेवोपलक्ष्यते ॥

We have seen that Dandin expressed that Śūdraka, after his conquest, compiled a work, in which he described his own experiences. It is conjectured that Vāsavadattā represented Vinayavati, Yaugandharāyā personated Bandhudatta and the story of Vatsarāja and his amours with Vāsavadattā while in confinement in Mahāseṇa's palace have been suggested by Śūdraka's love of Vinayavatī, engendered while imprisoned in the days of King Swāti and by his elopement with the help of his friend Bandhudatta.<sup>1</sup>

**605 Padmaprabhṛtaka,**<sup>2</sup> a humorous Bhāpa, describes the amours of Mūladeva<sup>3</sup> and Devadattā and their successful union through

1

शूद्रकेणासकुञ्जित्वा सच्छया सहगाथारया ।

जगद्भूयोऽप्यवष्टव्यं वाचा सचरितार्थया ॥ *Avanisundarikaṭhaḥ*

For a detailed account of this play by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, see *Kalā I*, parts 8, 9, 10 and 12.

2 Ed by M. Ramakrishna Kavi in *Oṣṭurbhāṣī* (Trichur) with a valuable introduction *TC*, III 8896, Hemacandra quotes the verse

मूलादपि मध्यादपि विटपादप्यकुरादशोकस्य ।

पिगुनस्थिव रहस्य समन्ततो निष्कसति पुष्पम् ॥

(*Kāvyaśāsanā*, Bombay edn 198

3 Mūladeva was according to Avanisundarikaṭhaśāstra the founder of Ellichpur (Acalapuraj). There are many legends about Mūladeva. Kaṭhāsariṣṭāgara (Tarangas, 89, 124) gives an account of him as the friend of Vikramāditya and as having won a bride at Pataliputra. Kṣemendra's *Kalāvīlāsa* proceeds as if related by Mūladeva. Mūladeva was also known as in Kārṇiṣṭa, Kalāṅkāra, Mūlabhaṇḍa and Kharapāta. In *Matiṭṭavīlāsa* Kapālika says<sup>4</sup> नम स्वरप्यायेति वक्तव्य येन चोरशास्त्रं प्रणीतम् ॥

In *Kāḍambarī*, Bāpa speaks of *Vindhyātavī* कण्ठस्तुकथेव सञ्जिहितविपुलावला शशोपगता च ।

*Vipulā* is Devadattā's sister in this play *Padmaprabhṛtaka* and Śāśa is a friend of Mūladeva. Harṣacarita (VI) says अतिदृष्टितलास्यस्य शैलूषमध्यस्य मूलान्तरसि-करतया मृणालमिवालुनादिनभित्रात्मजस्य मुखित्रस्य मित्रदेव. Hence *mitrudev* is a misprint for मूलदेव (See on this Paper by A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, *JMy*, XIV, 29-XX, 51). *Matiṭṭavīlāsoprahassana* alludes to a work of Mūladeva on theft. In *Mṛcchikākha* where Sarvalīka the burglar dilates upon the intricacies of the art of housebreaking, Śūḍraka must have had Mūladeva's exploits in mind. *Avanisundarikaṭhaḥ* has a verse

स नारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रयाकंथा ।

मूलदेवोनोदि

The rest of the line is lost which probably alluded to some work of Mūladeva. Mūladeva is also known to have been a poet. *Mūladevakaṭhaḥ* (*Mitra X*) says that he was a wicked prince of Pataliputra, who having been banished regained favour of the king through the good offices of a prostitute Devadattā.

the endeavours his friend Sasa Sanghalika a rival lover is introduced, and a person of this name appears in Avantisundarikaṭha as plotting to kill king Südraka One of the characters Datṭakalasi condemns the Kātantra School of grammarians as against the school of Pāṇini Reference is made to Datṭaka, author of Vaisikasūtras, who began his work with the syllable *Om* This play is a fine specimen of poetic art and distinctly ranks among the best known works in Sanskrit literature<sup>1</sup>

**606 Puspadusitaka,** or Puṣpadūṣitaka is a prakarana, in which the heroine is a kulajā It is mentioned by Abhinavagupta and Dhanika and a fairly good summary of the plot is given by Kuntaka<sup>2</sup>

1. See for instance, the verse from which the play got its name

ईषङ्कीलावदष्ट स्तनतमृदित पश्चेषानुविद्ध  
सिंह निश्चासवातैर्मलयतरसस्त्रिष्ठकिञ्जलकवर्णम् ।  
प्रातर्निर्माल्यभूतं सुरतसमुदयप्राप्नृतं प्रेषयास्त्वे  
पञ्चं पदावदाते करतलमृदितप्रामणक्षिष्ठनालम् ॥

The description of a ball play is fine

प्रेष्णोलत्कुण्डलाया बलवदनिष्ठते कटुकोन्मादिताया  
चञ्चवद्वाहुद्वयाया प्रविकचविसृतोदीर्णपुष्पालकाया ।  
आवर्तोद्भान्तवेगप्रणयविलसितशुभ्यकाञ्जिगुणाया  
मध्यस्थावलगमानस्तनमरनमितस्थास्य ते क्षेममस्तु ॥

and so is the first lapse of an amorous damsels

भयाद्रतमसूर्यितप्रचलभेद्वलानुपुर  
सशङ्खचिथिलोपगृहमवमुक्तनीविपथम् ।  
स्वयं समामित्राहयत्वयमुदाचरागायुध-  
स्तवं प्रथमचोरिकामुरतसाहस मन्मथ ॥

2. (i) मन्दकुलाना स्त्रीणां चरितं यत्रेताहु । तेन कुलाक्षनापि तत्र मन्दकुलैवेति दर्शितं भवति । एतदेवाभिमन्यमानेन पुष्पदूषितके अशोकरत्तादिशब्दाकर्णनन समुद्रदत्तस्य शङ्खयोपरिज्ञन्वसन्नादेषो (?) निर्वहणान्तोपयोगिनि हि नन्दन्ती (नन्दिनी) निर्वासने, तस्याऽप्य गृहान्तरावस्था । इदमेव प्रख्यसन्धौ मूलम् । — *Abhinavabharati*—

(ii) प्रबन्धावयवानां प्रधानबलसबन्धनिवन्ध्यातुमाशान्त्रिग्राहकभाव समावस्थगप्रति-भाग्रकाश्मान कस्यचिद्विचक्षण (स्व) वक्तव्यमत्कारिण कवेलौकिक वक्तिमासजानलावण्य समुद्भासयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके द्वितीये अङ्के—

प्रस्थानात्प्रतीतिवृत्तान्विद्वानुरागद (?) नवरायाविमावादयी (?) अमन्दमवनोन्मादमुद्देश समुद्रदत्तेन निजमहिकेतन तुल्यदिवसमानन्दयन्ती समाननाय मणिमूर्चेतेव ग्रन्विष्ठता ग्रकपोवेग-

Samudradatta, a friend of Mūladeva won over a concubine of the latter and Mūladeva vowed to seduce the wife of Samudradatta. Samudradatta secretly married Nandayanti. Mūladeva proclaimed by mānā that Nandayanti was married to him and on his complaint Samudradatta was banished. His wife was kept in a cell, but Samudradatta managed to visit her in nights and when her pregnancy was known she was suspected by her father of unchastity and sent out. She took shelter in the house of a Sabara. Samudradatta returned and his marriage was proved, but when he hesitated to accept her on account of the pregnancy, his servant Katāha proved to him that on the night of his visit, he gave a ring to Nandayanti at the conjunction of the constellations Punarvasū and Puṣya and the boy was born in Viśākha. Samudradatta was convinced, and he and Mūladeva again became friends and all ends well.

**607 Harsa or Harsha-Vardhana** was the son of Prabhā-karavardhana<sup>1</sup> and Yasomati<sup>2</sup>. He bore titles Prajāpasīla and

---

विकल्लासकायननिपातनिहितनिद्रस्य द्वारदेशशायिन कुवलयस्योत्कोचकारणं सकरादद्गृहीय-  
कदान च यत्कृत तच्छ्रुतेऽङ्गे मधुराप्रतिनिवृतेन तेनैव शमदमस्य निष्कम्य शमावेदितसमुद्र-  
दत्तवृत्तान्तेन कुलकलङ्काकर्दर्थमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य खतनयस्पर्शमानं समाविद्रस्तुषा-  
शीलशुद्धिमूर्मीलयत्तदुपकाराय कल्पते । तता च सागरदत्तस्य वचन “तद्गृहीय  
सुतानामाचिह चरित्रशुद्धि विसामान्युपथता पापस्य भवेत् स शुद्धि” — *Vakroktivisita*

प्रबन्धेषु पूर्वं पूर्वं प्रकरणम् अपरस्मात्परस्य प्रकरणान्तरस्य सरस्सपादितसबन्धसंविदान  
कसमर्प्यमानकता प्राणप्रौढिप्रलुब्धवक्रतोङ्गेभ्यमाहादयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके प्रथम प्रकरणम्,  
अतिदारुणाभिनवप्रवासवेदननिरानन्दस्य अनन्दयजिव समान्यसभागतस्य समुद्रतीरे  
समुद्रदत्तस्त्रोत्कण्ठाप्रकाशन, द्वितीयमपि प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्य, निष्कीयन्यामुखौ चालाकूर-  
दानमूकीभूतकुवलयस्य कुसुमपातिताया अनाकलितमेव तस्य सहचरीसङ्घमनम्, तृतीयमपि  
संभावितकुर्विनयेऽपि नयदत्तननिदनीनिर्व्यासव्यसनतत्समाधाननिबन्धनम्, चतुर्थमपि मधुरा  
प्रतिनिवृत्तकुवलयप्रदृश्यमानविमलसपद कठोरगर्भमरग्निजाया स्तुषाया विष्कारणनिष्कासना-  
दनाहितप्रवृत्ते भग्नापातकिनमात्मान मन्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य तीर्थयात्राप्रवर्तनम्, षष्ठमपि  
सर्वेषां विचित्रसङ्कर्त्या भग्नामान्युदयसपादकमिति ॥ — *Vakroktivisita*.

प्रकरणे नायिका द्विधा—वेश्या क्रलजेति । यथा वेश्यैव तरङ्गदत्ते, कुलजैव पुष्पदूषितके ।  
*Datarupa*

For a note and extracts by R. Ramamurti, see *JORS*, IV 78

1. For a collection of his verses, see F W Thomas, *Kav 54*, and Peterson, *Suhūk*

2. For colms bearing those titles, see Burn, *JRAS*, (1906), 845

Silāditya<sup>1</sup> His capital was Dhaneswar and Kanauj His father attained considerable success in his wars against the neighbouring countries of Malawas, Gurjaras and Huns Rājavardhana was his elder brother and Rājyastī his sister In an expedition against the king of Malwa to wreak his vengeance for wrongfully confining Rājavastī, Rājavardhana was though successful treacherously slain by the vanquished king's ally, Sasānka, king of Bengal<sup>2</sup> Harsa ascended the throne in 604 A D and started an era in his name<sup>3</sup> Having recovered his sister, Harsa overran Northern India in five years and reigned happily till 647 A D Within six years of his accession, Harsa came to hold sway over the whole of the Ganges basin including Nepal and over the whole of the Hindustan including Orissa His attempt to become overlord of South India was frustrated by his defeat at the hands of Pulakesin

Himself a great poet his court was the resort of learned men on whom he conferred munificent gifts The Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang visited his capital during his Indian tour and he gives an excellent account of his court and administration<sup>4</sup> Bāna, Divākara and Mayūra were poets of his court<sup>5</sup> and in his Harṣacarita Bāna describes the life and greatness of his patron

1. For the genealogy of the family, see Gupta Ins No 52, *M*, IV 208, I 67, *JRAS* (196), 845, *ibid* (1909), 446 For a full account, see C V Vaidya's *M*, II 1 160 and Parekh's *Lifes of Harsha* (in mārattī)

2. Śīśāṅga's kingdom probably became subject to Harṣa later on, see *EI* VI 143 )

3. For inscriptions dated in this era, see Keilhorn, *IA* XXVI 82, also *EI*, V App, Nos 528 47.

4. Beal, *Lifes and Travels of Huen Tsang* (Paris) Records, Watters, *On Huen Tsang's Travels in India* (London)

On Harṣadeva generally, see C Francisco, *Sus Drami attribuiti al Harṣadeva*, Naples, Maurice L Eitingerhausen, *Harṣadeva, Emperor and poet* (Louvain), an exhaustive monograph, K M Pannikar, *Sri Harsha of Kanouj*, Bombay, S J Warren, *Koning Harsha Van Kanyakubja* (The Hague), V Smith, *MII*, 385 359, *Oxford History of India*, 165 171

For inscriptions relating to Harṣa, see *IA*, VII 196 XI 308, XII 284, XIII, 70, 421, XVII 146, XIX 40, 151, XX 110, and generally see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVI, 98, CC, I 764, Peterson, *PR*, IV 188, *JBRAS*, X 38, XVI 179, Bhandarkar, *BR*, (1897), XX 11, Fleet, *OII*, III 981, 171 note.

For all verses quoted in the anthologies see F W Thomas, *Kav* 117 122

5. Padmagupta in Navasāhasrīnacarita (II) says

विनिवर्णविच्छितिहारिणोरवनीपते । श्रीहृषेष्येव सधृचके बाणमयूरये ॥

A verse is quoted as Rājasekhara's in Jiherva's *Suktimuktāvallī* (*JBRAS*, XVII, 57 71).

अहो प्रभावे बाणदेव्या यन्मात्रादिवाकर । श्रीहृषेष्याभवत्सम्प्रसादो बाणमयूरये ॥

**608** It is a matter of controversy whether king Harṣavardhana was the author of or at least the patron of the author of the three dramas Ratnāvalī, Nāgānanda and Priyadarśikā. It is said in Mammata's Kāvyaaprakāsa that one of the objects of poetry is wealth and as an illustration is added श्रीर्षदिवर्णा (धावका) दर्नामित्र धनम्।<sup>1</sup> From this it has been suggested that 'Bāna' or 'Dhāvaka' according to the readings taken, was the real author and the king purchased the authorship from them for a price. This statement of Mammata may be correct so far as it goes, but there is very little other evidence that these dramas particularly were written by Dhāvaka or Bāna and were so paid for. It may be that in appreciation of some good poetry written by these poets, the king showed his munificence.

In the absence of definite evidence that king Harṣavardhana was the author or proprietor by purchase of these works from Bāna or Dhāvaka, it is a matter for consideration, who was the *Harṣadeva* mentioned in the prologues of these plays as their author.<sup>2</sup>

**609** So far as it is known, King Harṣavardhana has not been called Harsadeva in any of his inscriptions or by Bāna in his Harṣacarita. Even in the anthologies, the name Harsadeva is used<sup>3</sup> and the verses there are quoted from these three dramas and verses quoted under the name of Harṣavardhana are not traceable in these dramas. Kalhaṇa mentions king Harṣa-Vikramāditya of Ujjain, as the patron of Māṭgupta.<sup>4</sup> If there is no cogent connection between king Harṣa-

1 Among commentators on Kāvyaaprakāsa, who read 'Dhāvaka' are Jayarāma Vaidyanātha, Nagoji, Paramānanda, Narasimha and Acyūtarāya (See Vāmanācārya's edition of Kāvyaaprakāsa, 89 Brahme and Paranje (Introduction to Nāgānanda); H. H. Wilson (*Theatre*, II 259, 346) and Fischel, *GGA*, XXXIX, 1935 41 accept this view. F Hall, (*JASB*, XXXI, 11 18, Int to Vasav) says that Bāga's claim is as good as Dhāvaka's. E. P. Cowell (Prof. to Boyd's Nāgānanda) and Macdonell (*SL* 383) say Bāga was author of Ratnāvali and Dhāvaka of Nāgānanda. Weber (*IL*, 204, 207, 212, 218) attributes Ratnāvali to Bāga. Henry (*Int Lit* 295-318), Ettinghausen (*IC* 98-102), S. Konow (*Das Indische Drama* 78 4), M. Winteritz (*Ind Lit* III, 226), Levi (*IT*, 184 196), and E. Windisch, (*Tr. of Int Oriental Congress* (1884) II, 93-95), accept Harsa's authorship. For a summary of these views, see Int to Priyadarśikā (Col. Un Series), xx1.

2 See for a learned discussion, by Saradaranjan Ray, *Int to Ratnāvali* (Calcutta.)

3 See F W Thomas, *Kav. II* 17 and Petersen, *Subh. 188*

4 See para 568 supra

तवानेहस्युभिम्यो श्रीमान् हर्षपिरामित्र ।  
एकच्छ्रवशकपती विक्रमादित्यं हस्यभूत् ॥

vardhana, and these dramas, it is quite likely that this Harṣadeva was that king Harṣa-Vikramāditya Abhinavagupta, Sāradātanaya, and Bahurūpamīra quote verses from a commentary on Nātyasastra by a Harṣa. It is equally likely that Harṣa, the writer on dramaturgy, was the author of these plays.

A king Harṣa is mentioned as a great poet by several writers of successive centuries.<sup>1</sup> Bāpa eulogises Harṣa's poetic genius.<sup>2</sup> Itsing records that king Siladitya versified the story of Bodhisatva Jimutavāhana, he had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting and thus popularised it in his time.<sup>3</sup> Suddhala enumerates Vikramāditya, Śrī Harṣa, Munja, Bhojadeva &c. as Kavīndras<sup>4</sup> and eulogises Hārṣa.<sup>5</sup> Jayadeva cites Harṣa along with Bāpa, Rāmila Saumila etc.<sup>6</sup> Dāmodaragupta gives excerpts from Rātnāvalī and calls it the work of a royal author.<sup>7</sup>

Besides verses from the three plays, about a dozen verses, are also quoted in the anthologies as Harṣa's.<sup>8</sup> Two Buddhist poems of devotion Suprabhātastotra in 24 verses and Aślamahāśrīcāityasamskarastotra (in 5 verses) are also attributed to him.<sup>9</sup>

In Bhoja's Śringāraprakāśa (chap. xx) there is the following verse quoted

स्त्रोकोऽय हरूषामिधानकविना देवस्य तस्याग्रत  
यावधावदुदीरितश्चकवधूवैष्वन्यदीक्षागुरु  
तावचावदुपोदसान्वपुलकोद्देव. सस तस्मै ददौ  
लक्ष्म लक्ष्मत्पिण्डत भद्रजलप्रकृत्वगणड गजम् ।

So in Sāradātanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa (VII)

दिव्यमातृष्टसयोगे यत्कौरविदूषके ।  
तदेव त्रोटक मेदो नाटकैरविदूषके ॥

1. See Priyadarśika (COS Int. xl.)

2. कान्यकथास \*\*\* ममृतमुद्दमन्तम् । अपिचास्यकवित्वस्यवाच न पर्यासोविषय ॥

Harṣacarita (Bombay Edn.) 79, 86

3. A record of the Buddhist Religion in India and the Malay Archipelago (Tr. by Takakusu, 168).

4. Udayasundari, (GOS), 150

5. श्रीहर्षे हत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु नान्नेव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।  
गीर्हिष्ठे पूर्ण निजसदि येन राजा सपूजित. कलककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥

6. See para 567 supra

7. He quotes the verse उद्यनगान्तरितमिय प्राची सूचयति दिश्चनिशानाथम् ।

8. See Thomas, Kav 117-20

9. Ellingtonsen, Ic 168 175, 176-179; Thomas, JRAS (1908) 708-722, S. Levi Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden (1894), II. 1. 189-208.

**610** *Ratnavali*,<sup>1</sup> a natkāt in four acts, describes the secret loves of King Udayana and Sāgarikā, an attendant on the queen Vāsavadattā. Private intrigues are arranged but discovered by the queen. "After many vicissitudes the heroine turns out to be Ratnavali, a Ceylon princess, whom a shipwreck has brought to Udayana's court. The plot is unconnected with mythology, but is based on a historical or epic tradition, which recurs in a somewhat different form in Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*. As concerned with the second marriage of the King, it forms a sequel to the popular love-story of Vasavadatta. It is impossible to say whether the poet modified the main outlines of traditional story, but the character of a magician who conjures up a vision of the gods and a conflagration is his invention, as well as the incidents which are entirely of a domestic nature."<sup>2</sup>

There are commentaries by (Bhimasena, Mudgaladeva),<sup>3</sup> Govinda,<sup>4</sup> Prākrtaśārya,<sup>5</sup> J. Vidyāsāgara,<sup>6</sup> K N Nyāyapancānana,<sup>7</sup> S C Chakravarlu,<sup>8</sup> Siva,<sup>9</sup> Laksmaṇasūri,<sup>10</sup> R V Kṛṣnamācārya,<sup>11</sup> S Ray,<sup>12</sup> V S Aiyar<sup>13</sup> and by Nārāyaṇaśastry Nigudkar.<sup>14</sup>

**611** Kṣemendra's drama *Lalitaraṇḍramālā* appears to have had a similar plot. There is this quotation in his *Aucityavīcāracarca* (pp 140-2)

1 Ed everywhere. On *Ratnavali* generally, see R C Dutt, *Civ* II 265. M Williams, *IW*, 505, G Buhler *On the authorship of the Ratnavali* (*IA*, II 127) F. Hall *Int.* to *Vasavadatta*, 15-18, J J Mayer (*Damodragupta's Kuttimimātam*, Leipzig, S C Vidyabhusan, *Date of Ratnavali*, *Mahabodhi*, 12), R V Krishnamacharya, *Int* to Edn (Srirangam), it is a very elaborate introduction, M Schuyler, *Bib* 9, Buhler, *On the authorship of Ratnavali*, *IA*, II 127), Weber, II 207; Saradarajan Ray's *Int* to Ed (Calcutta) contains a valuable introduction. See also *IStr* I, 856 Tr into English by Saradarajan Ray (Calcutta), by S C Chakravarti (Dacca), by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 255-819, by Bidhu B Goswami (Calcutta). For translations into other languages, see Schuyler, *Bib*, 40

2 Macdonell, *SL*, 362.

3 OC, I 492

4 Ed Bombhy

5 OC, II 115

6 Ed. Calcutta

7 Ed Calcutta

8 Ed Dacca

9. *HR*, III 34. 187. He was son of Tryambaka

10 Ed Calcutta

11. Ed Madras

12 Ed Srirangam,

13 Ed. Kumbakonam

14. Ed. by K. M. Joglekar with an English Introduction (Bombay)

यथा मम ललितरत्नमालायाम्—

निद्रा न स्पृशति व्यजलयि धृति धत्ते स्थिति न कन्चित्  
दीर्घा वेति कथा व्यथा न भजते सर्वात्मना निर्वृतिम् ।  
तेनाराधयता गुणस्तव जपःयानेन रत्नावलीं  
निस्सञ्ज्ञन पराङ्मापरिगत नामपि नो सद्यते ॥

अत्र वत्सेश्वरस्य रत्नावलीविरहियुरचेतस स्मरव्यथासमुचित विदूषकेण सुसङ्गतायै  
यदभिहत । निद्रा न स्पृशति न सद्यते स्थितिधृतिकथानिर्वृतीना खीलङ्गाभिधानेनाङ्गत्वाध्या-  
रोपेण परमौचित्य प्रतिपादितम् ॥

**612. Priyadarsika**, a nātikā in four acts, is a reflection of Ratnāvalī Dridhavarman, King of the Angas, having betrothed his daughter Priyadarsikā to King Udayana prepares to take her to him. Meanwhile the Kalinga King overcomes and imprisons him. Priyadarsikā after some vicissitudes is admitted to the harem of Udayana by his commander, under the name of Āranyikā, a maid-servant to the queen. The king is enamoured of her and his secret intrigues are as usual discovered by the Queen. Āranyikā is imprisoned by her, but not long after this, she is recognised as the Anga princess Priyadarsikā, her own maternal cousin. Bitten by a serpent the heroine is in a swoon and the king revives her. The story ends with her happy presentation to the king by the queen herself<sup>2</sup>.

There is a commentary by R. V. Krishnamacharya.<sup>3</sup>

**613 Nagananda**<sup>4</sup> in four acts "describes the story exactly as related in the Kathasaritsagara (Taranga XXII) of Jīmūtavahana, a prince of the Vidyadharas, who, swayed by sentiments of universal love, relinquishes his kingdom to serve his parents in the forest. There in the Malaya mountain he falls in love with the daughter of the Gandharva King, and roaming about by chance, fresh from the wedding, he hears that the King of Serpents has made peace with Garuda and stipulated to offer a serpent each day to the kite. The heart of the prince is moved. He resolves to save the life of that day's victim even at the

1 On Priyadarsikā generally G Strehly Int to Edn (Paris) F Cummino (o. c. XXXI 1-18) R V Krishnamacharya Int to Edn (Srirangam No. 8). M Schuyler Bibl 2

2 Ed Srirangam (with an introduction by the commentator). Ed. by J Vidyasagara, Ed. V D Gadre, (Col Un series) with translation by G K Nariman, A. V W Jackson and C J Ogden, and an elaborate introduction.

3 In a manuscript preserved in the Patan Library dated Samvat 1258, the name of the author is given as Sri Harpa (see PR, V)

risk of his own Garuda finds out that by mistake he has harmed the disguised prince and overpowered with grief learns that abstinence from cruelty is the highest virtue on earth The play ends with the appearance of the Goddess Gauri, who revives the prince to life ”

There are commentaries by Ātmārāma,<sup>1</sup> by N C Kaviratna,<sup>2</sup> by Śivārāma<sup>3</sup> and by Śrinivāsācārya<sup>4</sup> There is a poem called Nāgānanda<sup>5</sup>

Other dramas<sup>6</sup> composed on a similar purpose and style of composition are the Lokānanda of Candragomin<sup>7</sup> and Sānticaritra<sup>8</sup> of unknown authorship

**614** “From the invocation to Buddha in the Nāndī and the circumstance that the play describes the incidents of Buddha's life in his work as Jīmūtavāhana, it is possible to say that the play has a Buddhistic coloring, but it may be too soon to affirm that the main purpose of it is to illustrate a Buddhistic doctrine of universal humaneness The rule of compassion is inculcated in all ancient Hindu Ethical literature and is essentially pre-Buddhistic in its origin Garuda is an Aryan God and the appearance of the goddess Gauri and shower of nectar marking the happy culmination are Hindu in their core”<sup>9</sup>

On Nāgānanda generally, see S Beal (*The Academy*, XXIV 217, F Cimmino, Proc 18th Int Cong of Orientalists, Leiden (1902), 81, S G Bhānap Int to Edn. (Bombay) G B Brahma and S M Paranjape, Int to Edn. (London), S C Ray Int to Edn (Calcutta), M Schuyler, Bibl 9 Weber, IL, 207 Burgess (*IA*, I 140) gives an excellent English summary Tr into English by N C Vaidyaratna (Calcutta), by P Boyd (London), by S C Ray (Calcutta) and by Vasudevachariar (Madras) with a summary of the plot, by R D Karmarkar (Poona) with notes and introduction and by L V Ramachandra Iyer, Madras and by P V Ramanujaswami with Int, Trn and notes, Madras

1 *CG*, I 288 He is probably different from the commentator, Rāma in *DC*, XXI 8414

2 Ed Calcutta

3 Ed by T. Ganapati Sasiri, *TSS*, Trivandrum He has also commented on Subhadrādhananjaya and Tapati-Samvarana

4 He was the San krit Pandit, St Joseph's College, Trichinopoly

5 *Trav.*

6 For similar Jain plays, see Levi, 824

7. Levi, App 80 See para 260 *supra*

8 Levi, App, 81

9. It looks likely that the name and matter were suggested by Lokānanda (*Levi* App 80, 824) Of this there is a Tibetan translation (see *loc* 56)

615 **Kalidasa**, as a dramatist, has attained universal admiration. His talents stand unique and rarely has any other been recognised as his equal.<sup>1</sup>

Dandin wrote

लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन् यस्य निर्विवशा गिर ।  
तेनेदृ वर्त्म वैदर्भ कालिदासेन शोचितम् ॥

Bāṇa said

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्षितम् ।  
प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्दासु भञ्जरीच्चिव जायते ॥

In his tract, *Kalidasa, the moralist*,<sup>2</sup> Ravindranath Tagore writes

"Kalidasa has shown that while infatuation leads to failure beneficence achieves complete fruition, that beauty is constant only when

1 For verses quoted in anthologies as Kalidasa's (not traceable in any known works), see Aufrecht *ZDMG*, XXXIX 806 and Peterson, *Subh* 28

Some of these verses are very fine

i हेमाम्बोरुहपत्ने परिमलस्तेयी वसन्तानिल-  
स्तत्रलैरिच यामिकैर्मधुकरराधकोलाहल ।  
निर्यातस्त्वरया ब्रजिपतित श्रीखण्डपङ्कदव-  
लिप्ते केरलकामिनीकुचतटे खञ्जशनैर्गंछति ॥

ii न वक्ति प्रेमादै न खलु परिरम्भ रथयति  
स्थितौ तस्यां तस्यां करकमलालीं न सहते ।  
स्मितज्योत्स्नाकान्त मुखमिमुख नैव कुरुते  
तथाप्यन्तं प्रीति वपुषि पुलकोऽस्या कथयति ॥

iii सप्त प्रसीद भगवन्पुनरेकवार  
सन्दर्शय यिथत्मा क्षणमात्रमेव ।  
दृष्टा सती निविडबाहुयुगे विलगन  
तत्रैव मा नयति सा यदि वा न याति ॥

2 This is in Bengali. Translated into English *Mod Rev* XIV.

On KALIDASA generally O' Bendall, *Kalidasa in Ceylon*, (*JRAS*, (1880), 440), G A Grierson, *Are Kalidasa's heroes monogomists?* (*JASB*, XLVI 89), *Some notes on Kalidasa*, (*JASB*, XLVII 82 48), G S Leonard, *Further proof of the polygamy of Kalidasa's heroes*, (*JASB*, XLVI 160) Prannath Pandit, *Morals of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid* XLV 852), A V Jackson, *Legend of Kalidasa preserved at Ujjain*, (*JAOS*, XXII 881), *Time Analysis of the dramas of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid* XX 341 59), *Bibliography of Kalidasa's plays*, (*Ibid*, XXII, 187, XXIII 987), R V Tulu, *Traditional account of Kalidasa*, (IA, VII 115), Hoernle, *Kalidasa and Kamandaka*, (IA, XLI, 156), J B Chakravarti, *Kalidasa, the Great Indian Poet*, (JMy, VIII, 261), R A.

upheld by virtue, that the highest form of love is the tranquil, controlled and beneficent form, that in regulation lies the true charm and lawless excess the speedy corruption of beauty He refuses to acknow-

Narasimhachanar *Life of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid*, 273), A R Krishnasastri, *Formative influences of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid*, IX 557) A Venkata Subbiah, *Kalidasa's Sociological Ideals*, (*Ibid* 95), C Venkataramaniah, *Some views of Kalidasa's philosophy and Religion*, (*Ibid*, 98), K Krishna Iyengar, *Kalidasa and Shakespeare*, (*Ibid*, 151), M Sumner, *Les Heroines de Kalidasa et belles de Shakespeare*, (Paris), J E Seneviratne, *Life of Kalidasa*, (Colombo), F Neve, *Kalidasa dans les raffinements de sa culture*, (Paris), L Liebion, *Das Datum des Candragomin und Kalidasa*, (Breslau) Ch Harris, *An investigation of some of Kalidasa's views*, (Evansville, Ohio), D R Bhandarkar, *Solemnity of Sankaracarya and Kalidasa*, (*IA* XLII 214), T Narasimhalengar, *Kalidasa's Religion and Philosophy*, (*IA*, XXXIX 286), V V. Sovani, *Essay on Society in the times of Kalidasa*, (in Malvati), Allamraju Ramasastri, *Heroines of Kalidasa*, (*Sah* XXII 45), A G Chatterji, *Kalidasa, his poetry and mind*, (*MR*, XI also Ed Calcutta), Rajendranath Vidyabhushan, *Kalidasa*, (in Bengali), R V Krishnamachariar, *Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti*, (*Sah*, XVIII), Ramanujacarya, *Kalidasa's date*, (*Sah* XIX), Ramacharya, *Kalidasa's love for deer*, (*Sah*, XXIV), Seshagiri Sastry, *Kalidasa*, (*IA*, I 840), G S. Krishnasami Iyer, *Poetry of Kalidasa*, (*IR*, XIV, 899), Bhide, *Notes on Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLVII 246), Harichand, *Les Citations de Kalidasa, dans, les traités d'Alankara* (*JA* VII No 1 and II), *Kalidasa et l'art poétique de l'Inde* Paris, reviewed in *JRAS* (1918), 564 (which contains all the quotations from Kālidāsa contained in Alankara works), O V Vaidya, *Pandyas and the date of Kalidasa* (fixes the date 1st century BC), K G Majumdar, *Vaisayana and Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLVII 195), Majumdar, *Kalidasa and Kamandaki*, (*IA*, XLVI 220), G A Grierson, *Are Kalidasa's heroes monogamous*, (*IA*, XLVII April No ), P K Chatterjee, *Post Kalidasa and sea voyage*, (*Jl* of Dept of Letters, Calcutta, XVI), Anand Koul, *Birth-place of Kalidasa*, (*Jl* of Ind. History, VII 345), K Balasubrahmanyam Iyer, *Kalidasa, his philosophy of Love*, (*JOR*, III 349), O K Venkataramayya, *Kalidasa and Bhāsa in the light of Western Criticism*, (*JMy*, XVII 125), A Bangaammi Saraswati, *Kalidasa*, (*JMy*, XV 269, XVI 98), A Shah, *Kautilya and Kalidasa*, (*JMy*, XI 42, X 803) and *Astronomical Data in the dramas of Kalidasa*, (*Tr. All Ind Or. Comm* 1924), K G Sankara Iyer, *Vikrama theory of Kalidasa's date*, (*JMy*, XI, 188), Chakravarti, *Date of Kalidasa*, (*JRAS*, (1891), 330), Huth, *Des ziel des Kalidasa*, S. H Dhruva, *Thoughts from Kalidasa*, (Bombay), Bhau Daji, *On the Sanskrit poet, Kalidasa*, (*JBRAS*, VI 19, 207), B G Majumdar, *Date of Kalidasa*, (*JBORS*, II 888), K G Sankara Iyer, *Yasodharman's theory of Kalidasa's date*, (*JBORS*, VII, 60), K Venkataramayya, *Kalidasa and Bhāsa in the light of Western Criticism*, (*JMy*, XVIII 127), H Subbaraya Sastry, *Kalidasa's Flowers*, (*Bharati*, I, 107); P Venkataramayya, *Was Kalidasa a votary of Karttkeya* (*Ibid* V, 688), Mr. Ramakrishnayya, *Reitusamhara*, (*Ibid*, 887). Pichaya Sastry, *Meghasandesa*, (*Ibid*, 678); N Ramadasayya, *Meghasandesa*, (*Ibid*, 20), G Jagopantulu, *Kalidasa*, (*Ibid*, VIII 19), K Ramakrishna Rao, *Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti*, (*Ibid*, III 15), A. V Sutatnamayya Sastry, *Kalidasapratiruptyam*, (*Ibid*, V, 326) Apte, *Date of Kalidasa*, (Bombay), C Sivaramamurti, *Kalidasa and Painting*, (*JOR*, VII, 160), T. L Venkatrama Sastry, *Musical Element in Kalidasa*, (*JOR*, VII, 357)

ledge passion as the supreme glory of love , he proclaims goodness as the final goal of love ”

There are three dramas<sup>1</sup> that are acknowledged to be his, Sakuntalā or more fully Abhijnāna-Sakuntalā, Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvasiya These plays attracted the attention of foreign savant, more than two centuries ago and Goethe thus sang of Sakuntalā

Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline  
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, fed,  
Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine ?  
I name thee, O Sakuntala ! and all at once is said

It is the quintessence of Kālidāsa's poetry<sup>2</sup>

**616 Sakuntala** “ King Dushyanta of the Lunar race, pursues a gazelle in the vicinity of Kanya’s hermitage Here he espies Sakuntalā, watering her tender nursery with her favourite friends Struck by her beauty he begs for an interview He overhears the reciprocation of love by Sakuntalā, meets and marries her He gives her his ring and with a promise to fetch her soon he returns to his palace In a thoughtless mood, she fails to greet an irascible sage Dūrvasas and his impatient curse obliterates the memory of her lover, until the spell could pass away at the sight of a ring Some time passes and Kanya resolves to send her to her husband She takes leave of her lovely friends, the inanimate plants and the inarticulate deer She reaches the court of the king, she loses the ring and her exhortations are in vain The king has no recollection of the amorous incident at the sylvan park Sakuntalā laments her fate and is borne off by her mother Urvasi to the abode of the celestials. The ring is recovered by a fisherman from the stomach of a fish ,and as an accused thief he is brought to judgment Its sight dispels the gloom and the king recollects his former love His regrets are wasted Time passes and Indra seeks his help against his foes Then while driving in Indra’s car he sees a young boy, his own

1. राजसंखरा made a pun

एकोभपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केन चित् ।  
इहारे ललितोद्धारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥

Here Kālidāsajayi means these three plays of Kālidāsa and the poet indirectly suggests the existence of three Kālidāsas.

2. Here is the traditional verse ,

कालिदासस्य सर्वस्मैभिक्षानशकुन्तलम् ।  
दत्रापि च चतुर्थीज्ञो यत्र याति शकुन्तला ॥

dear son Bharata, playing with a cub and soon he finds his Śākuntalā not to leave her again”<sup>1</sup>

Śākuntalā was recently staged at Melbourne from a translation made by Lawrance Bunyon and the adaptation of the music is thus described

“The overture opens with the King’s love singing theme, given first in the low register of the orchestra. This is continued by the higher strings and wood wind to a climax, with a first hint of the curse motive. A bridge passage for strings and wood wind leads to Śakuntala’s love-singing theme played by the violin, this works up to a repeat of the same given in the higher octave by the flutes and oboes. A tremolo passage for strings, with a further hint of the curse motive, is followed by the development of the King’s theme working to a full climax of both the King’s and Śakuntala’s themes leading straight to the curse motive at full orchestral strength. A quiet passage for strings ending with a cadenza for the oboe is followed by the golden peak theme given by the flute in its highest register. The overture foreshadows the entire development of the drama—the sublimation of the earthly unstable love to the universally significant reunion at the mystic’s retreat in the Himalaya Mountains. The incidents of the drama are limited in the use of the curse and other motives. Before and during part four, an off-shoot of the Golden Peak theme will be heard, suggestive of the nymphs, who sing their farewell to Śakuntala.”

**617** The popularity of the play has unconsciously done immense harm to the preservation of its original text. It is now extant in three or

1 Edited everywhere

Translated into English by Sir W Jones (Calcutta), by M Williams (London, Bombay), by K K Bhattacharya (Calcutta), by A H Edgren (New York), G Kalipada Mukerjee (Calcutta), by Kamala Satyanathan (Madras), by T R Ratnam Iyer (Madras), K Banerji (Nadia), by J G Jennings (Allahabad), by R Vasudevarao (Madras) and by Roby Dutta, Calcutta as idyllic poetry, by A M Wright (Springfield, Mass.), by S Ray (Calcutta). For translation in other languages see Schwyler, *Bibl. 51*.

On Śakuntalā generally, M Schwyler, *Bibl.* 48-56, V Majumdar, Int. to Edn B. Fischel, Int to Ed. (Kiel), P. N Patanker Int to Ed (Poona) N O Vidyaratna, Int to Ed (Calcutta), T E Srinivasachariar, Int to Ed (Kumbakonam) T Holme, Int. to Edn (London) S Ray Int. to Ed (Calcutta) R R Rabe *De Kalidasa’s Sakuntala* (Breslau), V Sarkar, *Sakuntala-Rahasya*, A Weber, *ISt*, XIV 85, 161. T Lakshminarasimharao, *Sakuntala* (*JMy*, IX 68). B Kulkarni, *A University in the Sakuntala* (*Tomorrow*, August, 1928), A C Chatterji, *Kalidasa, His poetry and mind* (Calcutta), Rav. Tagore, *Sakuntala and its minor meaning* (in Bengali), Tr into English, *MR*, IX and *Bhāratī* III 26

four recessions called the Bengali,<sup>1</sup> Devanagari,<sup>2</sup> Kashmir,<sup>3</sup> and South Indian.<sup>4</sup> The latest collation of the second recession and an attempt at a critical edition is perhaps that of Prof S Ray of Calcutta.

**618** There are commentaries by Rāghava,<sup>5</sup> Kātayavema,<sup>6</sup> Śrinivāsa,<sup>7</sup> Ghanasyāma,<sup>8</sup> Abhrāma,<sup>9</sup> (Kṛṣṇānātha Pancānana, Candrasekhara, Damaruvallabha, Prākr̥tiśācārya, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmaśādرا, Sankara) Premacandra,<sup>10</sup> D V Panta,<sup>11</sup> Vidyāsāgara,<sup>12</sup> Venkataśācārya,<sup>13</sup> Śrī Kṛṣṇānātha,<sup>14</sup> Bālagovinda,<sup>15</sup> by Dakṣināvartanātha,<sup>16</sup> Rāmavarman and Rāma Piśaroti,<sup>17</sup> and five anonymous.<sup>18</sup>

**619** SRINIVASADIKSITA was the son of Tūmmayarya and was known also Venkatesa. He was an archaka of the Vaikhānasa sect and Kāsyapagotra, at the temple of Tirupati (Chittoor District). He had the title of Cakrāyudha and lived about 1850. He is a prolix writer and his commentary is probably the longest and the most discursive. He has written a commentary on Vaikhānasasūtras and Ramāyaṇa and the manuscript of the latter is said to be at a village called Orattī, South Arcot, Madras Presidency.

1. Represented by Premacandra's Edn (Calcutta) and Piśchel's Edn (Kiel).

2. Represented by Iṣvarachandra Vidyasagara's Edn (Calcutta) and M. William's Edn (Oxford).

3. Represented by N. B. Godabole's Edn (Bombay) and by A. R. Rajarajavarman's Edn (Trivandrum).

4. See BKR, xxxv.

5. Ed. Bombay. He was son of Pr̥thvīdhara, an authority on Nyāya and Mimāṃsā. *DC*, XXI, 8870 Ed. Bombay with English notes.

6. Ed. Bombay.

7. Ed. Madras *DC*, XXI, 8878, *HR*, III, 6.

8. Ed. Trivandrum. With an English introduction.

9. *OC* I, 28, II, 187, III, 6.

10. Ed. Calcutta.

11. Ed. Calcutta.

12. Ed. Calcutta.

13. Ed. Madras.

14. See P. N. Patankar's Int. to *Sakuntala* (Poona) and *JAO*, XXII, 287.

15. *TC*, IV, 4840. He was son of Śāṅkarapāṇḍita who was the guru of Vāndibhūpaś of Hārigīta town and patronised by the latter. This is an epitome of Śrinivāsa's commentary.

16. *TC*, III, 8982.

17. Ed. Trichur. This Rāmavarman is Parikṣit Kunjunnī Tamburan, now alive at Crangancore.

18. *DC*, XXI, 8878, 8874, *TC*, III, 8480, 9985.

**620** KATAYAVEMA was the son of Kāta, grandson of Māra and great-grandson of Kātaya He married the daughter of Anapola, the Reddi king of Kondavidu and was at the helm of administration during the reign of Anapola's son Komāragiri (1381-1403 A D ) He was a great warrior and scholar and at the request of Komāragiri he wrote commentaries called Komāragirīrājīyam on the plays of Kālidāsa He had three wives and from two of them, he had a son Komāragiri and a daughter Anītallī In appreciation of his services to the state, Komāragiri bestowed on him the sovereignty of Rajamahendrapuram He died about 1416 A D His son ruled only for 4 years, after which the descendants of Anītallī became the rulers<sup>3</sup>

**621** *Malavikagnimitra* is "a conventional dramatisation of harem intrigue in the court of King Agnimitra of Viśiṣṭa, probably of the Sunga dynasty The play discloses the loves of this king Agnimitra and of Malavika one of the attendants of the queen, who jealously keeps her out of the king's sight on account of her great beauty The various endeavours of the king to see and converse with Malavika give rise to numerous intrigues In the course of these Agnimitra nowhere appears to be a despot, but acts with much delicate consideration for the feelings of her spouses It finally turns out that Malavika is by birth a princess, who had only come to be an attendant at Agnimitra's court through having fallen into the hands of robbers There being now no objection to her union with the king, all ends happily "<sup>4</sup>

There are commentaries by Kātaya Vema,<sup>5</sup> Nilakantha,<sup>6</sup> Vira-

1 For an account of Kātayavema, see Veturi Prabhakara Sastrī's *Sringara-Srenatham* 56 and for inscription of Kātayavema, see *EI*, IV 821, 828, 829, 830, dated from 1391 to 1416 A D

2 Macdonell, *SL*, 880

On *Malavikagnimitra* generally F Ballensee (*ZDMG*, XIII 480), Cappeller, *Allervatin ad Kalidasa Malavikagnimitram*, (Konigsburg), S J Pandit, *Int to Ed* (*BSS*), M Schuyler, (*JAOS*, XXIII 98), M A Williams, (*JW*, 497), O Varadacarya, *Malavikagnimitra not a drama* (*Bharati*, VI 8), V Subbaroyudu, (*Ibid*, 714, 488) Transtated into English by Oh Tawney (Calcutta) by G R Nanādāgikar (Poona), by A S Krishnarao (Madras) For criticisms and translations into other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl* 46

3. Ed. Bombay and Poona.

4 Ed. Bombay Composed in Samvat 1712 (1656 A.D.) at Kāśī The author was son of Bālakṛṣṇabhatta of Sri Venkaramaṇi family He lived at Vyomakeśapura.

rāghava,<sup>1</sup> Mṛtyunjaya Nissanka,<sup>2</sup> Tarkavācapati,<sup>3</sup> Srikanṭha,<sup>4</sup> Parīkṣit Kunjunni Raja<sup>5</sup>

**622** *Vikramorvāsi* represents events partly terrestrial and partly celestial King Purūravas rescues the nymph Urvasī from the hands of demons and wins her love by his herosim She parts with him on a summons from Indra and the king becomes disconsolate in his love She drops a letter before him unseen confirming her own love and as ill luck would have it, this letter is picked up by the queen and she waves wild In the meantime Urvasī was acting as Lakṣmī at the celestial theatre at the staging of the play of Lakṣmīsvayamvara and with her mind all engrossed by Purūravas she answers Purūravas in a colloquy, when her answer was to be Purūrūttama Her teacher Bharata curses her to go to the lower world and Indra mitigates the effect of the curse by ordering her stay on earth till she gets an offspring from Purūravas In their secret wanderings Urva i trespasses on the forbidden grounds of Kanva's park and becomes transformed into a creeper The king becomes maddened and under the influence of a magic stone, she is restored They have a son Āyus and when time comes for Urvasī to return, Indra allows her to remain with him for good, in grateful recollection of the aid received in the destruction of demons<sup>6</sup>

This play is in two recensions, in N India<sup>7</sup> and S India<sup>8</sup>

1 OC, II, 104, 217

2 Ed Madras

3 Ed Calcutta

4 TC, II 820, 2570 Probably the same as the author of Kandarpndarpāṇa bhāṇa (HR, III No 1688) and son of Abhinava Kālidāsa, of Kāśyapagoṭra, the author of Śringarakōśabhbāṇa (TC, II 989) He is different from another Abhinava Kālidāsa of Vasisthagoṭra, who is the author of Yaksollāsa (TC, II 2086)

5 He is now alive at Cranganore

6 Ed Pischell (Berlin) and J Vidyasagara (Calcutta)

7 Ed ESS, Bombay

8 On *Vikramorvāsi* generally, L B Leuz *Apparatus criticus ad Urvarasam fabulam Calidasae* (Berlin) M Schuyler (*JAS*, XXIII 98-101) S P. Pandit Int to Ed (Bombay) Macdonell *SL*, 258 For an appreciation, see *JMy*, XI Translated into English by H H Wilson (Theatre) I 188-274, by E B Cowell (Hertford), by Brajendranath De, (*Calcutta Review*, 884 in part only into verse), by A Ghose (Bombay, into verse) For translations into other languages, see M. Schuyler, *Bible* 68.

There are commentaries by Kātava Vema,<sup>1</sup> Ranganātha,<sup>2</sup> (Abhayacarana, Rāmamāya),<sup>3</sup> Tārāṇātha,<sup>4</sup> M R Kale<sup>5</sup>

**623** “Kalidasa is the great, the supreme poet of the senses, of aesthetic beauty, of sensuous emotion. His main achievement is to have taken every poetic element, all great poetical forms, and subdued them to a harmony of artistic perfection set in the key of sensuous beauty. In continuous gift of seizing an object and creating it to the eve he has no rival in literature. A strong visualising faculty such as the greatest poets have in their most inspired descriptive movements, was with Kalidasa an abiding and unfailing power, and the concrete presentation which this definiteness of vision demanded, suffused with an intimate and sovereign feeling for all sensuous beauty of colour and form, constitutes the characteristic Kalidasian manner. He is besides a consummate artist, profound in conception and suave in execution, a master of sound and language who has moulded for himself out of the infinite possibilities of the Sanskrit tongue a verse and diction which are absolutely the grandest, most puissant and most full-voiced of any human speech, a language of the Gods. The note struck by Kalidasa when he built Sanskrit into that palace of noble sound, is the note which meets us throughout all this last great millennium of Aryan literature. Its characteristic features are brevity, gravity and majesty, a noble harmony of verse, a strong lucid beauty and chiselled prose, above all an epic precision of phrase, weighty, sparing and yet full of colour and sweetness. Moreover it is admirably flexible, suiting itself to all forms from the epic to the lyric but most triumphantly to the two greatest, the epic and the drama. In his epic style Kalidasa adds to these permanent features a more than Miltonic fulness and grandiose pitch of sound and expression, in his dramatic and extraordinary grace and suavity which makes it adaptable to conversation and the expression of dramatic shade and subtly blended emotion.”<sup>6</sup>

“The flourishing of the plastic arts had prepared surroundings of great external beauty for Kalidasa’s poetic work to move in. The appreciation of beauty in nature, of the grandeur of mountain and forest, the loveliness of lakes and rivers, the charm of bird and beast,

1 *DC*, XXI 8510

2 *DC*, XXI 8511

3 *OC*, I 569, II 134, III 130

4 Ed Calcutta

5 Ed Bombay

6 Aurobindo Ghose, *Age of Kalidasa*.

life had become a part of contemporary culture These and the sensitive appreciation of these and plants and hills as living things, the sentimental feeling of brotherhood with animals which had influenced and been encouraged by Buddhism, the romantic mythological world still farther romanticised by Kalidasa's warm humanism and fine poetic sensibility, gave him exquisite grace and grandeur of background and scenic variety The delight of the eye, the delight of the ear, smell, palate, touch, the satisfaction of the imagination and taste are the texture of his poetical creation, and into this he has worked the most beautiful flowers of emotion and sensuous ideality The scenery of his work is a universal paradise of beautiful things All therein obeys one law of earthly grace, morality is aestheticised, intellectual suffused and governed with the sense of beauty And yet this poetry does not swim in languor, does not dissolve itself in sensuous weakness, it is not heavy with its own dissoluteness, heavy of curl and heavy of eyelid, cloyed by its own sweets, as the poetry of the senses usually is Kalidasa is saved from this by the chastity of his style, his aim at burdened precision and energy of phrase, his unseeping artistic vigilance ”

**624 Asvaghosa's Sāriputraprakarana**, a drama in nine Acts, “ deals with the events which led up to the conversion of the young Maudgalyayana and Sariputra by the Buddha, and some of the incidents are certain Sariputra had an interview with Asvajit, then he discussed the question of the claims of the Buddha to be a teacher with his friend, the Vidusaka, who raised the objection that a brahmin like his master should not accept the teaching of a Kshatriya, Sariputra repels the objection by reminding his friend that medicine aids the sick though given by one of inferior caste, as does water one in thirst Maudgalyayana greets Sariputra, inquiring of him the cause of his glad appearance and learns his reasons The two go to Buddha who receives them and who foretells to them that they will be the highest in knowledge and magic power of his disciples The end of the play is marked by a philosophic dialogue between Sariputra and the Buddha, which includes a solemn against the belief in the existence of a permanent self, it terminates in a praise of his two new disciples by the Buddha and a formal benediction ”<sup>1</sup>

“ The same manuscript contains portions of two other dramas, also likely the works of Asvaghosha The first of these is an allegorical

---

1. Ed by Lüders, SPAW, (1911), 888, Keith, SL, 80.

play like Prabodha-candrodava, and the characters are Buddhi, Kirti, Dhriti etc. The second though primarily religious in intent has much that is amorous. The relations between Magadhati, a hetaera, Somadatta, a rogue and Dhananjaya, probably a prince are depicted, but nothing can be said about the play, as what is available is very fragmentary."

**625 Candraka** is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary of Nāṭyaśāstra (Adh XIX) as a playwright of Kashmir. His identity with Candragomin is not clear, and it is more likely that Candragomin lived for earlier.<sup>1</sup>

Kalhana says that Candraka was a great poet, who composed plays, pleasing all kinds of audience. He flourished in the Court of King Ḥunjina of Kashmir who ruled about 103 A.D or according to Cunningham in 319 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

नाथ्यं सर्वजनप्रेक्ष्यं यश्चके स महाकविः ।  
द्वैपायनमुनेरशस्तत्काले चन्द्रकोऽमवत् ॥—Raj., II 16.

Dhanika quotes a verse which is enchanting

**626 Kaumudimahotsava** At the coronation of King Kalyāṇavarman of Pataliputra a play was enacted in which is the story of defeat and death of Kalyāṇavarman's father Sundaravarman at the hands of Candasena King of Licchavis and the rein-statement of Kalyāṇavarman on the throne of Magadha by the efforts of minister Mantragupta. The name of the drama is not mentioned in the work, but the editors, rather discoverers, of it have christened it as Kaumudi-mahotsava, from a possible pun in an expression used by the Sūṭradhāra. Unluckily in the manuscript that has been traced the first letters of the name of the author are ant-eaten and from the letters (कौमि) and from a significant mention of Vijaya in the verse

जयति प्रथमं विजया जयन्ति देवास्तयं महादेव ।  
श्रीमान्तौ भगवन्ताबनन्तनारायणौ जयत ॥ (iv 19)

the editors guess that a woman must be the author and that that woman is likely Vijikā. Vijjakā or Vijikā is a prakritised form of Vijaya

1 See para 260 *supra*

2 The verses quoted in Subhāṣitāvalī appear to be the Nāndis of his various plays. See Keith, SD, 169.

(*Vidya?*) Vijjikā's poetry has been preserved in the anthologies<sup>1</sup> and it is of very high order, and if this play were her work the language here is of the same merit. Kaumudimahotsava as an autumnal moonlight festival celebrated at Pataliputra and elsewhere is mentioned in several works such as Ratnāvalī and Mudrārakṣasa. Several passages here show an imitation the expressions of Kālidāsa. The reference to Saunaka and Avimāraka in the following verse

शैनकभिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमाकरु कुरक्षीव ।  
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीय कान्त कल्याणवर्मणम् ॥ (iii 15)

suggests also the idea that the author of this play must have seen Dandin's *Avantisundari* and Bhāsa's *Avimāraka* where we find stories of Saunaka and Avimāraka. If Vijjikā was he queen of king *Candrāditya* of the 7th century<sup>2</sup> it is the likely date for the composition of this work. But it is not impossible that these similes about Sounaka and Avimāraka were an independent thought of the author of this play. The reference to Dattaka, Ganikāputra and Mūlañeva makes us feel that this play belongs to the same period as *Caturbhāni*, the four bhanas aforesaid, where similar thoughts and references are abundantly discerned. Udayana's tales were much admired in the centuries just preceding and coming after the Christian era. Kālidāsa says so and the several dramas that have for their plots the story of *Vatsrāja*. Udayana must have been composed at that period of popularity. If this latter surmise is correct, Vijjikā or the real author must have flourished far earlier than the 5th or 6th centuries. The plot of the drama<sup>3</sup> is thus summarised by the editors.

"Chandasena, the military commandant of Sundaravarman, a king of Magadha, conspired with the Licchavis, the hereditary enemies of his lord and brought about their attack on Pātaliputra. In the contest between Sundaravarman and the Licchavis, the former died on the battlefield. Chandasena became the king. Mantragupta, the minister of Sundaravarman, secreted the prince Kalyanavarman with a few minister's sons at a place called Pampā in the Vindhya, while he himself in various disguises watched an opportunity to regain the throne for the prince. Some years passed before he could muster forces and

I See para 874 *supra*

2 Ibid

3 Edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S K Ramanatha Sastri with an introduction, Madras

defeat the traitor At last Kalyānavarman was installed on the Magadha throne The drama was staged on the occasion of his coronation

An amorous incident covers up the political stratagem of Mantragupta Kirtimati, the daughter of Kirtisena, the king of the Sūrasenas, accompanied one Yogasiddhi, a nun, who was proceeding to worship Vindhyavāsinī in the Vindhya. The nun was once the nurse to Kalyānavarman at Pātaliputra and since the death of his father, Sundaravarman, she renounced all worldly ties and spent her days in various holy places. When she came to Mathura the royal household treated her most kindly and even entrusted their daughter, Kirtimati to her care in her pilgrimage to Vindhyavāsinī. During their stay at Pampā the prince and princess met each other by accident and their first sight slowly developed into love. Yogasiddhi saw their portraits as drawn by the goddess and identified between the couple the child growing into prime youth once nursed by her. She fell into a reverie of old reminiscences. Meanwhile Mantragupta killed the usurper and proclaimed Kalyānavarman as king of Magadha. The nun and the princess went back to Sourāṣṭra, and her father Kirtisena was doubly pleased to receive the intelligence of Kalyānavarman's prosperity and his daughter's overtures of love and sent an ambassador with a pearl-necklace which had a heroic history behind it and with the proposals of marriage of his daughter to the royal youth. Kalyānavarman was only too glad to reject such an offer of friendly alliance and prop of life."

**627** K P Jayaswal (*/BURS*, XIX, 113 ff seq) discusses historical data in this drama<sup>1</sup>

"The Guptas appear about 275 A D somewhere in Magadha Gupta, the first Raja, rises as a feudatory prince. As later we find the early Guptas connected with Allahabad (Prayaga) and Oudh (Saketa), Maharaja Gupta's fief seems to have been near about Allahabad. His son was Ghatotkacha, and Ghatotkacha's son was the first prince who turned the name of his ancestor Gupta into a dynastic title. His name was Chandra. At the time of the rise of Chandra, called by the Prakrit name Chandasena in the Kaumudi-mahotsava, the king of Magadha at Pataliputra was Sundaravarman, ruling from his palace

1 In this connection Jayaswal refers (at page 88) Bhāvaśātaka of Nāgaraja (Sri Ganapati Nāgaraja) to this period and identifies him with king Ganapati Naga of the Tak Nāga race now living near Jammu and the Punjab. He quotes a correct verse as found in *Cat of Mithila* MSS II 105

On Bhāvaśātaka, see para 849 supra

called Su-Ganga This palace is named in the inscription of Kharavela as the Su-Gangiya and in the Mudra-Rakshasa as the Su-Ganga The capital city of Pataliputra thus came down with its ancient palace intact to the period of King Sundaravarman and Chandra King Sundaravarman was an old man, having a child of a few years of age yet in charge of a nurse Chandra and Chandrasena has been adopted as his son by the king of Magadha, evidently before the birth of the young prince Chandra regarded himself as the heir, being the elder, though a Kritaka son He entered into a marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis who are described as the enemy of the Magadha dynasty in the same drama Kaumudi-mahotsava The Lichchhavis with a large army and Chandra laid a siege to Pataliputra A battle was fought in which the old king Sundara-varman died The young prince Kalyana-varman was carried away to the Kishkindha hills by the faithful minister Chandra founded a royal dynasty (raja kula) The angry authoress of the drama calls the Lichchhavis 'Mlechchhas' and Chanda-sena a Karaskara, implying a casteless or a low-caste man, not fit for royalty

The position of the Madraka Jats was probably not very low at the time, for had it been very low, King Sundaravarman would not have thought of making Chandra-sena his adopted son His original intention seems to have been to bequeath the kingdom to Chandra And it was only due to the birth of Kalyanavarman from some younger queen (Kalyana-varma is said to have several stepmothers-'matarah') that the breach between the adoptive father and the adopted son occurred The real cause of the opposition from the public, which was very pronounced, seems to be a dislike for the social system of the Karaskaras who were not subject to the fourfold-varnasramism of the orthodox system It is the same dislike which is expressed in the Maha-Bharata against the Madrakas They had one caste amongst them with social equality and freedom, which did not agree with the settled rules of the Gangetic society The compliment was mutually exchanged the Kaumudi-mahotsava taunted at the Karaskara caste as rulers, the Guptas replied 'we shall abolish the Kshatriyas'

11+ Now we know from the Puranic history that in the reign of Kanishka (and probably also of his successor), Vanaspara imported some Madrakas for administrative purposes But the Punjab military dress of Chandra Gupta I on his coins would suggest that the family had migrated recently in the Bharasiva period after the liberation of

the Madraka country by the latter. Very likely a Bharasiva king gave Gupta a fief, having border-land between Bihar and Kausambi, for it was to suppress a rebellion of the Savaras that Chandra Gupta I had gone to his frontier when the City Council of Pataliputra pronounced a decree of deposition against him.

115 Chandra Gupta I, having his caste against him and being somewhat of a usurper, was disliked by the Magadhanas of his day, particularly as he failed to adapt himself to the traditional Hindu way of Government. He showed a hostile, repressive attitude to the people of Magadha. The Kaumudi-mahotsava records that Chanda-sena had put leading citizens into prison. The people of Magadha looked down upon him as something like a patricide. Chandra Gupta I had thus several elements arrayed against him. A cry was raised that he was not a Kshatriya, he had practically killed his aged adoptive father on the battlefield, he had called in the aid of the hereditary enemies of Magadha—the Lichchhavis, he had married a lady who was neither a Magadhan nor a Brahmanical Hindu. To this we should add that he had defied the imperial authority of the Brahmin Emperor Pravarasena I.

116 With the aid of the Lichchhavi power and protection he trampled upon the liberties of the people of Magadha and put the leading citizens into prison. Alberuni therefore recorded a true and historical tradition when he said that the king or kings associated with the Gupta-kala (era) were cruel and wicked. The Hindus had the constitutional law laid down in their codes to destroy the king who acted as a tyrant or whose hands had the marks of the blood of his parents. They planned and rose, called in Prince Kalyanavarman from the Vakataka territory (Pampasara) and crowned him king at the Su-Ganga Palace at Pataliputra. The authoress of the Kaumudi-mahotsava exultantly said—‘the law of Varna is restored, the royal family of Chanda-sena is abolished.’ This happened while Chandra Gupta was on his campaign somewhere between Rohtas and Amarkantak fighting the rebellious Savaras. The outlandish monarch was ousted in or about 340 A.D., for Kalyana varman was of full age to receive Hindu royal coronation at the time. In the year of his coronation Kalyana-varma was married to the daughter of the king of Mathura.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also K. P. Jayawal, *Historical Data on the drama Kaumudi mahotsava* (*Annals*, XII 50). See K. Raghavachari, *ABQ* 189. Vijjska is mentioned in Gadadharbhata's *Rasikajivana*, composed about 1650 A.D. (*Annals*, XIII 899).

For Lichchhavis, see *IA*, XXXII 283, XXXVII 78. On Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal, see *IA*, IX 178, XIV 850 and Fleet, *GL*, Int 185, 184, 191.

**628 Dhuranaga** (Bhadanta) lived at Arālapura, sometime earlier than the 5th century A D His KUNDAMĀLĀ, a play in 6 acts, describes the later history of Rāma after the coronation, that is, the story of banishment of Sītā and her discovery and reunion In depicting the sentiment of Karuṇa, he is a precursor of Bhavabhūti, who wrote Uṭṭararāmacarita on the same theme and rightly so, he was mentioned with appreciation by Bhoja and other writers on rhetoric Verses quoted as his by Vallabhadeva and Śrīdharaśāra are not found in this play<sup>8</sup>

**629 Visakhadatta**<sup>9</sup> was the son of Pīthu<sup>4</sup> Mahārāja and grandson of Vateśvaradatta, a Sāmantaka His play MUDRĀKĀLĀSASA, in

1 Ed by M Rāmakishna Kavi, Madras His mention of Dingnāga as the author is now acknowledged to be an error See F W Thomas (*JRAS*, 1924), D R Mankad, *Pratimā and Kundamālā* (*Annals* XII 97), K Gopalakishna Sastrī, *Kundamālā uttarasā* (*Jl. Mys Sans Col* V 166) Aucht (*CC*, I, 109) mention Nāgayya's Kundamālā as from Burnell is erroneous In *Tang VIII* 8379, the colophon is अनुपुराधस्य कवेर्वीरनागस्य कृति कुन्दमालानाम नाटक समाप्तम् ॥

2 See Peterson, *Subh Int* 49 and for his philosophical verses

समाक्षिप्यत्युच्चै पिशितचनपिण्ड स्तनधिया  
मुख लालापूर्णं पिबति चषक सामवमिति ।  
अमेघ्यक्षेदारेऽपथि च रमते स्पर्शरसिको  
महामोहान्धानानि किमिव कमनीयं त्रिजगताम् ॥  
मुधोत कोशेय सुरभि कुसुम कौकुममपि  
क्षणात्तद्यस्मिन्वितमशुचित्वे निपतति ।  
त्रिगन्धान्धिप्यन्दान्वमति नवमियोऽप्रणमुखे  
कथ तस्मिन् काये सुभगबहुमानोऽत्रभवताम् ॥

*Subh* 3388-9

8 Some manuscripts read Viśākhaḍeva DC, XXI 8163, Wilford (*As Res* V 208) called the author of the work Ananta and quotes him as declaring that he lived on the banks of the Godāvari But none of the extant commentaries contain this reference.

सूक्ष्मार —अलमतिप्रसगेन । आङ्गापितोऽस्मि परिषदा, यथाय त्वया सामन्तवटेश्वर-  
दत्तपौत्रस्य महाराजपदमाकृपृथसूनो कवेर्वीराखदत्तस्य कृतिरमिनव मुद्राराक्षस नाम नाटकं  
नाटयितव्यमिति ।

4 Wilson (*Theatre*, II 138) suggests that he might be identical with the Chohan Chief of Ajmir Pītu Rāi Telang (*Int to Edn page 12*) points out the distinction that Pīthu the father of Viśākhaḍeṭṭa is specially called Mahārāja, while Pīthu of Ajmir is only Prīthura or Prīthura.

seven acts,<sup>1</sup> has for its theme the reconciliation of Rāksasa, the hostile minister of Nanda, the late king of Paliabora to the individuals by whom or on whose behalf his sovereign was murdered, the Brahmin Canakya and the prince Candragupta. With this view he is rendered by the contrivance of Canakya an object of suspicion to the prince with whom he has taken refuge and is consequently dismissed by him. In this deserted condition, he learns the imminent danger of a dear friend, whom Canakya is about to put to death and in order to effect his liberation, surrenders himself to his enemies. They offer him contrary to his expectations the rank and power of prime minister and the parties become friends”<sup>2</sup>

राक्ष—किमत पर प्रियमस्ति ।

राक्षसेन सम भैक्षी राज्ये चारोपिता वयम् ।

नन्दाश्रोन्मूलिता सर्वे किं कर्तव्यमत प्रियम् ॥

**630** The date of Visākhadatta is as usual subject to much speculation. The concluding verse of benediction refers to a king Candragupta<sup>3</sup>

राक्ष—तथापीदमस्तु (भरतवाक्यम्)—

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यागुरुणां (नुरुणा)

यस्य प्राप्नदन्तकोटिप्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधाकी ।

म्लेच्छैश्वदेज्यमाना भुजयुगप्यधुना सश्रिता राजगदौ

स श्रीमद्वन्धुसूखश्विरमवतु मर्ही पार्थिवश्वन्दगृहः ॥

It is possible that the plot of the play as connected with Candragupta was suggested by the identical name of the then reigning king and his victories over the marauding attacks of the

1 Ed by A Hillebrandt (Breslaw) See Review of it by Sten Konow, 14, XLIII 64. For an account of the plot and the antecedent events, see introductory verses in Dhundhurāja's commentary (Ed. Bombay)

2 Wilson, o c 127 There are English Translations by Wilson, (*Theatre*, II 125-254) and by M A Kale, Bombay For translations in other languages, see Schuyler, *Bab 95*

3 The readings are different पार्थिवोऽन्तिवर्मा and पार्थिवो रन्तिवर्मा Several reliable South Indian Manuscripts have the words पार्थिवो दन्तिवर्मा

If this is the correct reading then Dantivarman was a Pallava king who ruled between 779-830 A.D. See C J Dubruij, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 74; *The Pallavas*, 54, 65, 72, T A Gopanatha Rao, *The Pallavas and the Ganga Pallavas*, (Christian College Magazine, 1907, April), Venkayya, *EI*, VIII 291, Fleet's *Carnatic Dynasties*, 82, A, Rangasami Saraswati, *JMy*, XIII, 686, *EI*, IV, 180.

Huns and the king mentioned there is Candragupta Vikramāditya II, 'who died in 413' "The play knows the Hunas of a time when they had not yet acquired any territory in India, and the annoyance caused to the country by the Mlechas at the time of the composition of this drama, would refer, if the composition, as it seems probable, took place after the suppression of the Western Satrap (390 A D), to the Ku-shanas or to the new element of the Huns, who might have already made some invasions, probably with the Kushanas about the last year of Chandragupta's reign."<sup>2</sup>

The scene of the play is laid in the city of Kusumapura or Pataliputra.<sup>3</sup> The several indications of geographical facts show that the city was then in flourishing condition.<sup>4</sup> While Fa Hian the earlier Chinese Traveller described the city as the capital of Magadha,<sup>5</sup> Hiuen Tsang, the later traveller, found the city in ruins, the foundations of which still covered a very large area.<sup>6</sup> Again in the last act the morality of the Buddhas is alluded to and the references to Buddhism must have belonged to a period long prior to the decay of Buddhism<sup>7</sup> in India and in the time of Fa Hian had attained the zenith of its glory.<sup>8</sup> These several considerations suggest that the play might have been composed about the beginning of the 5th century A D.<sup>9</sup>

1 Jayaswal (*IA*, XL 265 ff) suspects a defence of the scandalous murder of the Sakas Satrap in the story put forward in the *Mudrā Rākṣasa* of the destruction of the Pantalaka (Philippos) by Candragupta Maurya through the alleged agency of the Viśvākanyā. The Vāyu Purāṇa referred to the attempt at the uprooting of the Sakas in Malva and Rajputana in the early decades of the Gupta rule. He also refers to the passage in *Harṣacarita* VI अरिपुरे च परकल्पकामुक कामिनीवेषगृहतश्च चन्द्रगुप्तश्च-कपोतमनाशयत् || He thinks Malayakeṭu is misspelling of Śālayakeṭu (Seleucus)

2 This play treats these as interchangeable (See Telang's Edn pp 187, 196, 198, 205) As to these names see Cunningham, *Arch Rep* XIV, 1, *JASB*, XVII 49, Beal's *Fa Hian*, p 70, *JRAS* (n s) VI 227, Burgess, *Arch Sur Rep* V 48, Hall's, *Int to Vasavadatta*, 85

3 Telang's Ed (o c) 154, 211-14

4 Between 389-414 A D See Wilson, (o c) 86, Beal's *Fa Hian*, 108, *JBRAS*, III 153, *JRAS*, XVII 126, *IA*, VI, 181

5 See Elphinstone's, *History of India*, 292.

6 Act VII 5, Telang's Int (o c 95)

7 Beal's *Fa Hian*, Int, lxi

8 Wilson (o c) 137 ff interprets the trouble by the Mlechas as meaning the Pātāṇa princes and considers the application of the word Kṣapajaka to the Jaina Jīva-siddhi as a characteristic of a period subsequent to the disappearance of the Baudhas from India. He therefore assigns the composition of the drama to 11 or 12th century A D See Weber (*SL*, 207 note), Cunningham (*Arch. Sur.* VIII, 22, *JASB*, XIV, 140,

**631** *Mudrārakṣasa* is unique in Sanskrit literature "To the entire exclusion of love, the plot is wholly of a political character and represents a series of machiavellian stratagems, influencing public events of considerable importance and as a historical record or as a picture of it possesses no ordinary claims on our attention. There is in fact but one female character introduced and not however to suggest any scene of tenderness but only of sacrifice." The language is vigorous, but the verse never loses a melodious flow. The allusion to Varāhāvāṭāra and the simile "pearls spotless like snow"<sup>2</sup> render it probable that the author was quite familiar with, if not a native of Northern India.<sup>3</sup> The work has been held in high esteem, but without an idea of the historical events precedent to the plot of the work it may be hard to follow the course of the play.

*IA*, II 145 VI 114 note) accepts the view Telang however (o c 16 ff) remarks that the Mlecha trouble might mean the early Mohammedan depredations of the 8th century and that the word Kṣapanaka is not exclusively applied to the Buddhists. He reads the last verse as mentioning Avantivarman who might be identical with the father of the Maukhari King Grahavarman, the husband of the sister of Harṣavarṇhana of Kanouj and on this basis assigns the work to the 7th century A.D. tentatively. For this Avantivarman, see Cunningham's *Arol Sur Rep* XV 165, XVI 73 and *Harṣacarita*, 109. There is king Avantivarman of Kashmir for which see Rajatarangini (V, 1 127) and *JBRAS*, Sp No, 74. Another Avantivarman is mentioned with no date in *JASB*, XXX 321 Macdonnel (SL, 365) and Rapson (*JRAS* 1900, 586) agree with Telang. Jacobi (*VOJ*, II 212 216) says that the play was enacted before King Avantivarman of Kashmir on 2nd December 860 A.D. Hildebrandt, Speyer and Tawney (*JRAS*, 1908 1910) affirm it to be much older, anterior to the first recension of the *Pancatantra* and to Bhatṛhari who died in 651 A.D. and suggest the accuracy of Jayaswal's view. See V Smith, (*History of India*, 48 note). Schuyler (*B&B* 10) gives the date 1000 A.D. J Antani (*IA* LI 49) gives date 7th century A.D. after Yaśodharman who ruled 645 A.D. For other references see Peterson, *Subh* 128, Dhuva's *Age of Vasākhadatta* (*NZKM*, V, 25-35), F Hagg on *Visākhadatta* (Burgdore), Hildebrandt's Edn (Breslaw) and review of it by Sten Konow in *IA*, XLIII and Keith, *Date of Mudrāraksasa and Brhatkatha* in *JRAS*, (1909) 145, B C Dutt, *Civ* II 281, M Williams *IW*, 507 *Vasākhadatta's characters*, (Sahridaya, IV 61). Two stanzas of this play are found in Bhartrihari's *Subhashita*, for which see Telang's Preface to his Edn. of Bhartrihari, 21. For a critique, see *Sahriaya*, IV 15 and *Rhārata* (1927) Aug.

1. आशैलेन्द्रादिमान्तस्सलितमुरनदीशकिरासारवर्णात्  
तीरान्ताजैकरागस्फुरितगुणरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।  
आगलागलमीतप्रणतमृपचैत्तैश्वश्वदेव कियन्ति  
चूडारत्नांगुणर्मस्तवचरणयुगस्याङ्गुलीरन्त्रभागा ॥

2. See Telang's Introduction (o.o , 18)

**632** There are several commentaries on the work *Vatesvara-misra*,<sup>1</sup> son of *Gauripatimisra* of *Miṭhila*, attempted to give a double interpretation to this composition and to present it as a system of polity as well as a play. *Dhundhīrāja*, son of *Lakṣmaṇa*, wrote his commentary in the reign of King *Sarabhoji* of Tanjore in the year 1713 A D. He gives a short poetical introduction describing the story of the *Nandas* leading to the accession of *Candragupta* and the events of the play.<sup>2</sup> Other commentaries are by *Swāmi Sāstṛi*, a native of *Anantāśagara* or *Solavandān*,<sup>3</sup> by *T Tarkavacaspāṭi*,<sup>4</sup> by (*Mahesvara*, *Vateśvara* *Prakṛtācārya*, *Kesava-upādhyāya* and *Abhirāma*),<sup>5</sup> by *Graheśvara*,<sup>6</sup> by *J Vidyā-sāgara*,<sup>7</sup> by *Sarabhabhūpa*.<sup>8</sup>

There is a prose version of the story by *Anantapandita*,<sup>9</sup> and a poetical epitome, *Mudrārākṣasakathāsāra* by *Ravikartana*.<sup>10</sup>

*Ananṭa*, son of *Bālapandita*, lived at *Punyatamba* on the *Godāvanī* in the middle of the 17th century. He wrote also commentaries on *Govardhana*'s *Saptasati* and *Rasamanjari*.<sup>11</sup>

**633** In *Vallabhadeva*'s *Subhāṣitavalī*, there are verses attributed to *Visakhadeva*, not traceable in *Mudrārākṣasa*. There are probably taken from some of his lost works.

तत्त्रिविष्टपमास्यात तन्मङ्ग्या यद्वलित्यम् ।  
येनानिमेषदृष्टित्वं नृणामप्युपजायते ॥ 1648  
सेन्द्रचापैश्चित्रामेषैर्निपत्तिरिक्षरा नगा ।  
वर्णकम्बलसर्वतो बभुर्मरुदिपा इव ॥ 1728

1 *CC*, II 160, 218

2 *Ed Calcutta*, Mysore, Bombay, Ahmedabad.

3 *DC* XXI 8468

4 Printed Calcutta *Śringārasarvavyabhāṣa* (*DC*, XXI 8518) enacted at the festival of *Māṭbhūṭeśvara* at Trichinopoly (Trissurabpuri). The author is said to have been rewarded by King *Ramācandra*.

5 *CC*, I 461, II, 106, 218; III 99

6 *DC*, XXI 8472, *CC*, III 99. He styles himself *Mahāmahopādhyāya* and son of *Sūḍhēśvara* of *Śrīvaiṣṇagotrā* and gives his genealogy.

7 *Ed Calcutta*

8 *Tanj* VIII 8474, it is the Tanjore king *Sarabhoji*

9 *CC*, I 461. See also *Sahrīraya* XIX.

10 Printed at Calcutta and with a short gloss by *Rājagopāla* of *Māṭura* (Māṭras). He is called *Ravinarṭaka* in *DC*, XXI 8155. He says he proposes to render into verse the story of *Āñanyakā* which was in prose (which apparently is now lost).

11. *CC*, I. 18. These two latter were composed in 1646 and 1685 A D.

**634** Visakhadeva's Devicandragupta is of at least five acts, as inferred from the various quotations from the work made by Bhoja in his *Sṛugāprakāsa* and by Rāmacandra in his *Nātyadarpana*,<sup>1</sup> mentioning the names of Dhruvadevi, Candragupta, Mādhavasenā. The plot of the play appears to be alluded to by Bāna in his *Haracarita*

'In *Devicandragupta* the heroine Dhruvadevi when she was in her husband's camp with a small retinue who enjoyed their summer in the cool abodes of the Himalayan frontier, was carried away by an unprincipled foreigner a Saka by birth and was much tormented to accept his hand. A brother of Chandragupta II who was her husband in the disguise of a courtesan formed a dramatic company and approached the licentious Saka. By a series of political strategems Kumarachandra-gupta makes Dhruvadevi escape and takes her place in a female garb. When the Saka prince almost became mad of his love to Dhruvadevi and self-sufficiency blinded him to the probable dangers from an offended enemy, he allowed himself to meet in a secret chamber the enemy in the disguise of his favourite object which he sought for. He had his emoluments for his accumulated follies. He is no more pitied than Kichaka repaid by Bhīma. In this the amorous adventure is entirely subsidiary.'

Far beyond the *Mudrārāksasa*, those fragments of splendid poetry and prose reveal a beauty of language and plot, not unequal to Bhāsa's or Kālidāsa's. Is it possible that Visākhadeva was a contemporary of king Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty and he wrote a drama with

1. For instance

i तथा विशाखदेवकृते देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते माधवसेना समुद्रिश्य कुमारचन्द्र गुप्तोक्ति.—

आनन्दाश्रुजल सितोत्पलरुचोराब्रह्मता नेत्रं च  
प्रत्यक्षेषु वरानने पुलकिषु सेद समातन्वता ।  
कुर्वाणेन नितबयोश्पचय सपूर्णयोरप्यसौ  
केनापि स्पृशताप्यधोनिवसनग्रन्थिस्तवोच्छवासित ॥

ii इयमपि देवी तिष्ठति, यैषा—

रम्या चारतिकारिणीं च करुणाशोकेन नीता दशा  
तत्कालोपगतेन राहुशिरसा गुप्तेन चान्द्री कला ।  
पत्थु क्षीबजनोचितेन यदि तेनानेन पुस सतो  
लङ्घाकोपविशादमीलरतिमि क्षेवीकृता ताम्यति ॥

For other quotations, see (GOS) p. 71, 84, 86, 118, 141, 193, 194.

his king as the hero and another with his namesake of the Maurya dynasty? There is no record that directly conflicts with this attribution of that antiquity to Visākhadeva, but the last verse of benediction on King Candragupta lends full support to it.

Rājasekhara quotes a verse in which Candragupta's rescue of his wife caught in his enemy's camp<sup>1</sup>

वृत्तेतिवृत्तं कथोत्थ —

दत्त्वा रुद्रगतिश्छकाधिपतये देवीं धुवसामिनीं  
यस्मात्स्वर्णिंडतसाहसो निवृते श्रीशर्मणुपतो नृप ।  
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये युरुगुहाकोणक्षणत्तिक्ष्वरे  
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेयनगरस्त्रीणां गणै कीर्तय ॥

*Kāvyaṁmāmsā*, p. 46

635 ABHISARIKAVANCITAKA or Abhisārikābandhūtaka is mentioned as Visākhadeva's play by Bhoja and Abhimavagupta and there are the references

i. कदाचित्कामोऽन्त्यधमान अकलीलालक्षणात् विचेष्टितात् उपजायते । नद्यरागप्रस्ता-  
नयन वा ततो भवति । यथा विशाखदेवकुते अभिसारिकावचित्तके वत्सेशस्य पशावती महूशबरी ।  
वेषाधाचारणस्पात् लीलाचेष्टितात् काम प्रस्ताव्यात् । (प्रस्तावीतः?)—

*Abhimavabhbhrati*

ii. कोधो यथा—श्रीविशाखदेवकुते अभिसारिकावचित्ते वत्सराज । सम्भावितपुत्रवधायै  
पश्चावलै कुद्ध । तथा च अम्यधात्—

प्रदुषोभग्राही सरितमवगाढः श्रमवशा-  
दुपालीनश्चास्ति फलकुसुमलोभाद्विषतरो ।  
फणाली नामीन्युत परिचयां कौर्यनितरा  
विषज्जालागर्सी चिरमुरगकन्यामनुसृत ॥—*Sringūraprakāśa*

"These two extracts furnish us with some material from which we may make some surmises as to the significance of the title and the nature of the plot. It is well known that Udayana was a love-hero of the *dakṣiṇa* type. It is also known how the minister Yaugandharāsiya lured the king into the belief that Vāsavadattā was burnt, and persuaded him to marry Padmāvatī. In the same way a mischievous character in this play, might have, with the determined purpose of

1 See IA, (1928), 181, JMy, XV. 269

bringing about an estrangement between the king and Pādmāvatī, set afloat the rumour that Pādmāvatī killed Udayana's son and that she was a murderer. Udayana had many wives and we do not know whether Pādmāvatī, as the rumour had it, killed the son of Udayana born of Vāsavadattā or somebody else, but we may hazard a guess, namely, that it might be Udayana's son through Vāsavadattā. Mutual jealousy and hatred are net unusual features where polygamy prevails and the capricious king probably gave full credence to the prevailing rumour. He lost his self-control. His deep love turned into deep hatred. Rage and fury took possession of him. He saw in Pādmāvatī not the nymph of celestial beauty but a "serpent woman glowing with flames of poison". He rebuked Pādmāvatī in menacing tones. Poor Pādmāvatī, a victim to slander, found that she had lost the love of Udayana. She tried to regain it. To go and plead before the king and to vindicate her innocence would be useless and futile. Hence she hit upon the following plan. Dressed as a charming huntress she attracted the attention of the tenderminded Udayana. As time rolled on Udayana found himself completely enmeshed in her love. When Pādmāvatī found that the love of the king was genuine she revealed her identity. Probably then she explained her innocence. Thus there is the नष्टरागप्रसानयन as said in the Abhinavabhārati. This then explains the significance of the title. By a clever impersonation of a huntress Pādmāvatī in the roll of an Abhisārkā decovers the king and regains her lost love.<sup>1</sup>

**636 Ramesvara** was the son of Rāmadeva Tarkavāgīsa. He was a native of Vanga and flourished in the first half of the 18th century. His patron Citrasena King of Mana. His CANDRABHISEKA is a drama in seven acts and describes the story of the destruction of Nandas by Cānakya and the coronation of Candragupta. The scene in the seventh act is interesting where Rākṣasa receives a letter that the Nandas are at the point of death owing to a burning fever produced by a Yoga commenced by Cānakya. The style resembles Viśākhadatta's as also the plot. But the tricks of policy, that are so amazing in the latter, are not so original or prominent in Rāmesvara's work.

1. R. Ramamurti in *JOR*, Madras

2. CC, I 182

**637 Bhatta Narayana**<sup>3</sup> or shortly Nārāyaṇa was of Sāndilya family. He was surnamed Mṛgaraja. Traditionally he was one of the Brahmins that immigrated from Kanouj to Bengal at the invitation of Ādīsūra, king of Bengal<sup>4</sup> who reigned in the first half of the 7th century A D. He is called Niśā-Nārāyaṇa by anthologists because of his beautiful description of the night (*niśā*)<sup>5</sup>. In a manuscript<sup>6</sup> of the Nīvī, a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Rūpāvatāra, it is stated that at the request of Bāna Bhatta, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa became pupil of a Buddhist monk, learnt from him all the tenets of Buddhist philosophy and defeated Dharmakīrti and that Rūpāvatāra is the joint work of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa and Dharmakīrti. It may therefore be inferred that Bhatta Nārāyaṇa lived in the first half of the 7th century A D.

**638** In his Avantisundarakathā, Dandin praises Nārāyaṇa<sup>7</sup> as well as Bāṇa and Mayūra and refers to the former as having composed three works. It is quite likely that Dandin refers in this verse to Bhatta Nārāyaṇa.

व्यातु पदत्रयेणापि यशस्तो भुवनत्रयम् ।  
तस्य काव्यत्रयब्यातौ चित्र नारायणस्य किम् ॥

A quotation in the Subhāṣitāvali appears to be the nāndi of a drama with the sentiment of love in it.

1. See K M Shembavnekar, *The Goita of Bhattanārāyaṇa*, JCCJ, I 262, Nārāyaṇakāvi, author of the drama Candrakalā (CC I 179) and Nārāyaṇa Bhatta author of Jānālipariṇaya (CC, I 206) are different. See A E Gough, *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 27.

2. Ādīsura is supposed to have lived in 3rd century B C. But Abul Fazl makes him the 28th ancestor of Ballal Sen who reigned 158-1170 A D (See V Smith, EH 403, 419 JASB xlvi, 400 Imp Gov under Rampur, N N Vasu, Proc of ASB, (1902) 307, Inst to Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa, 15, Arch Survey, Mayura bhanja (1911) I, lxiv note, and Ballalacarita, Bibl Ind.) Writers on Brahminical genealogy, particularly Hariniśā and Eru Miśā place Ādīsura shortly before the Palas and state that shortly after the arrival of the five Brāhmaṇas from Kanouj, the kingdom of Gour (Cap Laknauti of Lakmanāvati) became subject to the Pālas. See V Smith, EH 897, U C Batavyal, JASB, LXVII, 411. This date of 6th century A D for Bhatta Nārāyaṇa is approved by Weber (JL, 207) and Grill, (Lat Cent BL (1872-812). The story current in Benares that he went from Kānyakubja to Vanga in Saka 999 seems to be incorrect.

3. See Jalhaṇa's Suktimuktāvali.

4. This manuscript has been acquired for the Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras, and I am informed by M Ramakrishna Kavi that the leaf is half lost.

5. This verse is not found in the printed edition of Subhāṣitāvali, but in a manuscript recently acquired from the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Kuppusami Sastrī's Reg (1916-8), 40. See para 378 supra.

किं कि मिथ्याप्रचण्डैरपि विषमरुष कास्मिते यत्करोमि  
 ज्ञात चेतस्त्वदीय परिकलितद्व चित्तमेतन्ममापि ।  
 ग्रेमग्रन्थि विसूढ चरणनिपतनैर्धृष्ट्यन्ति तनोषि  
 स्पृष्टोऽखीरित्युमाया पुलकभुजलतालिगित पातु शमु ॥

**639 His Venisamhara.**<sup>1</sup> a drama in 6 acts, alludes to a sensational incident in the Sabhāparvan of Mahābhārata, viz., the forcible exposure of Draupadi's hair and garment by Dussāsana in the public assembly of Duryodhana's court and to the consequent vow of Bhimasena that the locks of hair would not be braided again save by his own hands wet with the blood of the infamous king. The play takes through the battle of the Bhāraṭa war and negotiations prior to it and culminates in the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhīra.

Traces of Pāncarāṭra tenets are visible in the work and his ridicule of the Cārvāka doctrine of materialism shows the religious tendency of his age. As a heroic piece, with the ruling sentiment of valour (virarasa), the play is very popular among writers on rhetoric. For admixture of humour and pathos, in dignity of thought and ease of expression the last Act commands high appreciation.

Among the earliest writers, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta quote Venisamhāra as the most appropriate illustrations of canons of dramaturgy.<sup>2</sup>

1 Called also Venisamvarana. Tran into English by S M Tagore (Calcutta) and by M R Kale (Bombay). See generally, G Narasayya and N Veeraraghavayya, *Bhārata*, VI 403, 575, 578), Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 885, R C Dutt *Civ* II 281, Muktagam Vaidyabagish, Int to Edn (Calcutta), L B Vaidya, Int to Edn. (Poona) Keith, *SD*, 212, M R Kale (Int to Edn) gives date 7th or 8th century.

2 The vow is expressed thus —

चञ्चलद्भुजभ्रितचण्डगदामिद्यातसम्बूर्णितोरुग्नस्य मुयोधनस्य ।  
 स्थानावबद्धनशोणितशोणपाणिरहत्याविष्यति कचस्त्व देवि भीम ॥

3 Ānandavardhana flourished in the court of King Avantivarman (955-884 A.D.). This reference is sufficient to refute the identification of the author of Venisamhāra with one Bhattachāryaya, the donee under a copper-plate grant of 840 A.D. (Khalimpur copper plate *EI*, IV 252) Macdonell (*SL* 866) and M Duff (*Chronology*) rely on this plate and say Bhattachāryaya's son Adiga Ojha was patronised by king Dharmapāla who reigned about 800 and 840 A.D. (See V Smith, *EH*, 898, Watters, II, 87, Beal, II, 82, 86 and IA, XV 804, *ibid* XX 808. On this grant, see IA, XX, 108, *ibid* XXI, 99, 254).

4. For quotations in Subhāṣṭīvali etc see Pet. Int. 50-51

There are commentaries by Jagaddhara,<sup>1</sup> Jaganmohana Tarkālankāra,<sup>2</sup> Tarkavācaspaṭi,<sup>3</sup> C R Tivari,<sup>4</sup> Ghanasyāma,<sup>5</sup> and Lakṣmaṇasūri.<sup>6</sup> There is a summary in prose by Ananṭācārya.<sup>7</sup>

**640** This play appears to have travelled to Java very early. In his introduction to *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* (GOS, xlviii) S Levi writes

"The Mahabharata was translated into (Old) Javanese at the end of the Xth century AD under the reign of King Sri Dharmavamsa teguh Anantavikramadeva who was ruling in Eastern Java, and, rivaling the Sumatranese empire of Srivijaya, endeavoured to promote the study of Sanskrit literature. Only some parts of the whole translation have been preserved, and in Bali only Kern had published, as early as 1871, a notice on the Adiparva with the text of the Pausyacarita (Verhand K Akad Wet, Amsterdam, afd Lett dl XI 1877)

The Adiparva begins with three Sanskrit stanzas, the first is clearly an arya, the second stanza is rather unexpectedly the well known benedictory verse of Bhatta Narayana's Venisamhara

जयति सनामिर्जगतौ सनभिरन्नोद्भवज्ञगदीज ।  
दामोदरो निजोदरगद्वरनिक्षिप्तजगदण्ड ॥

The point is of a particular importance on account of its bearing to the origin of the Javanese shadow-theatre (Wayang). The first mention of the Wayang occurs just some years later than the Javanese translation of the Mahabharata, in the Javanese Arjunavivaha written under the great king Airlanga, who had succeeded Sri Dharmavamsa. During the IXth and Xth centuries the connection between Bengal and Indonesia was very active, I refer here only to the Pala inscription at Nalanda (Epigr Ind, 1924, 310-327). If the Venisamhara was known to the Javanese translator of the Mahabharata, it follows that the

1. Ed Poona.

For his genealogy given here, see also in also XXI 8882. He was the son of Baṭṇādvara, and grandson of Viḍyādvara all learned in the sastras. He held two umbrellas as a man of scholarship. His poetry is excellent as seen from introductory verses to his commentary on Vāsavadattā and Mālatīmādhava.

2. Ed Calcutta.

3. Ed Calcutta.

4. Ed Benares.

5. HR. III, (1905) xi.

6. Ed. Madras.

7. Sah, xix. 165

Sanskrit theatre had reached Sri Dhammadavamsa's court, and the Wayang may have been born under the influence of the Sanskrit plays"

**641 Bhavabhuti**<sup>1</sup> whose real name was Srikantha was the son of Nilakantha and Jatukarni He was born at Padmapura<sup>2</sup> in the country of Vīdarbhās, the modern Berars, "somewhere near Chanda in the Nagpur territories where there are still many families of Mahrati Desastha Brahmins of the Black Yajurveda with Āpastamba for their sutras"<sup>3</sup> He gives us a short account of himself and his family in the prologues of his plays His ancestors were Brahmins surnamed Udumbara tracing their lineage from Sage Kāsyapa They were "teachers of their charana, so learned and pure as to be fit to purify by their association those receiving purification, the keepers of the five sacrificial fires, faithful to their religious vows, drinkers of Soma, and students of theology" His grandfather Bhatta Gopāla performed the sacrifice of Vājapeya Bhavabhūti therefore belonged to a family of Vedic scholars He is a Vedic bard with Vedic ideas and expressions which unconsciously get in and abound in the writings<sup>4</sup> Jñānananidhi was his guru, a name which looks as one assumed by persons of the monastic order Unlike other dramatists he develops the marriage of Mālatī and Mādhava on lines peculiar to his own study He follows Gautama and holds the mind and the eye as the sole guide in the choice of a bride The atheistic Sāṅkhyā and theistic yoga philoso-

1 As Ghānāśāmī says the name Bhavabhūti was given to him from his composition सम्बा पुनात् भवभूतिपवित्रमूर्ति (See TC, II 1728)

or as the commentator Viśarāghava says

गिरिजायास्त्वनौ वन्दे भवभूतिसिताननौ ।

तपसी का गतोऽवस्था हति स्मेराननाविव ॥

Two other poets Aluri Tirumalakavi and Rāṇakhetadīkṣita bore the title Abhinava-Bhavabhūti On the description of Padmāvati, see Khajuraho inscription EI, I 149

2 M V Lele in his book on *Malati-Madhava rasavichara* (in Mahrati) at page 5 identifies Padmāvati with the modern village Pavāya or Pola-pavaya north-east of Narvar in Gwalior state and Cunningham with Narvar (Nalapura) itself [Arch. Rep. (1862-5) II 307] Other identifications are (i) near Amaravati (ii) Karavipura (Kolhapur) (iii) Ujjain (iv) Pampur in Kashmuri. Belvalkar denies the identity of Padmāvati and Pañmapura (Introduction to *Uttaramacharita*, Harvard Oriental series) It must be said however that the oldest extant manuscript of the dated Nevari Samvat 276 (1156 A.D.) does not mention the province viz "Vīdarbheśu" [Nepal, (1905) No 1478] See Jayaswal, JBORS, XIX. 11.

3. Bhandarkar's Int to Mal note to Act I, line 81

4 See A B Keith, *Brihadibhi: and the Vedas*, JRAS, (1914), 729.

phies were known to him He was perhaps a wanderer in his youth intimate with actors and it is not improbable that he himself acted on the stage<sup>1</sup> In his middle life he attached himself to the court of Kanouj, and there standing by king Yasovarman in his vicissitudes followed him to Kashmir On his way he visited Buddhist Vihāras and observed the variety of Pāśanda worship and human sacrifices offered to Cāmunda to which he often alludes in his works

As a poet he had his reverses in his early days and apparently his critics were severe on him He slyly refers to them when he says "As of women, so of compositions, people are malicious as to their purity"<sup>2</sup> That accounts for his pessimism which went so far as to flout the opinion of his contemporary world He was conscious that his poetry was good and he left it for future generations to appreciate it He wrote that a "spirit kindred to mine will some day be born; for time is endless and the world is wide"<sup>3</sup>

He was conscious of his merit and he expressed that "Goddess of speech attends on him as on Brahma like a submissive hand-maid"<sup>4</sup> Vākpaṭī describes the excellences of Bhavabhūti's compositions as shining like particles of liquid nectar of poetry<sup>5</sup> Rājasekhara fancies him as Vālmīki himself re incarnate<sup>6</sup> Bhavabhūti was an admirer of Kālījāsa When the love-lorn Mādhava wandered in quest of Mālaṇī or when the desperate Mādhava sent a cloud as messenger to his beloved, Bhavabhūti had in his mind the distracted Purūravas and the Yaka He was however not a mere imitator He was the master of the sentiment of pathos<sup>7</sup> and his mode of dramatic composition was original<sup>8</sup> Tradition couples the name of Bhavabhūti with that of

1. Belvalkar thinks (loc page 101 note) that Bhavabhūti played the part of Vālmīki in the Uttarārāmacarīṭa

2. यथा लीणीं तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनौ जन ।

3 ये नाम केविदिह न. प्रथयन्त्ववहा  
जानन्ति ते किमपि तात् प्रति नैष यत्न. ।  
उत्पत्त्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा  
कालोऽश्य निरविर्गिपुला च पृष्ठी ॥

4. Uttarārāmacarīṭa Act, I १ अ ब्रह्माणमिय देवी वावशयेवानुवर्तते ।

5. Gaudavaho, 799

6. Bādarāmāyaṇa, Act I. 16.

7. According to him Karuṇa is the only rasa एको रस करुण एव ।

8. For a critical appreciation of Bhavabhūti's poetic merits, see Addanki Kumāraṭāṭacārya's *Bhavabhūti bhūṣṭaṇi* (Madras), T Suryanarayana Rao, *Bhavabhūti and his masterly genius* (Poona)

Kālidāsa They are mentioned together in the Bhojacaritra of Ballāla along with others as the poets of Bhoja's court,<sup>1</sup> but Kālidāsa of the dramatic fame must have long preceded our poet<sup>2</sup> Kalhaṇa mentions<sup>3</sup> Yasovarman king of Kanouj as the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatī<sup>4</sup> as a poet in the same court Yasovarman<sup>5</sup> was subdued by Lalitāditya of Kashmir<sup>6</sup> who ruled between 699 and 735 A D

On Bhavabhuti generally, see K M Banerjee, *Bhavabhuti in English Garb* (IA, I 148), Kale, *Int to Uttararamacharitra* (Bombay), A Borooah, *Bhavabhuti, his place in Sanskrit literature* (Calcutta), Bandarkar, *Bhavabhuti's quotation from the Ramayana* (IA, 123), Schuyler, *A Bibl of Bhavabhuti* (JAOS, XXV 189), Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII 884, CC, I 398, Peterson, PR, IV lxxxv, 778, Subh 77, F W Thomas, *Kav 602*, Wilson, *Theatre*, II 16, Macdonell, *SL*, 362

1 On Ballāla's work see under Bhoja post and Index

2 Belvalkar (o c p xxxix) says that Bhavabhūti's name is grouped with others as the 9 gems of the court of the king Vikramāditya of Ujjain. This seems to be mistake, for in the well known stanza (see para 14 *supra*) the name of Bhavabhūti is not mentioned

3.

कविवाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूतादिसेवित ।

जितो ययौ यशोदर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवान्दिताश् ॥ *Raj*, IV 144

"Yasovarman on whom attended the poet Vākpatirāja, the illustrious Bhavabhūti and others became by his defeat (at the hands of Lalitāditya) a panegyrist of his (Lalitāditya's) virtues"

MaxMuller (*India, what can it teach us?* page 384) reads Rājāśrī separately as a distinct poet. He is obviously wrong, for Vākpatī is also called Vākpatirāja. See Prabhāvakacarita, IX 465 'Sri' is prefixed to Bhavabhūti

4 VĀKPATIRĀJA, son of Harsadeva, otherwise known in Prakrit as Bappara was the author of the Prakrit poem GAUDIVĀHO (Ed by S P Pandit, BSS No 84 with the commentary of Haripāla with a valuable introduction). It is a historical poem apparently suggested by Ravanasaho or Setubandha of Pravarasena (or Kālidāsa). See para 33 *ante*. It is divided into cantos and the extant work is a series of 1209 couplets. It is curious that the work as it appears to be a prelude to the theme and the actual 'Slaughter of Gauda King' is yet to come. He describes the glory of King Yasovarman and his expedition of conquest. He says in the introduction to the poem "that he was the poet laureate of the court of Yasovarman, a pupil of the poet Kamalayudha, a personal admirer of Bhavabhūti, and the works of Bhasa, Jvalanamitra, Kunthideva, of the author of Raghuvamsa, of Subandhu, and Harisohandra, well read in the Nyaya sastra, the science of poesy, in the Puranas, and in the works of many poets" (verses 797 804). He refers to another poem of his not now available called 'Mahumohana-Viyayo' (verse 69, also referred to in Rājāśekhara's Prabandhakōśa). See S K Belvalkar (*HOS*) I c. ii, R C Bhandarkar, *Int of Malati*, xii

5 According to Dutt (Civ II 264) Yasovarman ruled 700-750 A D. See V. Smith, *The History of the City of Kanauj and of King Yasovarman*, [JRAS (1908). 765 98], EH, 879. See also C V Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India*, (Poona), 208-214, 384-42, Belvalkar's (o c 48), M Duff, (*Chronology*) gives Yasovarman under date 690 A D Lassen gives him A D 695-738

6 According to Kathāpa, Lalitāditya ruled 695 732 A D Cunningham,

642 Bhavabhūti's works belong to a later period<sup>1</sup> when a new style of the period of Dandin, Subandhu and Bāṇa, all poets of a school to which Ojas (powerful expression) is the soul of elegant style Bhavabhūti flourished about the close of the 7th century or in the beginning of the 8th century A D<sup>2</sup>

643 In the colophon to a manuscript of Mālatī-Mādhava<sup>3</sup> it is stated that the drama was composed by 'a pupil of Bhatta Kumārila' Kumārila was a professor of Mīmāṃsa and flourished between 590-650 A D<sup>4</sup> It has been said that the family of Bhavabhūti was renowned for sacrifices and vedic rites and study of Mīmāṃsa is indispensable for an orthodox exegesis of the Vedas It is possible therefore that there is some truth in the tradition that Kumārila was a teacher of Bhavabhūti<sup>5</sup>

(*Ancient Geography of India*, 90.22) adopts a correction of 31 years after 696 A D and dates Lalitāditya's accession in A D 727. Buhler follows this view and so does MaxMuller (o c 884 note 1) For a discussion of Cunningham's view, see S P. Pundit's, *Int to Gaudavaho* o c p lxv and lxxxi et seq S P Pundit gives the date 695 to 732 A D For Cunningham's earlier view (698-729 A D), see *Arch. Survey of India*, (1878), III 125 and Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, II 245 As to Lalitāditya's date, see Bhandarkar, *Int to Mal* 9, Dutt (o c II 178) See also Buhler's paper in *WZKM* II 828, Jacobi's paper in *Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen* (1888) No 2 page 68 and *VOJ*, II 882, Stein's *Int to Raṭṭi* and notes on IV 126, 184, Levi and Chavannes, *Itineraires d'Oukong* [JA, (1895) 853], fix the date of Yaśovarman's defeat between 736 and 747 A D See also Prabandhakōśa of Rājāśekhara (composed 1405-1849 A D), Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra and Tīrthakalpa of Jinasprabhasuri (composed 1864-1808 A D)

1 For a full account of these works, see J K Belvalkar (*HOS*) I c Introduction

2 Peterson, *JBRAS*, XVIII 109, Bhandarkar's, *Int to Mal*, iv and *JBRAS*, XVII 572, Keith, *SD*, 186

3 See Lele, *Mal* (o c 84), S P Pundit, *Int to Gaudavaho* (o c ccv), Bhandarkar, *Mal*, (o c. viii)

4. S P Pundit (l c) K.B Pathak (*JBRAS*, XVIII 213) assigns Kumārila to 700 A D

5 K T Telang (*JBRAS*, XVIII 159) and Buhler (*VOJ*, II 882) are against this view Belvalkar (o c xl) remarks "Unfortunately the colophon to act vi complicates the matter by giving the name of that pupil as Umvekacharya It follows either that this was an alias of Bhavabhuti or else that the *Mal Madh* is a composite work and that while the other eight acts are by Bhavabhuti, acts III and VI are by Umvekacharya, perhaps a substitution of his own version of these two acts in place of Bhavabhuti's original version which this pupil of Kumarila did not like Obviously we are giving undue weight to the testimony of a single manuscript A solitary manuscript of the *Uttaramacharita* gives Bhavabhuti's original name as Neelakanta instead of Srikantha and the oldest extant manuscript of the *Mal Madh* (A D 1156) says after the colophon to act X *Kritiriyam Mahakaveri Bhugarbhasya* Is Bhugarbha another alias of Bhavabhuti? Perhaps all this confusion means only that our poet was not so well and widely known as we might like to think."

Mandana became an ascetic and assumed the name of Suresvarācārya. There is a controversy whether Mandanamisra and Suresvarācārya were identical. "In Madhava's Sankaravijaya, they are treated as synonymous and in the Vivaranaprameyasangraha, Madhava quotes from the Brihadaranyakavartika of Suresvaracharya (Ed Vizianagaram, p 92) but names the author as Visvarupacarya. Madhava therefore considered them identical. (For further particulars on this identity, see T Ganapati Sastri, Int to Yagnavalkyasmṛti, TSS, No 74) There the statement is quoted भवभूतसुरेशारव्यं विश्वरूपं प्रणम्य तप् from the Vibhavana, the gloss of Visvarūpa's commentary on Yagnavalkyasmṛti. The learned Pandit has probably not noticed the passages in the Sankaravijaya and the colophons of the Malatimadhava about Umbeka and has therefore found some difficulty in explaining the meaning भवभूति in the compound भवभूतसुरेशारव्यम् and he says 'The word Bhavabhūti prefixed to the name Suresvara, is, I think, used in the sense Śivabhūti'. If the line is read in its proper sense according to its tenor and in the light of the information about Umbeka, it may lead to the conclusion that Umbeka was Bhavabhuti, was Mandanamisra, was Visvarupacharya and was Suresvaracharya<sup>1</sup>".

In the colophon to a manuscript of the Mālatīmādhava<sup>2</sup> it was written at the end of Act III इति श्रीमद्दक्षमारिलशिष्यकृते मालतीमाधवे तृतीयोऽकं (composed by the pupil of Kumārila,<sup>3</sup> at the end of Act X इति श्रीमद्दवसूतिविरचिते (composed by Bhavabhūti), and at the end of Act VI, इति श्रीकुमारिलक्ष्मिप्रमादप्राप्तवाग्वैमद्वेकाचार्यविरचिते मालतीमाधवे षष्ठोऽकं the name of that pupil is mentioned as Umbeka. Umbeka is a very respected name in Mīmāmsa literature. He is quoted by Ānandapūrṇa in his commentaries on Khandana of Śrīharṣa, by Rāmakṛṣṇa in his commentary on Śāstriśāradipikā, by Nārāyaṇa in his commentary Vijaya on Ajita, a commentary on Ṭanṭravārtika, and by Paramesvara in his Gopālikā, a commentary on Kāsikā (which is a commentary on Slokavārtika). He severely attacks Prabhākara who was Kumārila's adversary. In Citsukha's Ṭattvapradipikā (Ed Bombay, 265) he quotes the poet Umbeka and commenting on that passage Praṭyagrūpabhaṅgavān in his Nayanaprasādini (Ed 1 c) says उम्बेको भवभूते (Umbeka is Bhavabhūti). Umbeka has written a commentary on Kumārila's Ślokavārtika up to Vanavāda and the rest of it is commented upon by Jayamisra, son of Kumārila. If Bhavabhūti and his ancestors were, as he says in his

1. See D C Bhattacharya, IHS, VII 802 where Mandana is said to be different

prologues, learned in the Mīmāmsa, this is another indication that Umbeka and Bhavabhūti might be identical. Above all a strong proof of the identity of Umbeka with Bhavabhūti is furnished by a commentary which begins with Bhavabhūti's well-known verse, ये नाम केचिदिह न प्रथमन्तवक्षाम् ॥

In Mādhaba's Śāṅkaravijaya (VII. 113-16) it is said that Umbeka was the name of Mandanamisra (also called there Viśvarūpa)

अय च पन्था यदि ते प्रकाश्य सुधीश्वरो मण्डनमित्रनामा ।  
दिग्नन्तविश्रान्तव्यशा विजेयो वस्मिन् जिते सर्वमिदं जित स्यात् ॥  
सदा वदन् योगपदं च सांप्रतं स विश्वरूपं प्रथितो महीतले ।  
महाशृङ्खी वैदिकर्मतप्तरं प्रवृत्तिशास्त्रे निरतं सुकर्मत ॥  
निवृतिशास्त्रे न कृतादरं स्य केनाप्युपायेन वशे स नीयताम् ।  
वशं गतं तत्र भवेन्मनोरथं तदन्तिकं गच्छतु मा चिरं मवान् ॥  
उबेक इत्यमिहितसं हि तस्य लोकैरुबेति बाध्यवजनैरभिधीयमानम् ।  
हेतो कृतश्रिदिह वाक् सुखाभिशष्टा दुर्घार्षसाजनि क्वद्वयमारतीति ॥

**644** The works of Bhavabhūti have always been regarded as a standard for dramatic study, but only three dramas have come down to us. Stanzas are ascribed to him in various anthologies which are not traceable in the extant works.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore presumable that other work or works of his have now been lost to us. Guparatna, a treasury of thirteen verses, is ascribed to Bhavabhūti.<sup>2</sup>

**645** Bhavabhūti is a worthy peer of Kālidāsa in merit and fame.<sup>3</sup> Kālidāsa is terse and brief in his expression and working upon the reader's feelings puts to exercise his full imagination. Bhavabhūti's language is comparatively diffused and a redundancy of ideas often makes a strong impression on the reader's mind. In short, Bhavabhūti expresses in the *vācyā* sense what Kālidāsa does in the *vyaṅgyā* sense. In describing human emotions of Paitro<sup>4</sup> and Heroism, Bhavabhūti surpasses his rival. Kālidāsa's style is graceful, Bhavabhūti's sounds grand. In delineations of nature and chivalry Bhavabhūti feels at home. "Bhavabhūti is skilful in detecting beauty even in ordinary things and actions and in distinguishing the finer shades of feeling". He is a master of style and expression and his cleverness in adapting his words

1. See Peterson, *Subh 77 78*, Jālheṇa's *Sukh* for which see *PR*, (1887 1891) xxxv, also appendix II of Harvard University Series Vol xxii. (It is not known whether this volume has yet been printed).

2. Printed, Hæberlin, SKC, 282.

to sentiment is unsurpassed" Like Kālidāsa's, Bhavabhūti's language is full of melody and lyrical beauty In religion Kālidāsa is a man of the city teeming with amorous intrigues Bhavabhūti is rural True to his lineage he would not loose sight of the minutest ceremony his guest would not be allowed to depart without *madhuparka* 1

**646 Malati-Madhava** is a prakarana in ten acts<sup>2</sup> "The scene is laid in Ujjain, and the subject is (a fiction and is) the love-story of Malati, daughter of a minister of the country and Madhava a young scholar of the city and son of the minister of another state Skilfully interwoven with this main story are the fortunes of Makaranda a friend of Madhava and Madayantika, a sister of the king's favourite Malati and Madhava meet and fall in love, but the king has determined that the heroine shall marry his favourite, whom she detests This plan is frustrated by Makaranda, who personating Malati goes through the wedding ceremony with the bride-groom The lovers, aided in their projects by two amiable Buddhist nuns, are finally united" 3

The poet displays here an all-round learning and develops the love of Mālatī and Mādhava, as it were, to illustrate the tenets of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra

There is an epitome of Mālatīmādhava in verse called Rjulaghvī by Maithilasarman<sup>4</sup> and commentaries on it by Dharananda,<sup>5</sup> Jagaddhara,<sup>6</sup>

1 Here is a traditional verse, attributed to Kālidāsa himself

अहो मे सौमार्यं मम च भवभूतेष्व मणिति

तुलायामारोऽयं प्रतिफलति तस्यां लघिमनि ।

गिरा देवी साक्षात्कृतिकलितकल्हरकलिका-

मधुलीमाधुर्यं क्षिपति परिपूर्णं मगवती ॥

2 Ed BSS by R G Bhandarkar. There are several other editions in different languages

3 Macdonnel, *SL* 364, Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 166 Schwyler, *Bab.* 39, gives the translations in foreign languages. For a short sketch, see *SR*, II, 69, R C Dutt, *CJ* II 264, 270 and M Williams, *IW* 502. Tr into English by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 1 128 and by M R Kale, Bombay

4 *CC*, I 458

5 *PR*, V

6 Ed BSS Bombay and elsewhere and by M R Telang (Bombay)

Tripurārī,<sup>1</sup> (Mānānka,<sup>2</sup> Rāghavabhatta, Nārāyaṇa, Prākṛtaśārya), J. Vidyāsāgara,<sup>4</sup> Pūrasarasarvatī<sup>5</sup> and Kunjavihārī<sup>6</sup>

**647, Mahaviracarita** describes in seven acts the life of Rāma as a warrior. The plot follows Rāmāyaṇa with slight variations meant to show Rāma's heroism in relief. The last act describes the country traversed by Rāma and Sītā on their way to Ayodhya in the aerial car.<sup>7</sup>

"The situation and sentiment of the drama" says Wilson, "are of a stirring and martial description and the language is adapted with singular facility to the subjects from which it springs. It is sonorous and masculine, more vigorous than musical, and although highly elaborate and sometimes rigid is in general chaste and always classical and stately."

For long years the manuscript of the work beyond Act V, 46<sup>8</sup> was not available.<sup>9</sup> The lost portion was completed by Subrahmanya. Later

1 Ed Madras. Tripurārī was the son of Parvatāñjala of Bhāradvājagotra. His commentary extended only to 7 acts and the rest is continued by his pupil Nānyadeva son of Haricandra of Salabhahattaya family. SR, II, 73. Nānyadeva has written a commentary on the whole drama too (TC, II, 2220). He is probably identical with the king Nānyadeva of Tirhaut who is said to have been subjugated by Vijayesena of Bengal about 1200 A.D. and founded Simraun in 1097 A.D. and afterwards established a Kanātsaka dynasty in the valley of Nepal. See V. Smith, EH, 418-19, S. Levi, Le Nepal, II, 198, Keilhorn, EI, I, 313, note 57. See also IA, XI, 188.

2 Mānānka was a royal author and flourished about the 18th century A.D. He is quoted by Royamukuta in his commentary on Amara composed in 1431 A.D. His Brāhmaṇakāvya relates the life of Kṛṣṇa and Meghābhuyuda is a highly artificial poem PR, III, 11, 291. In BR, II (1907) there is a commentary on it by Lākṣmīnarasa where author is called Sāyankeli. He wrote commentaries on Gīṭagovinda and Mālatimādhava.

3 CO, I, 458, II, 104.

4. Ed Calcutta

5 TC, III, 4118

6 Ed Calcutta

7 Macdonnel, SL, 361, Weber, IL, 207, Wilson, Thraire, II, 828-834, R.C. Dutt, CIV, II, 274, M. Williams, IW, 502.

8 दौरात्म्यादरिभि etc., the last time was made up by Mahādeva हन्त प्रत्युत दारुण व्यवसित विक्षस्त्वयेव विधम्। and by Muḍdurāma हन्त प्रत्युत दुष्कृतं च सुगहल्कर्तव्यमुदीक्षितम्।

9. There is a manuscript in the Tanjore Library No 10708 (Tanj VIII 8454) in which it is said राजथेस्त्रदर्शशेषे which indicates a tradition that Rājasekhara had the manuscripts of Mahāviracarita destroyed. In Tanj VII 4438-5, it is said श्रीविश्वाचाच मधुतिमहाकविन विरचित महावीरचरित नाम नाटकमेतावदेवास्मिन् देशे इश्यते, शेष त राजशेषरेण दग्धमिति प्रसिद्धि. |

however, the later portion was discovered<sup>1</sup> SUBRAHMANYA was probably identical with the author of the drama Sītāvijavendirāparinaya,<sup>2</sup> which likewise in seven Acts describes the marriage of Rāma with Sītā Subrahmanya was the son of Kṛṣnasūri of Kāsyapagotra He lived in Southern India in the 17th century A.D.

This is a commentary on the play by Virarāghava<sup>3</sup>

**648** *Uttararamacaritra* describes in seven Acts the story of Uttarakānda of Rāmāyaṇa, that is, the abandonment of Sītā, her residence at the hermitage of Vālmīki, the birth of Kusa and Lava and there the union of Sītā and Rāma “The catastrophe is differently brought about,” says Wilson “in the Ramayana and the Raghuvamsa, and the poetical account of Rāma and his race closes in a different manner Rāma discovers his sons in consequence of their recital of the Ramayana at his sacrifice and Sītā upon her innocence being recognised by the people is suddenly carried off by the goddess of Earth, and disappears for ever The denouement is very judiciously altered to her reunion with her sons and husband in the play”<sup>4</sup>

This play holds a high place in the theatrical literature of the world In the expression of genuine pathos (*Karuṇa*) and the description of wild scenery, it has rarely been surpassed anywhere

1 Ed Bombay 1892 (in which both the versions are given), with the commentary of Virarāghava, Ed Todarmall, Lahore, Ed F H Trithen, (London), Ed by A Boorosh, Bombay with Com and notes Trans into English by J. Pickford (London)

2 *DU*, XXI, 8512

3 The manuscripts of Mahāviracarita in South India (e.g., *DU*, XXI, 8451) were found incomplete and stopped with V 46 So it was that Virarāghava in his commentary could get at only the incomplete work and for the rest had to continue the commentary on Subrahmanya's supplement Apart from the name Subrahmanya, this is another indication that Subrahmanya was a native of South India

Virarāghava was son of Nṛsimha, a descent of Dāśarāthi of Vādhulagotra and resident of Bhūśirapura or Tirumalisai near Poonamalli, Chengleput District He was called Annāvappangār.

4 For an introductory account and translation see Wilson, *Theatre*, I 275 884. Tr into English by H Mukhopadhyaya (Calcutta), by C H Tawney (Calcutta), by K K Bhattacharya (Calcutta) by S K Belvalkar, Harward (HOS), by V S Patvardhan (Nagpur) For translations into other languages, see Schwyler, *BdI* 31 For a general account, see M Williams, *JW*, 508 and R O Dutt, *C&W*, II, 275 For a full critique see Venkataramasastri, *Sahridaya*, XXIV 7 and K Subbayasastri, *Uttararamacaritrasaśvicara*, *Bharat*, VI Juy and the same by R. Venkataramasastri, (*Jl cf Andh Sāh Par* XXI, 81)

**649** There are commentaries on the play by Vīrarāghava,<sup>1</sup> Ātmarāma,<sup>2</sup> Lakṣmanasūri,<sup>3</sup> A Borooah,<sup>4</sup> J Vidyāsāgara, Abhirāma,<sup>5</sup> Premacandra Tarkavāgīsa,<sup>6</sup> Bhotajīsāstrīn,<sup>7</sup> Ṭārākumāracakravartin,<sup>8</sup> Rāmacandra,<sup>9</sup> B S Ghate,<sup>10</sup> Ghanasyāma,<sup>11</sup> Lakṣmikumāra Tātācārya,<sup>12</sup> Rāghavācārya,<sup>13</sup> Pūrnasarasvatī,<sup>14</sup> and Nārāyanabhātta,<sup>15</sup> and one anonymous.<sup>16</sup>

**650** LAKSMIKUMARA Tātācārya known as Kavibhūvana was son of Tiruvenkata of Śathamarsanagotra He was a High Priest and lived at Triplicane, Madras He passed away in 1923 He wrote facile poetry and among his various poems are Bhavabhūtibhāratī, Pūdūkāstuti, Subhāvītaranjīni and Rāmabāna Besides a commentary on Acyutasatka (prākt) he attempts to show in his commentary on Uṭtararāmacarita, that the prevailing sentiment there is not Karuna but Vipralambha-syngāra

VIRARAGHAVA popularly known as Anpāvappangār, was the son of Nyśimha and descendant of Dāsarathī of Vādhūlagotra He was born at Tirumalisai (Bhūśārapuri) in Chingleput District, Madras, about 1770 A D and lived for 48 years He was much respected in Mysore and other provinces He wrote a commentary on Mahāvīracarita, the drama Malayajāparinaya, a poem Bhaktisārodaya and other philosophical works He had no son and his daughter's grandson R Alasingarāchan now lives in the same town It is not known whether these works are now available there

1 Ed Bombay

2 *TC*, III 1599, 1601 Ātmarāma was father of Niłakantha Dīkṣīta and son of Accadeikṣīja He also wrote a commentary on Sāhiyaratnākara.

3 Ed Kumbhakonam. About the author, see para 246 *supra*

4 Ed Calcutta

5. *TC*, III, 2828

6 Ed Calcutta with a preface by H B Cowell

7 Ed Nagpure by V S Pattavardhan.

8 Ed. Calcutta, with a preface by B P Mujumdar

9 Ed Madras

10 Ed Nagpur

11 *TC*, III 1720 Ed Bombay by P V Kane. On Ghanasyāma, see para 166 *supra*

12 The manuscripts are with his son S A T Singarācārya, Triplicane, Madras.

13 *CC*, I 68

14 About the author, see index *post*

15. See *Sak* XX 248 He was a Malabar Brahmin who wrote at the instance of Aluvanoheri Tamprakkal (Netrāñgrāyaṇa) Nambudri

16 *TC*, III 8503, 8886, *CC*, I 68

The story of Bhavabhūti's plays has been summarised by V. Anantācārya in Nātakakathāsangraha<sup>1</sup>. Uṭṭararāmacaritākāvya is a poem in 5 cantos on the theme of the later life of Rāma.<sup>2</sup> It is a sequel to Rāmapāṇivada's Rāghavīya and was probably composed by Meppathur (Nārāyaṇa) Bhaṭṭāṭṭīrī.

**651. King Yasovarman** wrote the play Rāmābhūdaya on the whole story of Rāmāyana. Sāradātanaya says it was in 6 acts

षड्क दश्यते लोके रामाभ्युदयनाटकम् ।

and quotes incidents for illustration.<sup>3</sup> Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Dhvanyāloka mentions Yasovarman as its author

सन्ति सिद्धरसप्रस्थ्या ये च रामायणादय ।  
कथात्रया न तैर्येऽया सेच्छा रसविरोधिनी ॥

कथानामाश्रया इतिहासा , तै इतिहासार्थे सह सेच्छा न योज्या । कथचिद्वा यदि योज्यते तत् तप्रसिद्धिविरुद्धा न योज्या । यथा रामस्य धीरलितत्वयोजनेन नायिकानायकत्वं कुर्यादिति तु अलन्तासमञ्जसप्त । यदुत्त 'कथामार्गे न चाकम्' इति रामाभ्युदये यशोवर्मणा । "स्थितिमिति (?) (स्थितिमिति) यथा शब्द्याम् ॥" Locana, p 148

**652 Rajasekhara** was the son of Durduka and Silavaṭī. His family name was Yāyāvara.<sup>4</sup> His father Durduka was a high priest. His great-grand father Akālajalada<sup>5</sup> was a great poet. He was married to Avanṭisundari<sup>6</sup> an accomplished Rajput princess, "the crest-jewel of the Chauhan family". She was proficient in poetics and Rājasekhara quotes her views with regard.<sup>7</sup> He appears to have belonged to the Mahratta country i.e the Viḍarbha and Kuntala.<sup>8</sup>

1 Printed, Allahabad.

2 Ed Annamalai University by K R Pisharodi. There is Uṭṭararāghavīya-kāvya (DC, XX 7694)

3 Rājasekhara was himself called "Yāyāvara" or the Yāyāvara Kavi. He is so called in Tilakamanjari and Udayasundari (See Int to Kāvyamimāṃsā, Gaekwad's Oriental series, xii) He is also referred to as Būlaḥav and Kavvāṭa (see Karp I. 9)

4 His name is referred to in Jhalapa's Suktimukṭāvālī and his verses are there said to have been plagiarised by Kādāmbarirāma in his drama. For his verses in Śūrg see Peterson, Subh 102 F W Thomas, Kav 80

5 On account of this marriage with a Rajput princess Durgaprasad and Konow doubt whether Rājasekhara was a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya

6 See Kāvyamimāṃsā, (OC 46, 57).

7 Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣīṭa in his commentary on Viḍhasālabhanjikā says that Rājasekhara declared himself in the Bālārāmāyana as a native of Mahāraṣṭra and that to a large extent he made use of the language of that country. In the colophon to the Bombay Edn of Karpuramanjari the poet is styled Mahāraṣṭraouḍāmaṇi, but in the Suktimukṭāvālī, Surācanda an ancestor of Rājasekhara is called Ceḍīmandala-mandanam that is the ornament of the country of the Cediś

He must have travelled all over India<sup>3</sup> and his knowledge of south India is particularly remarkable

In the prologues to his plays Rājasekhara calls himself the spiritual teacher of King Mahendrapāla and that he was patronised by his son and successor Mahipāla. The Siydoni inscription mentions Mahendrapala reigning in 903 and 907 A D and Mahipāla in 917 A D<sup>4</sup>. In Viddhasālabhanjikā Rājasekhara refers to Yuvarājadeva who is probably the Kālacuri being Keyūravarṣa Yuvarājadeva I, who had his capital at Tripurā, the modern Ewar near Jabbulpore<sup>5</sup>.

653. In the Sankaravijaya of Mādhavācārya Rājasekhara is called a king of Kerala and it is stated that he presented three natakas of his own composition to the great Sankaracarya. In Sadāśivabrahmendra's Jagadgururatnamālāstava composed in the latter half of the 16th century A D, Rājasekhara is said to have been easily cured of his blindness by Gangādharā, third in descent from Abhinavasankara. In Trav Arch series II 8-13, there is an inscription of king Rājasekhara dated on paleographical grounds as of 9-10th century A D and a learned discussion on the identity of that king with the author of these plays. The conclusion there arrived at is that Rājasekhara, the author of the dramas, was a successor of king Rājasekhara of the inscription, very likely also his nephew<sup>6</sup>.

---

1 V S Apte (*Rājasekhara and his writings*, Poona, 20) shows that Rājasekhara is specially acquainted with southern customs and places and often alludes to southern rivers as the Kāverī and Tāmrāparṇī. The stanza 'Karnati-dasanankītī etc., in Kṣemendra's Auṇīyavicāracarca (V 27) covers a range from Cambay to Cape Comorin.

2 EI I 162 79, IX, 1 10 Copper plates bearing dates 67<sup>7</sup> f the Gupta era, that is 899 and 900 A D See also EI 178, 242, IA XII 190 EI, IX 1 180 EI, II 804, IA, XV 105 XVIII 90. For all references to inscriptions, see JRAS (1909), 70-75. See also The Asui Inscription of Mahipāla (IA, XVI 178) comes from a locality only 90 miles south east of Kanouj, which is now identified with Mahodaya referred to in Rājasekhara's dramas. It is dated Sam 974-917 A D.

3 See the Bilhari Inscription (EI, I 251, 265) particularly verse 75 which refers to Rājasekhara, Vismita kavi Rājasekhara stutū and Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos 186, 407, 416 and 419. E Hultzsch justifies the identity by the fact that the hero of the Viddhasālabhanjikā is called Karpuravarṣa, a name strongly reminding us of the name Keyuravarṣa. See also M Duff, *Chronology*, 299, Konow (*Int to Karpuramangarā*, HOS Harward, IV) 186 suggests that he may be Yuvarājadeva, a contemporary of King Vākpati of Malwa. See also IA, XXXIV 177.

4

कृतसद्गुरसन्निवाच्यबन्धवतयायापरं राजशेषुरान्धम् ।

इतवन्तमनन्तमन्तर्शक्तिं ब्रतिगङ्गाधरमाश्रयेऽर्थसूक्तिम् ॥

On this the commentary of Āṭmabodhenārasarasyaṭī mentions the names of the plays

**654.** Rājasekhara praises Bhavabhūti as Vālmīki re-born,<sup>1</sup> and quotes the poet Vākpatirāja, and the rhetoricians Udbhata,<sup>2</sup> and Ānandavardhana.<sup>3</sup> He is referred to by Somadeva,<sup>4</sup> and Dhananjaya,<sup>5</sup> and eulogised by Soddhala.<sup>6</sup> From these references it appears safe to say that the poet flourished about 900 A D.<sup>7</sup>

**655** In the prologue to Bālārāmayana, Rājasekhara himself says that he wrote six works. Four dramas are known and Raṭhamanjanī<sup>8</sup> a nāṭikā is probably also his work.<sup>9</sup> Hemacandra instances Rājasekhara's

1 Bālārāmayana, I

2 Udbhata was the councillor of King Jayāpida of Kashmir (779-813 A D)

3 He flourished in the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (857-884 A D)

4 His Yasastilakacampu was finished in 960 A D

5 He was in the Court of King Munja of Dhar (974-998 A D)

6 His Udayasundari, was composed about 990 A D

7. As to the date of Rājasekhara, opinions are various. FLEET (IA, XVI 178), and KIELBORN (EI, I 162, Nachrichten von der K. Ges. der Wiss. Zu Göttingen, 1904. 204 ff.), give the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th Century A D. AUFRECHT (ZDMG, xxv 1-140) says he was the immediate predecessor of Jayadeva. See also (OC I 503 and III 107). BHANDARKAR [BR, (1882) 3, 44] called him preceptor of Mahendrapāla who flourished about the 10th century. A BOAROAH (OC, 17) makes him contemporary of Śākara and assigns him to the 7th century A D. Pischell (*Review of Candakauska*) gives the 10th or the 11th century A D. PETERSON (*Subh* 101) gives the middle of the 8th century A D. 'This is established by the fact that Kṣiraswami who wrote a commentary on the Amarakosa and who was the teacher of Kashmir (750 A D) quotes a verse from the Viddhasalabhanjika in his note on Amara I vni, 4 and that King Mahendrapala to whom Rājasekhara himself refers as a pupil of his own was reigning in 761 A D.' This king Mahendrapala is the one referred to in the Dighwa-Dubauli plate dated Harsha-Samvat 155 (=A D 761 2) edited IA, XV 105. CUNNINGHAM adopts this view (*Arch. Surv.* IX 85). AUFRECHT, on other hand (ZDMG, XXVIII 104) states that Kṣiraswami must have lived in 11th century A D. since he quotes Bhoja and is quoted by Varḍhamāna. FLEET discusses the Dighwa-Dubauli plate in IA, xvi 175. DURGAPRASAD and PARIB (Kavyamala No 4 Int.) gives the date 884-959 A D and H H WILSON (*Theatre*, II, 382) the beginning of the 12th century A D and Bhandarkar about the 10th century A D. [BR, (1882) 3, 44 and (1897), xliv]. MAXMULLER (*India, What can it teach us?* 328) confounds him with the younger Rājasekhara, the author of the Prabandhaśāstra (1347 A D). A FE discuses all these views and places him between the 7th and the 10th centuries, probably the end of the 8th century. F E HALL in his paper on the "Vestiges of the Three Royal Lines of Kanyakubja, (JASB, XXI 1) gives the dates V Samvat 960, 964, 1006 and mentions two Mahendrapalas. See also JBRAS XVI 177, EI, (1917 Part v) (on Partabgarh Inscription dated Samvat 1003), JAOS, XXVII 1 Levi, *Theatre*, 1947, Klein, *Gesetze des Dramas*, III, Henry, SL, 813.

8 A E Gough Records, 208

9 See *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1980), 78, by E, V Viraraghavacarya

HARAVILASA<sup>4</sup> as containing the poet's *anka*, and for *asih*, Ujjvaladatta quotes from Haravilasa<sup>5</sup> Bhoja mentions an Astapatradalakamala as Rājasekhara's<sup>6</sup>

It is possible that many laudatory verses about poets quoted in Jalhapa's Sūktimuktāvalī under the name of Rājasekhara may be found in this lost treasure Rājasekhara's knowledge of geography was embodied in a work called Bhuvanakosa<sup>7</sup> Rājasekhara belonged to a family of poets. From that family dawned<sup>8</sup> the great men Surānanda,<sup>9</sup> Tarala<sup>10</sup> and Kavirāja He mentions Aparājita<sup>11</sup> and Sāṅkaravarma,<sup>12</sup> as his

- 1        i सनामाङ्कता यथा राजेश्वरस्य हरविलासे ।  
       ii आशीर्यथा हरविलासे—  
             ओमित्यकाश्वर ब्रह्म क्षुतीना मुखमङ्गरम् ।  
             प्रसीदतु सता सान्तेष्वेकं त्रिपुष्टीमयम् ॥
- iiii मुजनदुर्जनसरूपो यथा हरविलासे—  
             इतस्ततो भषन् भूरि न पतेत्पिश्चनश्चुन ।  
             अवदाततया किञ्चित्तमेदो हसतस्सत ॥
- 2        दशाननक्षिप्तस्त्रुरप्रविडित  
             क्वचिद्गतार्थो हरदीशितिर्यथा ॥
- 3        राता वधाधिराज्याविसरररस विद्व्याजवाक क्षापकारा  
             राकापक्षमास्त्रेषानवननयन साख्यान्तव्यमारा ।  
             रामाव्यस्तस्थिरत्वातु हिनननहितु श्री करक्षारदारा  
             राधा रक्षास्तु मद्ध शिव मममवशिव्यालविद्यावतारा ॥
- 4        निर्दिष्टाष्टदलन्यासमिद पादार्थमक्तिभि ।  
             अस्पृष्टकर्णिक कोणै कविनामाङ्कमबुजम् ॥
- 4        नदीना भेष्मलसुता नुपाणा रणविग्रह ।  
             कवीना च मुरानन्द चेदिमण्डलमण्डनम् ॥

5 Rapavigraha is the title of a Cedi prince Śāṅkaragana who lived in 10th century  
 See Gaz of Bombay Presy I 414

6 Jalhapa's Sūktimuktāvalī

7 Rājasekhara (I c) wrote

यायावरकुलश्रेष्ठेर्मुक्तायटेष्व मण्डनम् ।  
 मुवर्णवन्पुरुषिरस्तरक्षत्तरङ्गो यथा ॥

8 Karpuramanjari (1-8) calls him 'Mṛgāṅkalekhākāra' Subhāṣitāvalī gives  
 'Kṣuṇikṣāmepa etc' (verse 1024) as his Padyāvalī quotes some other verses.

9 Mentioned in Jalhapa's Sūktimuktāvalī

contemporaries and Vasukalpa and Abhimanda<sup>3</sup> were also of the same age

**656 Balaramayana** relates in ten Acts the whole story of Rāmāyana. The narration often deviates from Rāmāyana and the effect of such deviation has had a good dramatic effect. Rāvana is from the beginning represented as a rival of Rāma for the hand of Sīta and his love and longing are more prominent than his ferocity.<sup>4</sup> In describing the tale of Rāma Rājasekhara might call himself an incarnation of Vālmīki, Mēntha and Bhavabhūti.<sup>5</sup>

There are commentaries by J. Vidyāsāgara,<sup>6</sup> and Lakhmanasūri,<sup>7</sup> and one anonymous.<sup>8</sup>

**657 Balabharata** or Pracanda-Pundava is incomplete. The two acts now available describe with vividity the marriage of Draupadī, the loss of kingdom at dice, the public insult of Draupadī and the departure of the Pāndavas to the forest.<sup>9</sup>

**658 Viddhasalabhanikam**,<sup>10</sup> is a nātika in four acts. King Candravarman of Lāṭī having no sons tries to pass his daughter Mrgāṅkavatī as a boy and sends her to the queen of King Vidyādhara of the Keralas. This leads as anticipated to a real marriage in secret between the king and the princess and the confidence was suddenly disclosed by a messenger who brings news of the birth of a son to Candravarman.

There are commentary on it by Nārāyaṇa,<sup>11</sup> by Ghanaśyāma and by

1. This must be Gaudābhīnanda the author of the Kāḍambarkathasāra, see para 60 *supra*.

2. Ed by G. D. Sastri Benares. The Acts are all named in the Mahānātaka.

3. ब्रह्मव वस्तीकभव कवि पुरा तत प्रपेदे मुनि भर्तृमेण्ठताम् ।

स्थित पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया स वर्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखर ॥

4. Ed Calcutta

5. Ed Tanjore

6. *Tanj.* VIII. 535

7. Ed Strassburg and Bombay. See generally Wilson, *Theatre* II. 861, Macdonnel, *SL*, 866

8. Ed Benares by Vāmanācārya. The name has been rendered as *The Lady of the Statue*. On this play generally, see Levi, *TI*, 247; Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 854; Henry, *SL*, 818 Tr. into English by L. H. Gray, *JAOS*, XXVII. 1 ff.

9. Ed Poona. He was the son of Ranganātha and lived in 18th century. He also commented on Mālatī-Mādhava, Hanumannātaka and Vāsavadatta (CC, I. 292) *Tanj.* VIII. 8664-8.

his wives Surdāri and Kamalā,<sup>1</sup> by Satyavrata,<sup>2</sup> by J. Vidyāsāgara,<sup>3</sup> and by a pupil of Karunākara,<sup>4</sup> and by Vāsudeva.<sup>5</sup>

**659 Karpuramanjari**,<sup>6</sup> a Sattaka (in prakrit), in 4 acts, describes the vicissitudes of the loves of King Candrapāla with a princess of Kunṭala the jealousy of the queen with the consequent impediments, the secret meetings of the lovers and the final marriage. The drama was enacted at the instance of his patron king for the pleasure of his own consort Avantī.

There are commentaries by (Kāmarāja, Dharmadīsa, Pitāmbara, Dharmacandra),<sup>7</sup> Vāsudeva,<sup>8</sup> by J. Vidyāsāgara,<sup>9</sup> Kṛṣṇasūri,<sup>10</sup> Nṛsimha-rāja,<sup>11</sup> and Anantadāsa.<sup>12</sup>

Rudradāsa's Candralekā is a similar Sattaka in four acts describing the story of the marriage between Candralekhā and Manavedarāja. He was pupil of Śrīkantha of Malabar.<sup>13</sup>

**660 Jaihaṇa** quotes Rājasekhara's eulogies of Jñāna, Gānapati, Pradyumna, Bhīmata, Māyurāja and Kādambarīrāma. These poets must have lived before the 6 or 7th century AD.

कर्तुं त्रिलोचनादन्यो न पार्थिविजय क्षम ।  
तदर्थशक्यते ब्रह्म लोचनद्वयिभि कथम् ॥  
अधोगणपति वन्दे महामोदविधायिनम् ।  
विद्याधरगणैर्यस्य पूज्यते कण्ठगर्जितम् ॥

1 See para 166 *supra*

2 Ed Calcutta

3 Ed. Calcutta

4 Anonymous. *DC*, XXI 8818

5 *TC* III 8870 He was also called Sāhityamalla and was resident of Malabar. He was pupil of Karunākara

6 On this play, see Konow's Int to Edn (*HOS*, Harward) Tr into English by O. R. Lanman. See Schuyler, *Bbl* 176 77 There is another play of this name by Rajanivallabha (*CC* I 82)

In the colophon of two manuscripts the play is ascribed to a Vācanācārya, pupil of Jinasāgara who is styled the "sun in the sky of Kharatara". Jinasāgara was the first high-priest of a new branch of the Kharatara sect which was established in Samvat 1686 or 1680 A.D. (See *IA*, XI 250)

7 *CC*, I 82, II 15, III 18, *PB*, IV 25, V, 428.

8 Ed. Bombay

9 Ed. Calcutta.

10 *DC*, XXI 8855

11 *TO*, III 882 He was the son of Samudrabandhayajvan who wrote a commentary on the *Setubandha*

12 *TC*, III 8996 He was pupil of Kṛṣṇasāṅkaraguru, probably of Malabar.

13 *OML*, R No. 8207.

प्रयुम्नाज्ञापरस्येह नाटके पटबो गिर ।  
 प्रयुम्नाज्ञापरस्येह पौष्पा अपि शरा खरा ॥  
 कालज्ञरपतिक्रेमीमट पञ्चनाटकीम् ।  
 प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदशाननम् ॥  
 मायुराजसमो जड़े नान्य (मा॑) कालचुरि कवि ।  
 उदन्वतस्समुत्तस्थु कति वा तुहिनाशव ॥

661 TRILOCANA's verses quoted by Sārgadhara allude to Bāpa and Mayūra

हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रम ।  
 भवेत्कविकुरक्षाणां दापल तत्र कारणम् ॥  
 तावत्कविविहङ्गाना वनिलोकेषु शस्त ।  
 यावशो विशति श्रोत्रे मयूरमधुरध्वनि ॥

Extracts from his PARTHAVIDJAYA, a play on the exploits of Arjuna, are given in Śringāraprakāsa and Nātyadarpaṇa. Ganapati's Mahāmoda was probably a play. Pradyumna's plays are lost. Kadambanirāma is also unknown, unless he is identical with Kadambanī Rāma Kṛṣṇa, the author of the play Aditikundalāśharapaṇa.

662 BHIMATA or Bhīmadeva was king of Kalinjara, a place 100 miles north-west of Prayāg. He wrote five dramas, all of which are now lost. Among them are Svapnadasasanana, Praṭibhācāvaka,<sup>4</sup> and

1 See JOR, II, 248, for an account of the place by R. Ramamurti.

2 CC, I, 2

3 These are mentioned by Bhoja and Abhunavagupta and Rāmacandra who gives extracts from the last ND, p 144.

4 अलङ्कारशास्त्रालङ्कारभूता अभिनवगुसाचार्या नाटकमिद दि उदाहरणाय सीकुर्वन्ति सकीयायामभिनवमारलाष् ।—

“मवतु तनय लोके जातापश्चब्दपरस्परा-

परिचयमयी वारी कीर्ति निकृष्य निकर्तनी ।”

प्रतिभाचाणक्ये महाकविना मीमेन राजाऽपि विन्द्यकेतु भूयसा व्यवहृत

(P 848, Vol II) अभिनवमारती ।

प्रवेशकाबाहुल्येन तावत्तापसवत्सराजप्रतिभाचाणक्यमुदाराक्षसादिषु

(P 459, Vol II) अभिनवमारती ।

उदाहृतात् गथद्वयात् नाटकस्य द्वे नामनी विदेते ‘प्रतिभाचाणक्य’ ‘प्रतिभाचाणक्यं’ चेति, नाटकमिद मीमो नाम कश्चन महाकवि निबन्ध इत्यपि चावगच्छाम ।

—R. Ramamurti, in Udayanapaitrika,

Manoramā-Vatsarāja His son Vasunāga wrote the play Praṭimāni-ruddha<sup>1</sup>

**663 Mayurāja**<sup>2</sup> (Mātrarāja) Anangaharṣa was a Kālacūri king who ruled over Cedi country, with his capital Māhiṣmatī<sup>3</sup> He was the son of Narendravardhana The word Māyurāja seems to be a version of the prākṛti Mā-u-rāja (माउराज) and Soddhala refers to him along with Vākpaṭi and Viśākhadeva<sup>4</sup>

“ सामन्तैश्च वावतिजमाडराजविशाखदेवप्रभृतिमि

Dāmodaragupta deplores the demise of Anangaharṣa a patron actresses<sup>5</sup> Murāri derides Māhiṣmatī and its king Anangaharṣa<sup>6</sup>

Abhinavagupta, Bhoja, Dhanika, Hemacandra, Rāmacandra, Kuntaka and Sarvānanda refer to and quote from Māyurāja's plays Uḍaṭṭarāghava and Tāpasavatsāraja<sup>7</sup>

1 Mentioned by Rāmacandra in ND, (p 115-6) and Abhinavagupta in AB Chap 19

2 On Māyurāja see M. R. Kavi, JAH, I 155, Bhattachārjūwāmi, IA XLI, 189 There are quotations by Viśvanātha in his SD, p 265, 810

3 Māhiṣmatī is “ Mahesvara or Mahes on the right bank of the Warbuda, 10 miles south of Indore It was the capital of Haihaya or Anupadesa, the kingdom of the myriadheaded Kartaviryaarjuna of the Purana ” N L Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, 56 Cedi country embraces Behar and North Central Provinces

4 Later the capital was changed to Tripura, modern Tewar near Jubbalpore

5 वयमपि देवनिकेतनमनज्ञहृषे गते त्रिदिवलोकम् ।

आश्रितवन्तो गत्या तीर्थस्थानादुरोधेन ॥ (777)

इह तु कदाचित्किञ्चिद्वृत्तिनिरोधाभिशङ्कया निरुत्साहा ।

रत्नबल्यामेता विद्यति करपादविशेषम् ॥ (77)

*Kuttinimita*

See para 810 *supra* Bur N L Mehta (JBORS, XIV 858) says that Ananga harṣa<sup>8</sup> is only a titular name given to Harṣa, another of Priyadarśikā from the verse

अनज्ञोयमनज्ञस्य निन्दिष्या ति मृवम् ।

यदेनेन न सम्प्राप्तं पाणिस्वर्णोस्सवस्त्व ॥

6. See under Murāri

7 पुनरारब्धविश्रान्ते रसस्याक्षिनोऽनुसन्धिभ्यं यथा तापसवत्सराजे *Abhinavabharati*  
शृङ्खलानन्तर नियमेन करुणे व्याप्रियते । तज्जन्मनि यथा तापसवत्सराजे—*Lācana*

In illustrating *anka* in poems, सामिपायसनामेष्टनाममङ्कलाङ्कितसमाप्तित्व in Kāvya-nūḍāsana (p 885), Hemacandra gives illustration तेष्वमिप्रायङ्कता यथा धैर्य मायुराजस्य, उत्साह, सर्वसेवस्य, अनुराग, प्रवर्सेनस्य । सनामङ्कता यथा राजसेखरस्य हृविलासे । इष्टनामा ङ्कता यथा लक्ष्म्यङ्कता किराते मारवे । श्रवङ्कता शिशुपालवे माघस्य । मङ्कलाङ्कता यथा अभ्युदय, कुण्ठचरिते, जया, उषाहूणे, आनन्द, पञ्चशिंखस्य शूद्रककथायामिति ।

Udātarāghava is based on Rāmāvana Tāpasavatsarāja relates the story of the life of Udayana, king of Kausambi in Vatsas, the second half of it narrated in 2nd and 3rd Lambhakas of Kaṭhasarit-sāgara. The first half is the story of Vāsavadaita and the second of Padmāvati.<sup>1</sup>

"To strengthen the suggestion that *Tāpasavatsarāja* might be an older work than *Ratnāvali* arguments are not wanting. Before Sri Harsha, the themes of the marriages of Vāsavadaita and Padmāvati were exhausted by Subandhu, Sūdraka, Bhāsa, and probably Māyurāja and hence Ratnāvali who takes the place of Padmāvati in the original story of Udayana has been newly invented while the marriage of Padmāvati, the central theme of this work exists even in Bṛhatkatha. If the Kashmerian version is thought as an improvement upon later dramas in Sanskrit, the Nepalese version also contains it.

महावरोधनस्यापि भार्याबद्धिर्द्युये स्थिता (?)  
तस्य वासवदत्ताया पश्चावत्या च भूपते ॥

Udayana is the hero of a cycle of dramas and *kavyas* in early centuries of the Christian era both before and after, for Subandhu a contemporary of Bindusāra, introduced in his Vāsavadaita a series of inter-dramas, one in another. Bhāsa used the same theme in his *Svapnavasavadattā*. If the printed edition does not represent the real work of Bhāsa in entirety the story is the same and the author of

Bhoja quotes a verse probably from *Udātarāghava* whose latter half coincides with the latter portion of a verse at the end of the first act in our drama. This shows that even if *Udātarāghava* is not his work there must be another yet not available to us.

सन्ध्याकान्तिकषायितेन नमसा प्रत्यक्षसन्न श्वनै-  
र्लीलावेशमनि दीपरश्मिजटिलं नीलं तमो जूम्मते ।  
वेष्टद्वाहुलताविलोलबलयसानैरितं सूचित-  
व्यापारा प्रतियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ *Udātarāghava*.  
प्रारब्धो मणिदीपयष्ठिषु सम पात्. पतञ्जैरितो  
गन्धान्धैराभितो मधुब्रतकुलैश्वत्पश्मिस्त्थियते ।  
वेष्टद्वाहुलताविलोलबलयसानैरितं सूचित—  
व्यापारा प्रतियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ *Tapasavatsarāja*.

Under these circumstances on the strength of Sarvananda alone *Tapasavatsarāja* may be ascribed to Mayurāja, the author of *Udātarāghava* — M R Kavi.

1 Edited by M R Kavi, Madras with an introduction. Hultzsch says that the author is indebted to Buddhist sources for his plot. Nachrichten Wissenschaften, 886 No. 7.

*Natyadarpana* quotes from it as भासकृते सप्रवासवदत्ते and Bhoja gives the explanation of the word *Svapnavasavadatta* as

सप्रवासवदत्ते पश्चावतीमस्था दृष्टा राजा समुद्रगृहक गत वासवदत्तां च सप्रवदत्तेष्वे  
ददर्श । सप्रायमानश्च वासवदत्तमाप्नाषे

There is a drama called *Manoramavatsavaya* written by Bhimaṭa who according to Rājasēkhara was the author of five dramas in which *Svapanadaranana* is mentioned by Bhōja. We know that *Manorāma* was the handmaid of Priyadarśika who was set to put on the character of Udayana in the inter drama in it. Viśākhadēva, now assigned to the court of Chandragupta II, wrote three dramas (*Mudraralshasa*, *Devīchandragupta* and *Abhisarikavanchitaka*) and in the last of these Padmāvatī's characterised as murderer of Udayana's son. This terrible characterisation of Padmāvatī was probably borrowed from the Buddhist *Jataka* stories where Māhāndika or Anupama, an envious creature, dupes Udayana.<sup>1</sup>

**664 Saktibhadra** belonged to Daksināpatha (Deccan). Beyond this general statement in the prologue<sup>2</sup> there is nothing to indicate the place of his birth or sojourn. He is held the high esteem in Malabar and his play Cūḍāmanī is known to the Sakyars, professional players of Malabar along with some of the plays attributed to Bhāsa,<sup>3</sup> with which it exhibits similar peculiarities of dramaturgy.<sup>4</sup> Tradition says that he was a pupil of Sankarācārya. Leaving aside Ādi Sankara of pre-Christian period Śankarācāryas of equal fame flourished in the 8th and 9th centuries and if Saktibhadra was a disciple of an Ācārya of that period, he might have lived about 800 A.D. The surprise expressed in the prologue that the south produced a dramatic work shows that other plays of merit had not been known then in Malabar and from this it is inferred that Kulasekhara's plays of about the 10th century were of a later date. There is parity of idea and expression in some verses of Cūḍāmanī and Bhātanārayana's *Vepisamhāra* which may show that Saktibhadra was well familiar with *Vepisamhāra*. These considerations

1 M B Kavi, Int to Edn, o o

2 आर्ये दक्षिणापथादागतमाश्रयचूडामणि नाम नाटकमभिनयाम्रेडितसौभाग्यमभिलषाम इति ।

3 In a manuscript in the Oriental Manuscript Library, DO, XX 8882 Cūḍāmani is found written along with Abhiṣeka and Pratimā.

4 The play begins with नान्यन्ते तत प्रविशति शूत्रधारं the word स्थापना is used instead of प्रस्तावना.

make the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century a likely date for Saktibhadra<sup>1</sup>

1 S Kuppusami Sastrī sums up these arguments in his introduction to edn

R Vasudevasarma (Hindu 2nd Feb 1947) thus summarises the views of S Kuppusami Sastrī, on the connection between Saktibhadra and "Bhāsa's" plays and refutes them.

The arguments of Professor S Kuppuswami Sastrī are —(1) That these plays are what are called "Chakkiar plays" and being such are relegated to the last place in the "Attaprakāram" where 14 plays are being treated of the order adopted being 1 and 2 "Tapatisamvarana" and "Subhadradhanavaya" of Kulasekhara Varman 3 "Nagananda" of Sriharsha 4 "Ascaryacudamani" of Saktibhadra 5 "Kalyana saugandhika" of Nilakantha, 6 an anonymous poet's Krishnacarita and 7 to 14 being eight plays ascribed to Bhāsa, thereby indicating the contemporaneity or, may be, a chronology as evidenced by the order of mention.

(2) That the oldest Sanskrit play in South India was possibly "Ascaryacudamani" by Saktibhadra as in his "Sthapana" to that play Saktibhadra himself distinctly says "Sir! Novel indeed is it to hear that a dramatic composition should hail from the south! Likelier still that the horizon should burst to bloom and the sands yield some oil",

(3) That Saktibhadra announces himself as the author of an "Unmada Vasavadatta and other works," that this play might be the same as the present "Pratignayaugandharayana,"

(4) That inasmuch as "Ascaryacudamani" was found written alongside of "Abhisheka" and "Pratimanastaka" in manuscript they were all written by the same author, viz., Saktibhadra,

(5) That the departure from the injunctions of Bharata were not peculiar to these dramas, as in fact all the South Indian dramas exhibited the same characteristic (vide "Bhagavadajjukiyam" "Mattavilasaprahasanam" etc),

(6) That Bhamaha might have referred to Brihatkatha and not necessarily to the "Pratignayaugandharayana",

(7) That Kautilya is found quoting from a work called "Manugita" as is disclosed by Madhavayajvan's "Nayacandrika",

(8) That the quotation by Abhinavagupta beginning with "Sancitapakshma-kavatam" taken expressly from Svapnavasavadatta is not to be found in the Trivandrum drama,

(9) That there is no "krīda" or sport in the ' Svapnavasavadatta' which according to Abhinavagupta's, 'Abhinavabharati' should be characteristic of that drama ,

(10) That quotations in anthologies ascribed to Bhāsa by name are not to be found in the published plays ,

(11) That "Carudatta" is but a crude abridgement of Sudraka's "Mrichchakatika",

(12) That Mahasena's queen behaved much like a latter day Malayalee lady and used "Sambandham" in the sense of marriage (Pratigna p 87 and 78) quite as they are used to day in Malayalam ,

(13) That "Avimaraka" uses "Vicaritam" in the vernacular sense of "enquired",

(14) and that the exceptional degree of solicitude and respect for "matula" (uncle) shown in the duplicated "abhivadana" (salutation) b rays the influence of "Marmakkattayam custom "

In the play Ascarvacadāmanī,<sup>1</sup> the introduction of Āscaryacudāmaṇī and Adbhuṭāngulīyaka to act as a charm to detect fraud and disguise in the creation of fictitious Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmana acts as the main proof of the sentiment.

"The seven acts which compose the play present in dramatic form episodes of the Ramayana—the coming of Surpanakha into Rama's hut, her mutilation by Rama, the rape of Sita by Ravana, his passion for her in Lanka, Hanuman's visit to Lanka, and the final scenes where Rama, after his victory over Ravana, ascertains Sita's purity by the fire-ordeal and a message delivered by Narada and it takes its name from the miraculous crest-jewel and ring given to Rama and Sita by the hermits."<sup>2</sup>

Here are some of his fine ideas

क्वेद वन वनचरैरपि दुर्दिगाह केय वधु कुवलयच्छविचारनेत्रा ।  
हेमारविन्दसकरदरसोपयोगा कश्शधीत जलधौ कलहमकन्याम् ॥  
नियमाभिषेकजटिल तपोवने दिनवल्लीकुसुममात्रमण्टनम् ।  
रचयामि देवि रथयनवेगत स्थित शिरोशहनिबन्धन तव ॥  
वसुदेवमहीमुज प्रियेय पतिरस्माकमपामिवैष राशि ।  
अनयोरथमन्तरामवन्ती मयकन्या क्षितिपालिनीव वेला ॥  
अरुणे परिशीर्णमञ्जलौ निपतन्तो नयनोदबिन्दव ।  
शकलीकृतमौत्तिकविषो हिमलेशा इव पङ्कजोदरे ॥

---

The arguments advanced by Mr Hirananda Sastri are much in the same strain, additional reasons being

- (15) That the patron Rajasimha referred to by Bhāsa might be some Pallava Prince of the 6th or 7th century A D
- (16) That the Pratimagrīha in the Pratimanataka might have been borrowed from the sculptured rocks of Mahabalipuram of the 6th century A D
- (17) That the great resemblances, coincidences to the extent of expressions, and casts even, must be due to plagiarism
- (18) And that possibly there might have been two "Svapnavasavadatta natakas" and two "Balacaritas", the other unrecovered one being Bhāsa's

<sup>1</sup> Ed by S Kuppusami Sastri Madras, with a valuable introduction where he incidentally says that the plays attributed to Bhāsa are not his

On Śaktibhadra, see A Krishna Pisharoti, *Bhāsa's works* (Sridhara Press, Trivandrum) and A Krishna Pisharoti and A Rama Pisharoti, *Bhāsa's works. Are they genuine?* (*Bull of London Sch of Or Studies*, III 107-117)

The prologue calls Śaktibhadra, author of *Umādevāsavadatta* and other Kāvyas, but there are not now available

See articles by T K. Krishna Menon in *Annals*, VIII 48.

<sup>2</sup> F. Thomas, review in *JRAS*, (1927), 352

Pages 687, 688 & 689 have been rearranged. **verso**  
687 as continuation of page 686 (page 689). These  
Anaragharghava.

The description of Kāncī is enchanting

देवि द्रविडमण्डलमोऽलिप्तमण्डनमाणिक्यमणिस्तबुकमिद् काञ्चीनामधेयमायतन मर्मिनकेतनस्य ॥

(सीतामपवार्य) इह है—

स्वेदजलपिच्छालाभिस्ततुभिर्यूना च विधिलमाश्वेषम् ।

विपुल पुलकाशलाकपटल घटिति प्रतिकरोति ॥ अपि च—

अभिमुखपतयाङ्गुभिर्लाटश्रमसलिलैरच गृतपत्रलेन्द्र ।

कथयति पुरुषायित कथना मृदितहिमवृत्तिनिर्मल कपोल ॥ vii 106 7

and so is the devout obeisance of Bhīmesvara to the Sapta-Godāvāri and to Māhākāla of Ujjain and to Gāngā

विमीषण —देव प्रणन्यतामयमान्ब्रविषयलक्ष्म्या सप्तगोदावरहारश्लोपकनायको  
मगवान् सीमेश्वर । राम —(कृताञ्जलि)

नुस्यारम्भपरिवसद्विरसुतारिक्तार्थसम्पूर्तये

निर्बृद्धं ब्रिमिव ब्रामाय जगतार्थीशाय तुभ्यं नम ।

यश्चूडामुजगेश्वरप्रभृतिमिस्ताहृभ्रमन्तीर्दिश

पश्यद्विर्भमूर्यमाननयनेशान्तोऽपि न श्रद्धेषे ॥ viii 10,

विमीषण — इहैवायमलकायास्वासुनगरगौरवमाजि विपुरदहनाधिष्ठानप्रतिष्ठो  
मगवान्महाकालनाथ । अय हि

उद्वाम अभिवेगविस्तुतजटावक्षीप्रणाळीपतत-

सर्गाक्षालदण्डिक्षवलयित निर्माय तत्पञ्जरम् ।

सम्ब्राम्यद्वुजदण्डपङ्कपटलद्वेन हस्यायित-

ज्ञेलोक्यव्ययनाटिकानयनग्रस्वामी जगत्त्रायताम् ॥

राम —(प्राञ्जलि)

नमस्तुभ्य देवासुरमुकुटमाणिक्यकिरण-

प्रणालीसम्मेदस्नपितचरणाय स्मरजिते ।

महाकल्पस्वाहाकृतमुवनचंकेऽपि नयने

निरोद्धु भूयस्तप्रसरभिव काम हुतवते ॥ viii 112

राम —(सहर्षम्)

गौरीविमञ्चमानार्थसङ्कीर्णहरमूर्धनि ।

अम्ब द्विगुणमधीर्णे भागीरथि नमोऽस्तुते ॥

(सीता प्रति) देवि, विन्दस ।-

देवस्याङ्गुजसम्भवस्य भवनादम्बोधिभगामुका

सेय मौलविष्वर्णं सर्वातो भर्त्यसागीरथी ।

उच्चातानपहौय विमहमिव सोर्व-प्रर्थिपानिव

सोतस्तीवतरत्वरा गमयति द्राव्रहलोक जनान् ॥ viii 118 9

**665** Murari was the son of Vardhamāna and Tantumati of Moudgalyagotra. On the age of Murari, there is some uncertainty. Raṭnakara in his Haravijaya has a verse, where there is a punning reference to Murari as a playwright,<sup>1</sup> and Raṭnakara was in the Court of King Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> In the course of Rāma's aerial car on his way back to Ayodhya, Murari describes among other cities Māhiṣmatī, the capital of the Kalacuri dynasty and of the Cedi territory, and by the middle of the 8th century A.D. Kalacuri kings had left Māhiṣmatī and became settled in two lines at the capitals Gṛipurī and Raṭnapura. On these considerations Murari may be assigned to the end of the eighth century A.D. and to the beginning of the 9th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

**666** His **Anargharaghava** in 7 acts is an elaborate play on the story of Rāmāyana and for his merit and eloquence he has been called Bāla Vālmīki and from the beauty of a particular verse he is known as Indru Murari. His diction is chaste and learned and though sometimes not very perspicuous displays an impressive scholarship. To a mind saturated with the conventional similitudes, his similes,

1

अङ्गोत्थनाटक इवोत्तमनायकस्य

नाश कविव्यंधत यस्य मुरीरारथम् । xxxvii 167

२ इय च कलचुरिनरेन्द्रसाधारणाग्रभाष्मी माहिष्मती न.म चेदिमण्डलमुण्डमाला  
नगरी । इह हि—

आस्त्रचुम्बनरतोत्सवकौतुकादिकिंडादुरोदरणप्रतिभूरनक्ष ।

मोगस्तु यथपि जये च पराजये च यूनोर्मनस्तदपि वाञ्छति जेतुमेव ॥

It is not unlikely that Murari is ridiculing Kalacuri king Anangaharṣa Miyurāja who was the author of Uḍāttarāghava and is known by tradition, to have been enjoying the company of actors (and women). So it is said in Kuttinimata (see para 668 *supra*). If Anangaharṣa had lived just before the author of Kuttinimata, Murari may have been his contemporary.

See *kJ*, VIII App I 16, 17

3 If the allusions to Murari (our author) by Raṭnakara and by Murari to Mālatī Maṭhava or Anangaharṣa cannot be accepted, it is certain he lived in the 11th century, because he is quoted by Mankha, Śāradājanaya and Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya and not mentioned by Bhoja or Abhinavagupta.

On Murāri generally, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG* XXVII, 74, XXXVI 877-8, CC I 462, II, 106, Peterson *Subh*, 91, PR IV xxvi, Bhandarkar, *BR* (1897) xx, xl, Durgaprasad's Int. to *Anargharaghava*, Thomas, *Kav* 71, Schuyler, 71 2; Wilson, *Theatre*, II 375.

often original, strike as peculiar, but they are quite natural all the same<sup>1</sup>. Many of his verses show lyrical harmony, but his style must generally be characterised as magnificient. He is one of those poets whom European critics have been unable to appreciate, but the fault is on the side of the critics only, for none will agree with Wilson's thought that Hindu pandits have shown Murāri an unjust preference, for "the Hindus of these days are little able to estimate purity of conception, delicacy of feeling or brilliancy of fancy." But these are the very qualities with which Anargharāghava is replete. The play has been considered a standard for poetic criticism and grammatical learning. In his Siddhānta-Kaumudi, Nagojibhatta cites Murāri's expressions as authority.<sup>2</sup>

There are commentaries on the play by Pūrṇasarasvati,<sup>3</sup> Hari-hara,<sup>4</sup> Mānavikrama<sup>5</sup> Rucipatidatta,<sup>6</sup> Dharmānapda,<sup>7</sup> Kṛṣṇa, son of Varada,<sup>8</sup> Lakṣmidhara alias Rāmānandāśrama,<sup>9</sup> Viśnupandita,<sup>10</sup> Viśnubhatta, son of Mukti-nātha,<sup>11</sup> Lakṣmaṇasūpi,<sup>12</sup> Jinaharsagani,<sup>13</sup> (Srinidhi, Puruṣottama, Tripurān),<sup>14</sup> Naracandra,<sup>15</sup> (Abhirāma, by Bhāvanāthamīśra),<sup>16</sup> by Dhānesvara, son Udaya and one anonymous.

1 So it is said मुरारेस्तुतीय पन्था ।

मुरारिपदचिन्ताचेचदा भाषे मार्ति कुरु ।

मुरारिपदचिन्ताचे ॥

मुरारिपदचिन्ताया भवभूतस्तु का कथा ।

भवभूति परिलङ्घ्य मुरारिमुरारीकुरु ॥

2 Here is a verse in praise of Murāri—

भवभूतिमनाहत्वं निर्बोणमतिना मया ।

मुरारिपदचिन्तायाभिदमाधीयते मन ॥ Śāṅgadharapaddhati

3 TC, III 8880

4 Tanj. VIII 8815

5 TC, II, 2580

6 Ed, Bombay Of Khaukula family Written at the instance of King Bhurava alias Harinārāyaṇa, son of Narasimha-deva, probably of Orissa who ruled also 1286 A D

7 Son of Rāmabala of Bharatpur DC, XXI, 8855

8 DC, XXI, 8857 Tanj VIII 8822. SR, II 67, 209 TC, II 1450

9. DC, XXI 8859 Tanj. VIII 8819

10 DC, XXI, 8860.

11 Ibid 8881.

12 Ed. Madras.

13. PR, IV 25

14. CC, I 15.

15. Ibid. SKC, 77

16 Mentioned in Int to Bombay Edn

Lakṣmīdhara was son of Yagnesvara and brother of Cerukun Kondubhatta After he became sanvāsi, he was named Rāmānanda-svāmi Kondubhatta's son Yagnesvara wrote Alankārārāghava, Alankārasūrvodaya and commented on his son Venkatesvara's Citrabandha-ramāyāna composed in Saka 1557 (1635 A D) <sup>1</sup>

**667 Mahānātaka**<sup>2</sup> traditionally known as the work of Hanūman himself was for long lost, until fragments of it were washed ashore from the sea on inscribed slabs and restored during the reign of king Bhoja of Dhar It is said that Vālmīki became alarmed that with the rival work of Hanūman his own poem would go to the shade and with the leave of Hanūman, cast off Mahānātaka into the sea <sup>3</sup> Bhojacaritra records an anecdote of some verses attributed to Hanūmān being discovered by a merchant engraved on rocks on the seashore and Bhoja deciphered on the spot a verse which is found in the present drama In the form in which we have it, it is a voluminous work, more a poem than a play and often we discover verses of other authors freely imported into it The sentiments are lofty and ideas fanciful

A poet Hanūmān has written Khandapraśasti, a series of stotras on Visnu's incarnation on which there are commentaries by Gāngadāsa, Raghunātha, Jayasomagāṇi and Guṇavijayagāṇi

Sāradātanaya who wrote Bhāvaprakāsa in 12-13 century A D instances (at p 245) Mahānātaka as a drama of Samagra (full) type

सर्वदृतिविनिष्पत्ति सर्वलक्षणसयुतम् ।  
सम्म तत्प्रतिनिर्विच महानाटकमुच्यते ॥

We may therefore assign the composition of this play latest to the days of king Bhoja in the 10th century A D <sup>4</sup>

The work as it is, is found in two recensions<sup>5</sup> wholly different from each other, in contents and extent. Of these the one by DAVIDARA seems to be the earlier<sup>6</sup> It was probably made up during

1 See para 841 *supra*

2 *Bhav.* pp 200, 212, 282, 287 See article by R. Ramamurti in *Udyānapratikā*.

3 Mitra V

4 Sāradātanaya's approval of this play indicates that the recension he had with him was considered to be an original drama worthy of citation by a rhetorician It is therefore possible that verses of other authors found in the present editions might have been later interpolations

5 Schuyler, *Bbl* 35 7

6 Ed. Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 863 78,

the reign of Bhoja himself and is quoted by name in his Sarasvatī-kanṭhābharaṇa<sup>1</sup>. Dāmodara was the compiler or restorer<sup>2</sup>. His work is in 14 acts dealing with the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa in it. With two verses of benediction the play opens and continues and there is not the prelude or the mention of the Sūtradhārā<sup>3</sup>.

There are commentaries on it by Mohanadāsa<sup>4</sup> and by R. Sironmani<sup>5</sup>.

The second recension is the work of MADHUSŪDANA's<sup>6</sup>. It has only 9 acts and is short in narrative.

There are commentaries on it by (Candrasekhara, Nārāyaṇa)<sup>7</sup> and Mohanadāsa<sup>8</sup>.

Mahānātaka-Sudhānidhi is in the nature of an anthology of the story of Rāmāyaṇa, composed by king Immedi Devaraya V of Vijayanagar<sup>9</sup>.

**668 Hastimalla**, son of Govinda of Srivatsagotra, became a Jain. Avyapārya says in his Jinendrakalyāṇacampū composed in Sam 1375 that Hastimalla was so named because he fought with an elephant. For this act of prowess he was eulogised by the Pandva King<sup>10</sup> in a hundred verses in open assembly. His father was a remote disciple of Guṇabhadra, the disciple of Jinasena who lived about Saka 705

1 See JRAS, (1897), 287 ff.

2 रचितमनिलपुत्रेणाथ वाल्मीकिनांवौ  
निहितमसृतबुद्ध्या प्राङ्महानाटक तत् ।  
सुपतिनृपतिभोजेनोदधृत तत्कमेण  
ग्रथितमवतु विश्व विश्रदामोदरेण ॥

Dāmodara, author of the play Kamsavadha (OC, I 77) and author Vāñibhuṣaṇa (a work on prosody, SKC, 55) and Dāmodara son of Viśvanātha author of Bhagavat-prasāḍaoर्णा (SKC 871) are different. Schuyler (Bitt) makes the author of Vāñibhuṣaṇa identical with the author of Mahānātaka.

3 Tr. into English by K. K. Bahadur (Calcutta)

4 Ed. Bombay,

5 Calcutta

6 Ed. Calcutta DC, XXI 8449

7 OC, I 488, II 100, 216

8 Ed. Bombay

9. Tāṇḍy VIII 8704, TC, I 879 II 2115. See SII, I 110

10. See para 269 *supra*. For discussion on the date of Sundarapāṇḍya Jāṭavarman see IA, XXII, 219. On Pāṇḍya rulers see IA, XLII 168, 221, XLIV, 165, 189, 245. K. V. Subramania Ayyar, *Earliest manuscripts of the Pāṇḍya country and their inscriptions*

Hastimalla probably lived in the 9th century A D. Besides the poem Ādipurāṇa, Purucarita and Udayanarājākāvya, Hastimalla wrote several dramas of which the known are Arjunarāja,<sup>1</sup> Bharatarāja,<sup>2</sup> Meghesvara,<sup>3</sup> Maithiliparinaya,<sup>4</sup> Subhadrāharana,<sup>5</sup> Anjanāpavananjaya<sup>6</sup> and Vikrāntikaurava.<sup>7</sup>

**669 Ksemisvara** was the grand nephew of Vijayaprakostha and votary of Śiva. He was a poet of the Court of King Mahipaladeva who ruled at Kanouj (9-10th century A D). His CANDAKAUSIKA, a play in 5 acts, describes the story of Hariscandra and his truthful stand against Viśvāmitra's persecutions. "The play presents a vivid picture of the workings of a curse uttered by an angry priest Kausika against an upright king who had innocently offended him. The king forfeits his realm, and loses his wife and child, the latter by death and his consort by being sold into slavery. Though tried to the utmost the job-like patience of the righteous monarch never fails and in the end he has his wife, his son and his kingdom restored to him by divine intervention so that all ends in happiness."<sup>8</sup> Ksemisvara was probably the author of the play Naśadhānanda on the story of Nala.<sup>9</sup>

**670 Ksemendra**<sup>10</sup> wrote some dramas two of which are quoted in his Āuciṣṭavīcāracarcā. Of these Lalitaratnamālā has been noticed<sup>11</sup> and Cīrabhārata<sup>12</sup> is another.

1. *Op* II 816, *CC*, I 80

2. *Op* II 825

3. *Op* II 826

4. Printed Bombay. There is a play Maithilinātaka by a Jain author mentioned in *Rics* 804.

5. Mys 987. There is a Śrigaṇita of this name by Mādhavabhatta (Printed, Bombay). There are plays named Subhadrāparinaya by Raghuvīthādārya (*Op* 726, 9125) and a Cāyānātaka by Rāmadeva (*CC*, I 728) and a play Subhadrāvijaya (*Op* 8079).

6. Mys *OML*, 273

7. Ed by Mohanlal, Bombay, with an introduction *TC*, II 1688

8. Ed. Bombay, Mysore, Calcutta (with a commentary by Tarkālankara and again with a commentary by Vidyāsagara). On Ksemisvara and the play, see M Schuyler, *Bab* 12, 66.

Other plays dealing with the story of Hariscandra are Hariscandrayādaśandradandrikā of unknown authorship (*CC*, 761) and Rāmacandra's Satya-Hariscandra.

9. *PB*, III 21, 340.

10. See para 69 *supra*.

11. See para 69 *supra*.

12. It is also quoted in Kavikanthābhārapa p. 180,

यथा मम चित्रभारते नाटके—

नशीद्वन्द्वेहामप्रसरसलिलापूरितततु  
स्फुरतस्फोटज्ञालानिबिडबडवाभिक्षतजल ।  
न दर्पं नो दैन्यं स्पृणते बहुसत्त्वं पतिरपा-  
मवस्थाना मेदाद्वयति विकृतिनवं महताम् ॥

Kanakajānaki was also his play and is quoted in his Kavikāntibhā-  
bharaṇa (p. 131)

रमगतो यथा मम कनकजानक्याम्—

अत्रार्थं गुरदूषणतिशरसां नादानुबन्धोधमे  
मन्थाने भ्रवन त्वया चकितया योङ्गा निरुद्धं क्षणम् ।  
मस्नेहास्तरसास्तरसहासरमसास्त्रभ्रमास्तस्पृहा  
सोत्साहास्त्रवयितद्वले च निदधे दोलायमाना हश ॥

**671 Vigrahaṛajadeva** (IV) or Vimaladeva, (Cahamana of Sakambhari or Sambhar was son and successor of Arnorāja<sup>1</sup>. He successfully waged war against Musalman invaders<sup>2</sup>. His play HARAKELI represents the story of the fight between Arjuna and Siva (that is, Kirātārjunīya) and the gift of the mystical weapon, Pāsupata. The play is inscribed on stone at Ajmere above date Samvat 1210 (1153 A.D.)<sup>3</sup>. There is a verse of Vigrahaṛajadeva quoted in Subhā-śitāvalī. In honour of this king, SOMADEVA<sup>4</sup> composed the plays Lalītavigrahaṛāja, also inscribed there in stone. It treats of the love of the king to Desaladevi, daughter of king Vasantapāla at Indrapura. There is a reference to the battle with Hammira, but the battle does not take place.

**672 Ramacandra**<sup>5</sup> was the famous one-eyed pupil of Hemacandra and lived in 12th century. “Two legends are connected with regard to this circumstance. According to them, Ramacandra was

1 This is according to Prabhūrājavijaya, but according to Siwālkha pillar inscription, Dehli, (IA, XIX 215) his father was Avellaṛadeva.

2 See IA XIX 218

3 For extracts and accounts by Kielhorn, see IA, XIX 215, XX. 201-212 (at Ajmer dated Sam 1210—22nd Nov, 1153 A.D.), Trübner's Record, II 65-66; Got Nach XIII 553-570, VOJ, VII 191

4 Somevara, author of Kaṭhāśariṣṭagāra, was a different poet. So also Somadeva, author of Rāmāyanāṭaka (OC, I, 524)

5 Rāmacandra, author of Añḍavāṇanda, a play in 8 acts on the story of Yāyāṭī (Tanj, VIII 3854) was the son of Śrīhṛṣe and patronised by a Canda king of Bengal, Rāmacandra, author of Vāsanṭikā (OC, I, 556, III, 120) was a different author.

unruly and when taken before the sage Jayamna he made him have a single eye to the furthering of the Jain faith. On this Ramacandra lost one of his bodily eyes.<sup>1</sup> According to the other legend the loss was the punishment for criticism passed by Ramacandra in spite of the warning of his teacher on a poem of Śripala's.<sup>2</sup> He is reported to be the author of a hundred works,<sup>3</sup> of which only a few are now available. Of these some are dramas,<sup>4</sup> Nalavilāsa, Raghuvilāsa, Rāghavābhuyudaya, Yādavābhvudava, Nirbhayabhima, Vanamālikū, Mallikāmakaranda, Saṭyahariscandra,<sup>5</sup> and Kaumudimitrānanda.<sup>6</sup>

Rāmacandra along with Gupacandra wrote a treatise on dramas, NATYADARPANA. It is valuable in literary history for its quotations from various works of great merit, now lost to us.<sup>7</sup>

Of the several plays mentioned or quoted from are —(1) Visakha-deva's Devicandraguptam (2) Amṛtya Sankula's Cītrotpalāvalambitakaprakaranam (3) Puṣpaduṣitakam (4) Sri Śuktivilākumāra's Anangasenā-Harmandinī prakarana (5) Kṛtyārāvanam (6) Chalitarāmam (7) Tāpasa vaṭsarājam (8) Bālikāvancitakam (9) Pandavānandam (10) Anangavatā-nātikā (11) Kṣiraswamin's Abhinavārāghavam (12) Udāttarāghavam (18) Bhīmapārākramam (14) Dharmapālam (15) Bhattasñi Bhavanutacūda's Kosalikānātikā, (16) Māyāpuṣpakam (17) Indulekhā-nātikā (18) Bhejjala's Rādhāvipralambham (19) Tarangadattam (20) Bhimata's Manoramā-vaṭsarājam (21) Daṇdracārudattam (22) Pārthavijayam (23) Vilakā-Duryodhanam (24) Bhāsa's Svāpnavaśavadattam (the quotation made is not found in Ganapati Sastrī's edition) (25) Prayogābhuyudayam (26) Mallikāmakarandam and Vanamālā (27) Saṭyahariscandra (28) Rohipi-mṛgāṅkam (29) Kaumudimitrānandam (30) Bhīmādeva's Svapnada-nanam and Pratimāniruddham

**673 Devacandra** was a pupil of Hemacandra. In the Court of King Kumārapāla, he wrote the play Candralekhāvijayaprakarana, in 5 acts, enacted at the spring festival of Ajitanātha. At the end of it is a praśasti mentioning Kumārapala's victory over Argorāja.<sup>8</sup>

1 PR, IV 16, V 144, Buhler's *Hemacandra*, 19, 46

2 PR, IV vi

3 OC, III 60, 104, 107, 102, I 293

4 Anarghanalacarita is a play on Nala's story by Suḍarśanācārya of Pāncanada (Tiruvadi, Tanjore District)

5 Printed, Bombay Ed by Mario Valladri at Florence with an Italian translation

6 Printed, Bhowanagar

7 Ed GOS with an elaborate introduction

8 Jes. Cat. 64

**674 Jayadeva<sup>1</sup>** was the son of Mahadeva and Sumitrā of Kaundinya gotra and pupil of Harimīśra. He was probably a native of Vimarshī in Northern India. For the excellence of his poetic composition, he was called Piśūna. Though a Saivite in religion, he was an ardent devotee of Rāma. Among his works are Sītāvibhāra,<sup>2</sup> Prasannarāghava and Candraloka.<sup>3</sup> In the prologue to his play Prasannarāghava, Jayadeva eulogises Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāna, Mayūra and Cora.<sup>4</sup> Verses from this drama are quoted in Jālhana's Sūktimuktāvali (composed on 1247 A D).<sup>5</sup> Seeing that Bhoja does not mention this work, it may be safe to assign its composition to the 12th century A D. The tradition current in Bengal on the identity of this Jayadeva with the logician of that name who bore the title Pakṣadhara may be true.<sup>6</sup>

"In the Prologue, it is said that the manager had a brother named Gunarama, that he objected to being called 'prince of players' owing to the fact that his elder brother was living, that the title should be conferred on the latter and that he wrote a drama called Haracaparopana which was acted at the court of a king called Ratijanaka and obtained a great fame as an actor. A contemptible player stealthily assumed the title of Gunarama and misappropriated the fame to himself. Having heard this, the real Gunarama went to the south and secured the alliance of a singer named Sukantha and began to fight against his enemy at the courts of the kings of Southern India."

While we can clearly see in the above statements, an allusion to the story of Ravana carrying off Sita, the wife of Rama, and the latter allying himself with the monkey leader Sugriva and fighting with Ravana to recover his wife, we cannot help thinking of the probability of a reference to Appayyadiksita's modification of the Candraloka and commenting upon the work. Jayadeva might have considered this to be a plagiarism and resorted perhaps to the court of a king of

1. See Peterson, *Subh* 87. Aufrecht *ZDMG*, XXVII 207 identifies this Jayadeva, with the author of *Gītagovinda*. This is a mistake apparent from the names of their respective parents.

2. See Peterson, *loc* 89

3. *DC*, VIII No 8998. *CC*, I 728

4. I 22. Cora does not mean Bilhana as has been commonly supposed.

5. See S M Paranjpe, *Int to Edn Poona*.

6. Jayadeva is described as a logician in the prologue to this drama. His Ālōka is the earliest commentary on *Tatvaintamani* of Gangeśa. Gangeśa lived about 1120 A D. for Gangeśa mentions Udayana, Nyāyālāvāṭikāra (Vallabha) and Śri Harṣa. These dates make the identity probable.

Southern India where Appayyadikṣita was living to expose the plagiarism before the king and the people assembled".<sup>1</sup>

**675 Prasanna-Raghava** is a drama in seven acts, embracing the story of Rāmāyaṇa. The author has introduced several alterations in the original story to give to his work an extraordinary dramatic effect. The first act is very amusing where the demons Bāna and Rāvana are brought together as Sītā's suitors and ridiculed. The last act introduces a pair of Vidyādharaś, who describe the battle and the purification and restoration of Sītā. The return in the aerial car and the coronation of Rāma conclude the story.<sup>2</sup>

There are commentaries on it by Lakṣmīdhara,<sup>3</sup> by Venkatārya,<sup>4</sup> by Raghunandana,<sup>5</sup> by Lakṣmana,<sup>6</sup> by Narasimha or Rājarāya.<sup>7</sup>

**676 Prahladana** was the son of Yaśodhavala and brother of Dhārādhavala, of the Paramāra dynasty of Mt. Abu whose capital was at Candrāvatī. When Yuvarāja under his brother he distinguished himself as a man of arms as well as letters. He assisted Vasṭupāla in repelling the attack of armies from Delhi and independently too put to work the forces of Kumārapāla and Pṛthviraj.<sup>8</sup> He predeceased his brother and could not ascend the throne.<sup>9</sup> He was working as Yuvarāja in Sam 1220 and was living till Sam. 1265. He built the city of Palanpur, the capital of the state of that name in Gujarat.<sup>10</sup> As a poet famed for felicity and lucidity of expression Prahlādāna is praised in Kīrti-kaumudi<sup>11</sup> and is quoted in Sūkṣmuktāvali.<sup>12</sup>

1 SR, II 68

2 Ed. Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Benares, etc. For an account of the drama, see SR, II 68, S N Paranjape and N S Panse, Int to Edn (Poona), S R Khopakar, Int. to Edn (Bombay). Translated into English by Ganganath Jha, Benares.

3 Same as the commentator on Gītagovinda and Anargha-Rāghava.

4 Ed. Bombay

5 CC, II 81, 211, IOC, VII 4168

6 TC, III 9220. He wrote a commentary on the Gītagovinda, where he gives his patron's genealogy

7 TC, III 8894. He was son of Suramātya of Bhāradvājagotra. The work was composed at Raṇapur; probably in the circars in the year Hevilambi.

8 See Surañhoṭsava XV 82 and Mt Abu Lunigavasati Prasasti, 88.

9 See Upadeśatarangini, Prasasti of the Atīmuktacarita of Purabhadra, composed in Sam 1283, Somasaubhāgya 18 15 and Hirasabuḥhāgya (I. 69 128).

10 He is consequently known as Yuvarāja Prahlādāna

11 These verses are collected and printed in the GOS. (No. 4) appendix.

12 I. 14-15.

His PARTHAPARĀKRAMA, a Vvāyoga<sup>1</sup> of one Act, describes the exploits of Arjuna in rescuing the cattle of the Virāta from the hands of the Kaurava Army—the story of the Gograhāpa in the Virā'a Parvan of the Mahābhārata, and was enacted on the occasion of the festival of the investiture of Acaleśvara, the literary God of the Parmāras at Mt Abu with the sacred thread<sup>2</sup>.

**677** The same story has also been dramatised in the Dhananjayavijaya, likewise a Vyāyoga by Kancanacāri, son of Nārāyaṇa of the race of Kappimuni. Owing to his skill in composing plays, he was patronised by king Jayadeva of Kanoj<sup>3</sup> whom he mentions in the prologue and who flourished in the 12th century A D. The mode of narration is however indirect and the spectacle of the battle is described in a dialogue between Indra and his attendants. The drama was enacted before an assembly of the learned, presided over by a great Gadādharamisra.

The model of Prahlādāna's play was adopted by Vyāsa Mokṣadītī in his drama, Bhīmaparākrama<sup>4</sup>. He was the son of Bhīma and pupil of Harihara and composed his work in Sam 1385 (1328 A D).

**678** Madana was the preceptor of King Arjunavarman<sup>5</sup> of Paramāra dynasty. His Pārijātamānjarī, a nātikā of extreme beauty, of which only two acts are now available in fragments, was inscribed on stone at Dhārā in 1213 A D.<sup>6</sup> It describes the loves of Arjunavarman and a damsel Pārijātamānjarī, long kept secret from his queen Sarvakalā. The heroine was the daughter of a Calukya king of Gujerat whom Arjunavarman defeated, who having given up her life in the struggle was born as a cluster of Pārijāṭa flowers, which became afterwards transformed into a beautiful woman Pārijātamānjarī.

1 Schuyler (*Bibl* 97) confuses this Yuvarāja Prahlādāna with Yuvarāja alias Rāmavarmān of Orangānur, the author of Rasasādānabhāṇa.

2 Edited with an elaborate preface by C D Dalal, GOS No 4.

3 Printed Bombay. There is a commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa (*OC* III 58). For a short account, see Wilson's *Theatre*, II 874. It is quoted in the Rasārṇavasudhākara of the 14th century A D. See *SR*, I 6, 10. There is Dhananjayavijaya of Yaśodhana (*OC*, I 266).

4 Cat S MSS of Br Museum. It is called by Schuyler (*Bibl* 71) as Bhīma vikrama.

5 Arjunavarman was the son of Subhatavarman and grandson of Vindhyanavarman. His grants are dated Samvat 1267, 1270, 1272 (See *JAS*, VII 25, 32, *JBAS*, V 378). See also for a discussion of these grants by Kielhorn, *IA* XIX 341, Colebrooke's *Mis Es.* II 297-814 and *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, I 290-289. Arjunavarman wrote a commentary on Amaraka Jālhapā in Suktumuktāvali quotes a verse of his. See Peterson, *Suhū* 5.

6 Ed. by Hultzsch, Leipzig. See *IA*, XXXV 296.

**679 Ramabhadra** or Rāma, the Jaina monk and poet, was the desciple of Jayaprabhasūri who was the desciple of Vādidevasūri according to Prabhāvakacaritra Vādideva died in *Sam* 1226 (1272 A D ) His play Prabuddha-Rauhineyam<sup>1</sup> was enacted at the festival of Śriyugādideva in a temple constructed by Chahamana chief Yasovīra and Ajayapāla, sons of Pārvacandra, whose munificence is recorded in inscriptions bearing dates *Sam* 1242, 1268<sup>2</sup> The poet therefore flourished about the last quarter of the 13th century A D

**680 Ravivarma** Sangramadhipa of Jayatunganādu was born in A D 1266-7 He was the son of King Jayasimha Virakerala and Umādevi and belonged to the Yādava family "After defeating his adversaries, he married a Pandya princess and when 33 years of age took possession of Kerala (which he ruled as he did his town of Kolamba) He defeated a certain Virapāndya, made the Pāndyas and the Colas subject to the Keralas and at the age of 46 (about 1312-3) was crowned on the banks of the Vegavatī (at Kūnci) He made munificent donations to temples and upheld religion He was a poet himself and patronised learning He was an expert in the science of music He was called Dakṣiṇa-Bhoja<sup>3</sup> Samudrabandha, the commentator on Alankārasarvasva, was a poet of his court.<sup>4</sup> His PRADYUMNA-DHYUDAYA is a drama<sup>5</sup> in five acts describing the destruction of Vajranābha, king of Vajrapura, and the marriage of Pradumna with the princess Prabhāvatī The interdrama Rambhābhīsarapam is interesting and shows a nice device for the first aspect of the lovers at a theatre

**681 Rudradeva** alias Pratapa-Rudradeva was the king of Ekacila (Warrangal) and ruled over an extensive country in 1268-1319 A D <sup>6</sup> He was a great patron of poets and a poet himself of a high order His name has been commemorated in the most popular work on Rhetoric, Praṭaparudra-Yasobhūṣana of Vidyānātha (Agastya) Agastya's nephew Visvanātha was in his court Of his writings, only

1 Printed at Bhownagar, with an introduction

2 *Ibid* Introduction See inscription at Jalordurga, printed in Prachina Jainalekha-sangraha

3. *Tr. Arch. Series*, II 58 IV 89 and inscriptions, in *EI*, IV 145 52, VIII 8

4 *Ed. TSS*, Trivandrum

5 *Ibid* It is not known whether the manuscript in *CG*, I, 862 is the same work, Pradyumnavijaya of Śāṅkarādikṣita and Pradyumnañanda of Venkatādhvari have the same theme.

6 On Kakatiya History, see K. V. Subrahmanyam Ayyar "Historical sketches of ancient Deccan." Andhra Patrika Annual Number (1922-28), Tailor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts (Madras) 82, "Veerabhadrarow's" History of the Andhras.

two<sup>2</sup> have survived to us, a nātikā, Uṣārāgodaṇa,<sup>3</sup> relating the loves of Uṣā and Aniruddha and Yāyāticarita,<sup>4</sup> a drama in 7 acts describing the loves of Yāyāti and Sarmiṣṭhā as her servant with a thousand other female attendants "Devaṇī married the king Yayati At the time of her marriage Sukra obtained the king's promise that he would never take Sarmiṣṭhā to his bed , but after some interval the king met her, fell in love and espoused her privately The intrigue continued secret, until Yayati had two sons by Devayani and three by Sarmiṣṭhā, when it was discovered by the former, and excited her resentment as well as that of her father The violation of the king's promise was punished by premature decay, as denounced upon him by Sukra, with permission, however, to transfer his infirmities to any one who would accept them Yayati appealed to his sons of whom the youngest alone, Puru, consented to assume the burden After a sufficient period Yayati took his decrepitude back again, and left the sovereignty of the world to Puru in reward of his filial piety All the sons of Yayati were the founders of the distinguished races Yadu gave birth to the Yadavas, Turvasu to the Yavanas, Druhya was the ancestor of the Bhojas, and Anu of the Mlechchhas The Pauravas were the descendants of Puru, in whose line the Kaurava and Pandava families were comprised "<sup>5</sup>

**682** The same story has been handled by other poets VALLI-SAHĀYA of Vadhlāgoṭra lived at Virincipuram near Vellore He wrote a biography of Sankara styled Ācāryādigvijaya<sup>6</sup> His Yayāti-Tarunānanda is a drama in five acts was enacted at the vernal festival of God Margasahāya at Virincipuram<sup>7</sup> His Rocanānanda is a fragment of a drama probably in five acts, describing the loves of Aniruddha and Rocanā<sup>8</sup>

Yayāti-Devayānicarita is an anonymous play, having the same plot but with no division into acts<sup>9</sup> Sarmiṣṭhā-Yayāti and Yayātivijaya are mentioned in Sāhiṭyadarpana There is a play Sarmiṣṭhā-Yayāti

1 This is a commentary on the Prabodhaṇacandrodasya by Rudrajeva (CBod, 281)

2 CC I 71 Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* II. 888, Mitra's Notices, III 192

3 Probably the same as Sarmiṣṭhayayāti mentioned in Sāhiṭyadarpana Mitra's Notices, III 192

4 Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 888

5 DC, XXI. 8807.

6 DC, XXI. 8477

7. DC, XXI. 8489.

8. DC, XXI. 8479

composed by Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇa Kavi<sup>1</sup> Sarmisthāvijaya of Nārāyaṇa Sāstrin will be noticed elsewhere

**683 Manika**, son of Rājavardhana, was the pupil of Natesvara, an expert in dramaturgy His BHAIKAVANANDA is a secular drama, the hero being Bhairava and the heroine Madanavatī, a celestial damsel cursed by a Rishi to become human The drama was enacted at the marriage of Jayadharma Malla Deva, the son of Jayasthitī Malla and Rajalla Devī “He came apparently from Mithila, a place of learning, and so he had cultivated a fine literary taste for the display of which his new position as king of Nepal afforded him ample opportunities The birth ceremony of his son, the same Dharma Malla, was celebrated by the performance of a four act Ramayana Dharmā Gupṭa, son of Rāmadasa, wrote a four act Rāmāyaṇa, probably Rāmānkanātaka in 1310 AD, and was probably a king of Simraon as the epithet used is Surakikulakamalākaravikāsanaiabhāskara, i.e., he helped in the establishment of the Surki dynasty of Jaunpore The troubles in the then eastern (Shurq) dominion of Delhi commenced at the end of the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah of Delhi, 1368, and Yutha Simha appears to be one of those Hindu Rajas who helped Malik Sharwar, a Khauja, to establish himself as Malik-us-shurb Yutha Simha seems to have been a contemporary and a relative of Jayasthitī who, by marrying Rajalla Devi, made himself master of Nepal.”<sup>2</sup>

**684 Jayarana Malla Deva** was the husband of Nathalia Devi, the rightful heir to the throne of Nepal and the son of Vijaya Malla. His PANDAVAVIJAYA, also called Sabhāparvanātaka, represents the events of that part of Mahābhārata.<sup>3</sup>

**685 Jyotirisvara**, surnamed Kavīśekharācārya, was the son of Dhireswara and great-grandfather of Viḍyāpaṭī He was the lord of the village of Pallijanma He was a friend of king Harisimha of Simroan who ruled about 1324 AD and at the conclusion of his war with a Muhammadan Sultan wrote a prahasana, Dhūrṭasamāgama,<sup>4</sup> which

1 OC, I 688 The identification may not be correct Kṛṣṇa Kavi may be identical with Śesakṛṣṇa, who flourished during the reign of Emperor Akbar

2 About this king and his literary tastes, see Appendix by Bendall, p. 11-14.

3 Bendal's, *Cam Cai* 87

4 Bendal's Preface, 19, 115

5 Ed by G Cappeller (Jens) Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 408. For other editions and translations in France and Italy, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 48-44 Maheśvara's Dhūrṭavidambāna is a similiar play.

was staged at the victory festivals "Viswanaguru, Jangama or mendicant of a particular class, quarrels with his disciples for the possession of Anangasena, a courtesan. They refer the case to Asajjati-Misra, a Brahmin, who lives by solving knotty points of law, and he decrees that until it can be decided to which the damsel belongs, she shall remain under the protection of himself as umpire."

In his *Pancasāyaka*,<sup>2</sup> a work on erotics in five parts, of exquisite lyrical beauty, he purports to epitomise all that is said in the standard works on *Kāmasātra*.

*Mundiṭaprahasana*, a farce in 3 acts,<sup>3</sup> is probably his work

**686** *Bhaskara*'s<sup>4</sup> *Unmaṭṭa-Rāghava*<sup>5</sup> was composed to entertain an assembly of learned men met together to pay homage to Vidyārapya. If this latter were identical with the famous scholar of Vijayanagar, then the work must be assigned to the middle of the 14th century. This piece of a single act describes the maddened soliloquies of Rāma on the sudden disappearance of Sītā in the recesses of a shadv garden, where, on account of the curse of Durvāsas, blossom-collection was prohibited on pain of the trespasser being turned to a deer. Agastya understands the mistake and restores Sītā to Rāma, freed from the

1 Ed Lahore. *PR*, II 110, *TC*, III 4085

2 The author's name is given as Śivajyotirīvara, most probably identical with this poet. *PR*, II 122

3 He is different from Bhāskara of Kerala who wrote Śringārātilakabhbāp. He was a poet of the Court of Vikramadeva, *TC*, III 3881 Printed *Jl. Sām. Sah Par* Calcutta, XVII

4 Printed Bombay. This work is different from one of that name quoted by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyanūśasana* (page 97).

अप्रियदर्शनश्रवणवेगो यथा उन्मत्तराधवे—

चित्रभाष्य — (ससम्ब्रगम्) मगवन् कुलपते रामभद्र, परित्रायतां, परित्रायताम् (इला कुलतां नाटयति) इलादि ।

पुन चित्रभाष्य —

मृगरूप परिलज्ज्य विद्याय विकट वपु ।

नीयते रक्षसा तेन लक्ष्मणो युधि सक्षयम् ॥

राम —

वत्सस्यामयवारिधे. प्रतिभय भन्ये कथ राक्षसा.

त्रस्तश्वैष मुनिविरौति मनसाशास्त्रेव मे सम्ब्रगम् ।

मा हासीर्जनकात्मजामिति मुहुस्सेहादशुर्योचते

न स्थातुं न च गन्तुमाकुलमतेर्मूङ्डस्य मे निश्चय ॥

effects of the unconscious curse. The story is a close imitation of the fourth act of Vikramorvasi.

**687 Gangadhara,**<sup>3</sup> was the son of Agastya's<sup>3</sup> sister. He is said to have composed a play visualising the story of the Mahābhārata.<sup>4</sup> He was probably also the author and the two plays *Candravilāsa*,<sup>5</sup> *Raghavābhuyudaya*.<sup>6</sup> The former has an imaginary story on the union of Candra and Kumudini. Gangādhara had two sons Narasimha and Visvanātha.

**688 Narasimha** dramatised the story of Kādambarī in his *Kādambarikalyāṇa*<sup>6</sup> in eight acts, as related by Bāna in his famous romance. The poetry is very imaginative and excels in the description of nature and pathos. An *Antarnātikā* is introduced in the 5th act to bring Kādambarī in the presence of *Candrāpida*.

**689 Visvanatha** lived at Warrangal under the patronage of Pratāpa Rudra Deva (1294-1325 A.D.). Left as an orphan while yet a child, he was educated by his maternal uncle Agastya. Called upon to entertain an assembly of Pandits at the Warrangal durbar, he wrote

1. Gangādhara, father of Laksmanasuri (*DC*, XXI 8268) and Gangādhara, son of Dattātreya of Uḍaya family were different persons. The latter wrote the *Madrakanyāparinayacampu* celebrating the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Lakṣmī, daughter of Bhātesena, King of Madras (*DC*, XXI 8265). So also was Gangādhara, the author of *Gangādārapratāpavilāsa*, a play in 5 acts, on the life of King Gangādhara Bhuvallabha Pratāpa deva of Campakapura (Champaunur) in Guzerat. It takes us to the Court of King Sultan Muhammad of Ahmedabad (1448-1451 A.D.) *IO*, VII, 1508 14, analysed in *ibid* 4194)

2. See para 126 *supra*

3. So says Gangādevi

स्तुमस्तमपर व्यास गङ्गाधरभवाकविम् ।

नाटकच्छब्दना दद्यां यथके भारती कथाम् ॥

*Mahur āvivaya*, I 15

4. *CC*, II. 86

5. *CC*, II. 86 There are other dramas of this name by Bhagavantārāya (*CC*, II. 117), by Rāmacandra (*CC*, III. 107) and by Venkatesvara (*CC*, I. 500).

6. *TC*, III. 3489 This work is quoted in the *Sāhiyachitāmaṇi* by Vemabhūpāla (about 1400 A.D.) See also M. Ramakrishnakavi, *Andharī Patrīka*, Annual Number (1918), 101. The 1st verse of this play bears a close resemblance to the first verse in *Kanakalekhā* of Vāmanabhātta Bāna and this leads S. Kuppusami Sastrī to suspect whether the real name of Vāmanabhātta is Narasimha. See his report of tour (1919). Narasimhamītra, the author of the play *Śivānārāyaṇabhanjamahodaya*, (*CC*, III. 134) is a different author.

his Saugandhikāharapa<sup>3</sup>. Occupying but a short interval, the dramatic piece has only one continued scene, forming a long vehement altercation between Bhīma and Hanūmān. The plot is based on the story of Mahābhāraṭa, wherein Draupadī, enamoured of the beauty of the flower brought by a Gandharva, requests Bhīma to fetch some more and when the incognito brothers were about to come to blows, Kubera intercedes and squares up the feud by explanation and by direct presentation of a cluster of flowers to Yudhiṣṭhīra. The speeches are throughout very vigorous and insinuating. Gangadevī, author of Maṭhurāvijaya was his pupil<sup>4</sup>.

**690 Jivarama** Yāgnika describes in Murārvijaya of 5 acts the early life of Kṛṣṇa as related in 10th section of Śrī Bhāgavata. It was probably composed in Samvat 1541 (1485 A D)<sup>5</sup>. There is another play of the same name and theme by Viśvarūpa Kṛṣṇabhātta, son of Nṛsimha<sup>6</sup>.

**691 Ramanandaraya** was a follower of Caṭīnva. By order of King Pratāparudra of Orissa (1480 A D) he wrote Jagannāthavallabhanātaka in 5 acts, in which the main theme is the curbing of the spirit of Rādhā<sup>7</sup>. Govindavallabha is probably his work. It is a play in 5 acts describing the youthful sports of Kṛṣṇa, "designed like the Persian plays of Europe, to place the early life of the deity as an attractive spectacle".

**692 Sesa Narasimha** lived near the Godāvarī and later in his life settled at Benares about the 1st half of the 18th century<sup>8</sup> under the

1 Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay

There is a Saugandhikāharapa (paripaya) vyāyoga mentioned in Śāhiyadarpana (CC, I 727), Viśvanāthabaita, son of Mahādeva, author of Śringāravāpika (CC, I 661, II 158, Analysed IO VII 4196) and Viśvanātha, son of Trimaladeva, author of Mrgāṅkalekhinātukā (CC, I 466, Analysed by Wilson, Theatre II, 391, Printed Sarasvatī Bhāvana Series) are different authors.

2 She says

चिर स विजयी मूर्याद्विश्वनाथ कवीश्वरः ।

यस्त्र प्रसादात् सार्वदेव समिन्द्रे माहशेष्वपि ॥ *Maṭhurāvijaya*, I 16

3 CSO (1908), 148

4 PR, III 21, 843

5 Ed. Murshidabad *Mīrāz*, IV 1565, CC, I 196

6 Ibid. 1672 CC, I 169

7 See S P V Ranganathaswami 'On the Seshaś of Benares' (IA, XLII 245) Sesa Kamalākara and Sesa Rāṭnākara who commented on Gitagovinda, Sesa Govinda who commented on Amaruśṭaka, and wrote Vinaṭānandavyāyoga and Gopālalilār-

patronage of king Govindacandra of Tandava At his instance he wrote Govindārḍava, a work on Dharmasāstra He was a great grammarian and originated the famous Benares School of Grammar, to which Bhattoji and Nagoji<sup>1</sup> belonged

Narasimha had two sons, Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa Cintāmaṇi wrote the play Rukmīnharana<sup>2</sup> the Rasamanjari-Parimala<sup>3</sup> Kṛṣṇa had two sons Viśvara and Nārāyaṇa<sup>4</sup> Of these Viśvara was the tutor to Panditārāja, Bhattoji and Annambhatta<sup>5</sup>

KRŚNA's patron was Govardhanadhārī, son of Todar, "the ornament of the race of Tandava and disciple of Girdharinath" Todarmal was the famous finance minister of Emperor Akbar who died in 1586 A D<sup>6</sup> Girdharinath was the grandson of Vallabha who founded the Gokulaṭha goswamins early in the 16th century A D<sup>7</sup> His works are many Kamsavadha, enacted at the festival of Viśvesvara at Benares in seven acts, embraces the story of the destruction of Kamsa as related in the 10th Skanda of the Bhāgavata and ends with the coronation of Ugrasena, father of Kamsa in the sovereignty of Mathurā<sup>8</sup> He wrote the plays Murārvijaya,<sup>9</sup> Muktācarita,<sup>10</sup> Saṭyabhāmāparinaya,

navabhāṇa (CC, I 108, 67b) and Śeṣa Rāmacandra who commented on Naśadha belong to the Śeṣa family (See IA, XLII 252)

1 See Belvalkar, I c 46-50 Nagāśa wrote commentary on Aḍhyāṭma Rāmāyaṇa ascribed to his person his 1714 A D

2 CC, I 527

3 For his other works, see CC, I 77

4 He was author of Suktiraṭnakara, a rare commentary on Mahābhāṣya

5 See Dec College MSS No 189, (1882 3),

6 It is not known whether Kṛṣṇakaviśekhara, who wrote Kuvalayāvaṭināṭikā before 1648 A D was identical with this author (CC, III, 25, IO, VII 4194)

7 In Sam 1687 (1681 A D ) Kṛṣṇa's pupil Jayanṭa wrote an abridgment Ṭajṭivacandra of Kṛṣṇa's Prakriyākaumudi which was composed for the benefit of Prince Kalyāṇa, son of a petty chief of Patrabunja in the duab between Ganges and Jumna, Prakriyāprakāśa gives the genealogy of the kings of Antārvedī with capital Patrabunja for five generations ending with Kalyāṇa See Belvalkar's Sys Sk Gr 45

8 Ed Kavyamala, Bombay Analysed by Wilson, Theatre II, 400 There is an anonymous commentary on it, CC, I. 77, II 15, III. 17. There is another play of this name by a poet Dāmodara, CC, I 77 The first play of this name is mentioned by Paṭanjali, see para 554 supra

9 CC, I. 462, II 106, PR, III 21, App. 887

10. PR, IV. xxii

the campus Pārijātaharapa,<sup>1</sup> Usāparīṣaya and Satvabhāmāvilāsa,<sup>2</sup> Kṛiyāgopanarāmāyapa<sup>3</sup>

**693 Gokulanatha** was the son of Umādevī and Pitāmbara, a brahmin of Phanadaha family of Miṭhila of Śrīvatsagotra. He flourished in the court of king Fatteh Saha of Śrinagara in the 16th century A.D. At the king's instance he composed Ekāvali, a work on metrics and there he says

वृत्तसागररत्नानि सारमुदधूल निर्मिता ।  
एकावली फूतेसाह तत्र कण्ठे लुठत्यसौ ॥

His only daughter Kādambarī was drowned, when yet a child, in the Ganges and in her memory he composed the poem Kundakādāmbarī. There he wrote

आराम्बाव प्रकृतिकृपणा बाधिभिर्बाध्यमानै  
विकोशार करुणवचन पुत्रि कादम्बरीति ।  
कोऽय लोक क इव विषय कि पुर को निवास  
यस्मिन्बस्मद्विषुखहृदया तत्र निलीय स्थितासि ॥

At a ripe age of 90, he passed away at Kāśī. Besides a gloss of Kāvyaprakāsa and the poem Sivastuṭi,<sup>4</sup> he wrote the plays MUDITAMADALASA in 7 acts on the marriage of Madālaśā, daughter of Viśvāvasu and Kuvalayāsva,<sup>5</sup> and Amṛtodaya, an allegorical play illustrating the ills of Samsāra.<sup>6</sup>

**694 Lakṣmanamanickyadeva** was ruler of Noakhālī during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D)<sup>7</sup>. He was a poet and patron of letters. He is said to have written several dramas, but only two are now available, Kuvalayāsvacarita on the loves of Kuvalayāsva and Madālaśā, and Vikhyāṭavijaya<sup>8</sup> in six acts depicting the battle between Nakula and Kauravas.

1. Ed. Bombay. This was written at the instance of king Narottama, brother of king Tāndavapura near Kāśī.

2. Opp II 2898

3. See para 846 *supra*

4. Printed, Bombay

5. *OC*, XXI, 8444, 8446 (where there is an anonymous commentary)

6. Printed, Bombay

7. *OC*, III 25. Other dramas on the subject are by Vāmisamāṇi and Kṛṣṇa-datta (*OC*, I 118, *OC*, III. 88). On Vāmisamāṇi, see para 299 *supra*

8. *OC*, III 120, *HSR*, (1904)

MAHESVARA PANDITA, flourished in the Court of Bahadur Shah of Guzarat (1526-1537 A D ) In his play Svarnamuktavivāda, he describes a dispute between gold and pearl and king Balabhadradeva of Śrinagarī acts as referee<sup>1</sup>

**695 Balakavi** lived in Mullandrum in N Arcot District He was son of Kālahasti of Bhāradvājagotra He must have been related to Dindimas<sup>2</sup> In the prologue to Nalacaritanātaka, Nilakantha has praised him He was a contemporary of Uddanda<sup>3</sup> He was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Cochin, who abdicated in 1537 A D in favour of his brother Godāvarman (1537-1561 A D) This story of the abdication and pilgrimage to Benares is described in his Rāmavarmavilāsa, and in the play Ratnaketūdaya he traces the fortunes of that king till the abdication<sup>4</sup>

Godāvarman appears to have ruled along with Ravivarman After them came Virakeralavarman (1561-1565 A D ) In his court flourished the poet NILAKANTRA He was probably the same as Nilakantha of Sangamagrāma (Kūdalur) in Nārerī near Pattāmbī in Malabar and of a well-known Nambudri brahmin family<sup>5</sup> In his Kamalinikalahamsa, a play in facts, he describes the marriage of Kamalini with Kalahamsa<sup>6</sup>

**696 Vilinatha** was son of Kanakasabhbāpaṭi and grandson of Yagnanārāyaṇa of Kausikagoṭra He lived in Visnupuram in Tanjore District and in the court of King Acyuta (1577-1614 A D ) was enacted his play Maṭanamanjarimahotsava<sup>7</sup> It describes the destruction of king Candravarman of Pātaliputra by Rudra in mortal form to help his devotee king Parākrama Bhāskara of Pāncala The following is typical of his style and orthodoxy.

(प्राचीमालोक्य) आ कथमुदयत्वेव भगवानस्तिलानामपि द्विजानामाचारमुपदिशतीव  
कर्मणैव कर्मसाक्षि । तथा हि—

1 IO, 1628

2 See para 184 supra.

3 See para 169 supra

4 JOB, V 141.

5. Nilakantha of Muktisthala who commended on Vāsudeva's Śaurikāṭha (DO, XXI 8464) is different

6. DO, XXI 8890 For his commentary on Mahāviracarita, see DO, XXI 8497.

7. Tāti, VIII. 8447. Printed Ssh XXVI Madras. The manuscript breaks off in 5th Act

सात प्रात पयोधौ हुतविधुततमा सीकुताच्छाम्बरोऽय  
धूलीपालीतुषाथिष्ठितदलसभिधो दीपिधाराधमन्या ।

उक्षिप्य क्षिप्रमब्जाकरशुचिसदने कर्णिकाहव्यवाह  
कुर्वन्नर्वङ्गपाम कुसुमरसवृत्तैर्दीप्यते येन देव ॥

(विमृश्य) ईदशानामपि तेजसो विलसितमीश्वरानुग्रहनिय  
विवतमिति विचिन्त्य ममाऽऽनन्दमन्थरमिदमन्तकरणम् ।

**697 Bhudeva Sukla** was the son of Suladeva and pupil of Śrīkunthadilīpiṭa. He lived at Jambūśaras in Kashmir about the beginning of the 17th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> In Dharmavijaya, a play in 5 acts, he demonstrated the merits of a life regulated by spiritual ordinances and meant it as a corrective of the several lapses from religion rampant during the time of Emperor Aurangazeb and his successors.<sup>2</sup> His Rasavilāsa is a work on poetics.<sup>3</sup>

**698 Sathakopa** was a famous Pontiff of the Ahobila Mutt of Southern India. He was seventh in apostolic descent from the founder of the Mutt of a like name and was the immediate successor of (Saṅtha) Parāṅkuśa, who was a contemporary of Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar. He himself lived in the days of Śrī Rangarāja of Vijayanagar. He was the son of Śrinivāśacārya of Bhāradwajagotra of Elankādu (Balavana) village. His original name was Irumala and bore the title Kavītārkikāanthabhrava. His VASANTIKAPARINAYA is a drama in five acts of splendid poetry, describing the marriage of Ahobila Narasimha with Vāsanṭikā, a wood nymph. He was capable of dictating poetry to 100 persons at a time and was praised by a poet Vāhinīpaṭi.<sup>4</sup>

**699 Kumara Tatacarya** (Saṭakrāṭu) was son of Venkatacārya and grandson of Śrinivāsa of Sathamarṣanagoṭra. He was a descendant of Śrisailapūrṇa the preceptor of Rāmānuja. Śrisailapūrṇa's line branched off over various parts of the Madras Presidency. Lakṣmi-kumāra Ḣatācārya<sup>5</sup> represents the line that stayed in Kānci and there are other lines at Kumbakonam and the Circars etc. This poet belongs to the family that settled itself at Tirupati and its progenitor is

1. Printed Bombay and Benares. See Mitra's *Notices*, I 87. There is a commentary on it by his disciple Bhavānīfankara (10 VIII 4188).

2. See Int to *Edu Sarasvati Bhawan Series*.

3. *OC*, I 496, II 116, III 106. For his other works, see *OC*, I. 414.

4. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. He was adored by Mukundaṭeva, a Gaṇapati prince of the 16th century. *DC*, XXI, 8500%.

5. See para 212 supra.

## DRŚYAKĀVYA

called Tolappācārya Kumāra was the High Priest of Raghunātha Naik and Vijayarāghava Naik of Tanjore who ruled from 1614 A D<sup>1</sup> His Parijātanātaka in five acts is based on the story of Pārījātaharāṣa<sup>2</sup>

**700 Jagannatha**, son of Piṭāmbara, was a Brahmin of Miṭhūla and contemporary of Gokulanātha To delight the feudatory chiefs who were assembled at the court of Fateh Shah, he composed the play Atandracandrikā, early in 17th century A D<sup>3</sup>

**701 Mathuradasa** was pupil of Kṛṣṇadāsa He was a Kāyaśha of the city of Suvarnasekhara on the banks of the Jumna His Viṣabhānuja is a nāṭikā describing the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, daughter of Viṣabhānu<sup>4</sup>

**702 Madhusudana**, son of Nārāyana of Sāndilyagotra and disciple of Kṛṣṇasarasvatī, wrote play Kṛṣnakutūhala,<sup>5</sup> and is different from the famous Madhusūdana Sarasvatī<sup>6</sup>

**703 [MADHUSUDANA (SARASVATI)]** whose original name was Kamalanayana was a Gauda Kanojia brahmin of Kāsyapagoṭra He was the son of Purandara Yādavānanda was his brother, It is said that Yādava's son Mādhava, contemporary of Pratīpāditya (16-17 century A D), bore the title of Avilambasarasvatī,<sup>7</sup> for extempore poetry With his two sons, Purandara once went to the Court of Mādhava Pāsa in Barisal District,<sup>8</sup> and exhibited the extraordinary faculties of Madhusūdana The chief was delighted but refused to grant a site on which Purandara wanted to build a hut Madhusūdana was much grieved and took his father's leave to renounce the world.

1 The statement in para 146 and the footnote (8) there that Kumāra Tāṭacārya was a resident of Kānci is an error, due to the confusion between his name and that of Lakṣmikumāra Tāṭacārya Kumāra Tāṭacārya alias Aparyāptamṛta who commented on Campubhārata (*TC*, III 8582) was the great great grandson of Lakṣmikumāra of Kānci See also *DO*, XXI 8204

2 *TC*, II 2874, *SVH* 254

3 *PR*, II 22.

4 Ed Bombay See Mitra's *Notices* (1875)

5. *CC*, I 119, There are poems Kṛṣnakṛdīta by Keśavārka (*Orf* 849), Kṛṣṇakutūhala, anonymous (*CC*, I 119) and Kṛṣṇakuṭuhala by Rāmacandra Bhatta (*Pandit*, VI, 108).

6. See P. O. Divarji's Int to Siddhantabindu (*GOS*, Baroda p. xi), Abhayankara's Int to Siddhantabindu (*Govt O Series*, Class A No 2, p 27)

7. See under Cīraṇjīva post.

8. The kingdom was called Candradvipa and kings Candra kings (See *EI*, XII, No. 12).

He went to Benares and was initiated into Brahmanvidyā by Viśvesvara Sarasvatī. There he composed his famous Advaitasiddhi Tulasīdāsa, the poet to whom we owe the Hindi masterpiece Rāmacaritamānasa, was his friend, whom he praised thus—

आनन्दकानने काश्या तुलसीज्ञमस्तु ।

कवितामर्जरी यस्य रामभ्रमरुम्बिता ॥

In Kotalipara near Faridpur in Eastern Bengal there is still a village known as Purandaravāṭikā and a shrine attached to it of Śrī Dakṣināmūrti and Kālikā said to have been built by Purandara. In Bhavabhūmivārtī or history of Kotalipara, composed by Raghavendra Kavīśekhara says Madhusūdana was brother of Purandara and not the son. Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 AD) invited Madhusūdana to his Court and after pleasant disputations held with the learned men of that court he was well honoured there. Madhusūdana<sup>1</sup> must therefore be referred to the 16-17th century AD. Besides several works<sup>2</sup> on Bhakti cult and Advaita philosophy he wrote commentaries on Vedānta, Mahimnaṣṭotra,<sup>3</sup> probably Bhāgavata,<sup>4</sup> and Harilīlā,<sup>5</sup> and a poem Ānandamandākīni<sup>6</sup> on Kṛṣṇa.]

**704 Rāmanuja** was the son of Saranammacārya and grandson of Rāmānuja of Vādhūlagotra and lived at Trivellore, Chingleput District. They trace descent from Dāsaraṭhi or Mudaliyandan. Saranammacārya was the fourth in descent from Rangarāja who was honoured by Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagar (1509-1529 AD). Rāmānuja wrote the Vasulakṣmikalyāṇa<sup>7</sup> on the marriage of god Ranganātha.

1 See Iśvarachandra's int to Harilīlāviveka, where he takes the information, from Vaidikavāḍavimāṇa, a family chronicle of the Western Vaidika brahmans of Kāśyapagotra Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy*, 420, Prahlad C Divāṇji's *Madhusudana Sarasvati, his life and works, Annals*, VIII, 149, IX 318, and Int to Suddhanāṭbindu (GOS), Kshottreṇīcandram Chaitopadhyaya, *Ibid*, VIII 425, S. N. Tadpatrikar, *A work on Arthashastra, by Madhusudana*, *Ibid* VIII 33, Cintaharan Chakravarti, *Ibid*. IX 304

2 DC, I 427

3 Printed, Bombay and Calcutta

4 Printed, Bombay His commentary on the 1st verse (printed, Brundavan) is classical. There is another interpretation of this verse in 100 meanings by Vamsīdharā (Printed, Bombay)

5 Calcutta Oriental Series, Calcutta. Harilīlā is ananukramāṇi by Bopadeva for Bhāgavata R Krishnaswami Sastri, *Madhusudanasarasvatas (Annals*, XI 192, JOR, II 9). K. T. Tolang, *Note on the date of Madhusudana*, (JBRAS, XXX 368)

6 Printed Bombay. See Gopinath Kaviraj on his date, *Saras. Bhāv Series*, VII, 177

7 DC, XXI 8504

with Vāsulakṣmī, well known as Goddess Urnyur Nachiyar and was enacted at the vernal festival of Virarāghava at Trivellore. His other works are Viraraghavakanakavallīvivāha, Vedapāñcārāmāyāna,<sup>1</sup> Rāmāyanacampū, Vārdhikanyāparīṇaya. He must have lived early in the 17th century A D.

Rāmānuja's brother was Bhāvanārāyaṇa<sup>2</sup>. His son Rāmānuja wrote the Rāmānujacampū on the life of Rāmānuja.<sup>3</sup> Rāmānuja's paternal uncle was Varadaguru. His pupil was Kuṇāra Venkatīrya of Ātreyagoṭra and his son Varadārya wrote Bhāṇa Anāngabrahmaividyāvilāsa intended to be enacted at the festival at Iriplikane.<sup>4</sup>

**705 Ramabhadra's Dīksita's Janakīparinaya** is very popular. It is framed as a comedy of errors. "Two sets of characters are brought to action, the one genuine and the other disguised, so that a confusion arises among themselves when they are made to meet each other. Vidyujjhva, Ravana and Sarana appear respectively as Kausika, Rama and Lakshmana and so do Bharata and Sita. The marriage of Rama and Sita comes up not at Mithila but at the hermitage of Visvamitra. Most noteworthy is an inter-drama, enacted at Ravana's Durbar. The sub-plot begins with Rama's search for Sita and closes with Vali's warfare. The last act brings up the culmination of the mischief of the Rakshasas. Surpanakha shows herself to Bharata in the disguise of a Tapasi and leads him to a misapprehension of Rama's death. Just when Bharata was prepared to mount the funeral pile, Rama's arrival is announced and all ends happily with the coronation of Rama." The drama must be considered a masterpiece of Rāmabhadra. The style is learned and amusing. The poetry is not intricate and the whole story of the Rāmāyana is run over with rapidity without omitting reference to any important detail.<sup>5</sup>

**706 Venkatesvara**<sup>6</sup> was the son of Dharmarūja of Nadhru-

1. Printed, Arsha Press, Vizagapatam

2. DC, XXI 8275

3. DC, XXI 8275

4. DC, XXI 8345

5. Ed Madras and Bombay. For a critical account, see Sah. XXII. On the author, see para 160 *sugra*.

6. In OC, I 896, Sabhāpativilāsa is wrongly given as the work of Dharmarūja. This mistake is copied in Schuyler, 84. There is a drama called Nilāparīṇaya (OC, I, 802, Levi App 16) by Drghavat. It is not known whether Venkatesvara, author of the drama Rāghavābhuyuda (OC, I 500) and Bhāṇuprabanḍha Prahasana, (Tāy. VIII, 862c, VI 2805), and Venkatesvara, author of Venkatesaprahasana (DC, XXI 8525) are different.

vakāṣyapīgotri of Manjur and lived in the Court of Kings Shahaji and Serfojee of Tanjore (1684-1710, 1711-1728 A D) Besides Bhosalavamsāvali, a history of that royal dynasty,<sup>1</sup> he wrote the dramas<sup>2</sup> Rāghavānanda, Nīlāparinaya and Sabhāpativilāsa and a prahasana Unmattakavikalasi.<sup>3</sup>

**707 Sankara** (Dīkṣit) was son of Bālakṛṣṇa and grandson of Dhundirājī, probably the same is Vyāṣayajvan, who lived about 1713 A D.<sup>4</sup> He wrote the play Prādyumna Vijaya for performance at the coronation of Sabhīsundarī, Rājī of Pannah, the grandson of the celebrated Chitrīśal of Bundelkhand.<sup>5</sup>

Dhundbirāja's pupil Visvanātha wrote the naṭikā Srngārvātikā on the loves of Candraśāhu, king of Avantī and Kāntimati, daughter of king of Campāvatī.<sup>6</sup>

**708 Jagannatha** was the son of minister Bālakṛṣṇa and Lakṣmī and pupil of Kamesvarī. He was in the Court of King Serfojee of Tanjore (1711-1728 A D). His Raṭumānmathā<sup>7</sup> is a drama on Raṭī and Manmathā, and Vasumatiparinaya<sup>8</sup> is another drama on the marriage of Vasumati.

Rāmacandrasekha performed Paundarīkayāgā and was proficient in grammar. At the behest of King Tulaja of Tanjore (1765-1787) he wrote the play Kalānandika on the story of the separation of Kalāvati and Nandaka and their reunion. Nandaka is said to be a prince born of a royal pair as a gift of Rāmabhadra, the deity of Bhadrācala.<sup>9</sup>

**709 Kṛṣṇadatta** was the son of Sadārāma and Ānandadevi. He was the brahmin of the village of Tramatiya in the Vajjada district in Mithila, and lived about the middle of the 18th century.<sup>10</sup> His Puranjanacarita, a drama in five acts, relates the story of Puranjana

1 See para 168 *supra*, *Tanj* VII 3287

2 *Tanj* VIII 3496, 3518, 3415

3 *Tanj* VIII 3616 Otherwise called Lambodaraprabasana (Printed Madras)

4 See para 168 *supra*, Sankaramītra, who wrote the play Gauridigambara (*CC*,

III 87) is different

5 *CC*, I 352 Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 402

6 *IO*, 274

7 *Tanj* VIII 3490

8. *CC*, I 557

9. *Tanj*, VIII, 3361

10 *PR*, IV xxi, Schuyler, *Babī*, 63 gives first part of the 17th century A D

of Bhāgavata Purīna,<sup>1</sup> his Kuvalayāsvīya,<sup>2</sup> a drama in seven acts, relates the loves of a vedic student and a maiden Mādālasī, and Sāndrakūṭuhala<sup>3</sup> is an entertaining farce. In his Rādhārahasyakāvya he relates the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in 22 long canto<sup>s</sup>, and it is accompanied by his own commentary. He wrote a commentary on Gītagovinda and a poem Gītaganapati in imitation of it.<sup>4</sup> Candīcarita andrīka is also attributed to him.<sup>5</sup>

(710) **Visvanatha**, son of Trimaladevā, originally lived on the banks of the Godāvari and subsequently migrated to Benares where he composed the nātikā Mrigānkalekhī which was enacted at the festival of Viśveśvara about the end of 18th century.<sup>6</sup> In four acts it describes the marriage of Mrigānkalekhā and Karpūratilaka. "Mrigankalekha is the daughter of the king of Kamarupa, or Assam, she has been beheld by Karpuratilaka, king of Kalinga whilst hunting, and the parties are mutually enamoured. The obstacle to their union is the love of Sankhapala, a demon, to oppose whose supernatural agency the minister of the king of Kalinga, who alone is aware of the circumstance, invites to the palace a benevolent magician, Siddhayogini, and Mrigankalekha is also lodged in the palace as the friend of the queen Vilasavati. Notwithstanding these precautions, she is carried off by Sankhapala to the temple of Kali, when the Raja wandering disconsolate beyond his garden bounds comes to the spot, rescues her and kills Sankhapala. He is then united to Mrigankalekha in the presence of her father and brother, and with the consent of his queen, killing also, before the conclusion of the rite, the brother of Sankhapala, who comes to revenge him in the form of a wild elephant, but is encountered and slain by the king."<sup>7</sup>

Though imitating Ratnāvalī in plot, the poet has an enchanting style and fancy.

कावेरीजलसङ्घशीतलशिलापृष्ठे लुठन्त कमा-  
दान्त्रीपीनपयोधरोचाशिस्वरप्रोद्धारसञ्चूर्णिता ।

1 CC, I 889 It was composed in Śaka 1701

शाकान्दे धरणीवियन्मुनिवरासमासमाने शुभे माषे मासि

2 CC, I 118

3 PR, III. App 859, 862, CC, I 707. In the prologue he mentions king Dharmavarman as dead

4 See para 298 *supra*

5 CC, 120

6 CSC, (1908), 152 Printed, Sarasvati Bhavan Series, Benares.

7 Wilson, *Theatre*, II 891.

चोलीलोचनलालिता कुचतटेलाटीभिगलिङ्गिता-  
दूता एव मनोमवस्य भुवने चन्द्रनितं चन्द्रानिला ॥

**711 Kisananatha** Sārvabhauma, Bhāttācārya, was son of Durgādāsa Cakravarti. His ANANDATILAKA, in 5 kusumas, is really a collection of poetry, descriptive and narrative interspersed with dialogues and quasi stage directions. He probably lived in Guzārat in the 18th century <sup>1</sup>.

**712 Devaraja** was son of Sesādī and belonged to a brahmin family that migrated from Pattamadai in Tinnevelly District and settled at Āśrama, a village near Śucindram in Travancore which was gifted to twelve brahmins in 940 M E. He was a poet of the Court of King Mārtāndavarman (1729-1758 A.D.) of Travancore. In his play BALAMARTANDAVIJAYAM<sup>2</sup> in 5 acts, he describes the victorious marches of his patron, acquisition of wealth and the renovation of the shrine of Sri Padmanābha at Trivandrum. In the prologue he mentions his name by means of a conundrum

परस्परादेशतया प्रयुक्तहत्वर्णकल्पाद् धृतवेदरूपम् ।  
स्कीयनामाथपद वहन्त बाले कर्वि वेत्सि हि राजचूडम् ॥

and the series of royal presents with which he was honoured

एका भूषणभूषितेयमितरा भाणिक्यहरोज्ज्वला  
कौशेयाम्बरधारणीयमपरा चामीकराञ्चा परा ।  
एषा पेटचतुष्टयी मणिमयी सम्मानिता ते मया  
धीमन् मामकपद्मनाभचरिताख्यातु प्रबन्धात्मना ॥

**713 Ramavarma Vanci Yuvaraja** known as Asvini Mahārāja was the then Yuvarāja of Travancore and lived in 1757-1789 A.D. He wrote the plays Rukmini-paripāaya<sup>3</sup> and Śringārasundhākara<sup>4</sup> and campūs Kārtaviryavijaya<sup>5</sup> and Santānagopāla<sup>6</sup> and Vancisastava

1 IO, 248 He wrote also Rāmāyanasāra. For his other works see CC, I 131. There is one Ānandaṭilakabhāna (Opp 1824) Kṛṣṇāntha Pancānana who commented on Sakuntalā (Opp 8882) is different.

2 Printed TSS, Trivandrum. His commentary on Bhāravi is printed partly in Jl Sam. Sah Pt Calcutta

3. Printed, Bombay.

4. Trav, 79 There is Śringārasundarabhāpa by Lāvaraśarma (1 c.)

5. Printed, Bombay. Trav, 80

6. Trav, 81.

**714 Godavarman Yuvaraja,** or Yuvarāja merely, was a prince of Cranganore and lived in 1800-1831 A D. Besides the poem Rāmacarita, he wrote the bhāṇa Rāvasadāti, and poems Sripadisaptaka, Murariquistrotra, and Sudhūnandīlaharī<sup>1</sup>

**715. RAMAVARMAN** (Yuvarāja) known as Kavīśrīvalabhāuma Kochunni Tampurān<sup>2</sup> was a younger member of the royal family of Cranganor and lived in 1858-1926. He had five brothers versed in all the sciences. He was the recipient of a *killut* from the Prince of Wales on the eve of his visit to India. His poem Iripuradahāti shows exquisite poetry. His Anangavijaya and Vitarajavijaya<sup>3</sup> are bhāṇas replete with pleasant sentiments. Among his other works are Vallyudbhāva, Viprasandēśa, Devadevesvarasatika, Uttarārāmācarita and Bānayudhādhāra. He completed Rāmacarita which was left unfinished (up to Āranyakānda) by Rāmavarmā (Godavarman<sup>4</sup>). He wrote a summary of Devīsaptasati of Markandeyapurāṇa.<sup>5</sup>

Closely related to him was another Ramāvarman known as Mahākavi Kunjikuttan Tampurān of Cranganore (1865-1913). He wrote vāyogas, Kīratārjuniya and Jarāsandhavadha<sup>6</sup>.

**716** Another RAMAVARMAN was the nephew of Ravivarmān, Raja of Kollam and Keralavarmān. His Candrikākalāpīḍāti is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Candrika and Kandarpasekhara. The drama was to be enacted at the Catura festival of Nilakantha in Cellur in Malabar.<sup>7</sup>

In Subālāvajratunda, a drama in 5 acts, Rāmakavi, a royal prince of Malabar, describes the story of the killing of a serpent called Rakṭāṅgada by a rat named Vajratunda for having carried off his beloved Subālā, as his prey.<sup>8</sup>

1 Printed, Kāvyamāla, Bonbay. See introduction there for other works. See para 177 *supra*. Rāmavarma M A a young member of that family, born 1901 February, has written Kaumudi, a poem in 9 sargas, (an adaptation of Goldsmith's *Hermit*) and Devipādādikēśastrotam in about 500 sloths. He informs me that this author's name was Godavarman and not Rāmavarmān.

2. See para 180 *supra*.

3 Printed, Trichur

4 DC, XX 7845 See para 177 *supra*

5 Printed, Sah Madras

Ravivarmānukulaskhara, son of Umāyamūrti Rājā, wrote a poem Rāmāyana saṅgraha (Trav 91).

Mānavikrama Kavīrājākumārī wrote poems Visakhanīsyullat, Maṇḍanapūrāmbhāra, Raṇasingharājācarita and lived about 1900 A D. Trav 191, 188

6. TO, III, 3959.

7. DC, XXI, 8654.

**717 Venkatasubramanya** was the son of Venkatesvaramakhin and was the fifth in descent from Śrīkanthādhvarin, son of Uppayadikīrti. In honor of his patron king Rāmavarman of Travancore (1758 to 1798), he composed a drama Vasulakshmīkalyāṇām, describing his marriage with Vasulakṣmī, a Sindhu princess, to secure a political alliance.<sup>1</sup>

**718 Varada Acarya** was son of Ghatikāsata Sudarsāna. He lived at Kāncī and was a contemporary of Rāmabhadra Dīksita<sup>2</sup> in the latter half of the 18th century. He was fifth in descent from Nadādūr Ammāl (Varada) who was grandson of Sudarsana, nephew of Rāmānuja. To vie with Rāmabhadra's Sṛngāratilaka called Ayyā Bhāṇa, Varada wrote Vasantatilaka<sup>3</sup> called Ammāl Bhāṇa, wherein there are descriptions of magic shows, snake charmers and the like. His Vedāntavilāsa or Yatirājavijaya, a play in 6 acts, describes the life of Rāmānuja.<sup>4</sup>

**719 Perusuri** was the son of Venkata of Kaustikagoṭra. His Vasumangalanāṭaka with an anonymous commentary on it is in five Acts and describes the marriage of Uparicaravasu and Girikā, daughter of Marut Kolāhala, and was to be staged at the festival of Minālī in Madura. The prologue refers to his other works, Rāmacandravijaya, Bharatābhuyudaya, Venkatabhāṇa and Cakorasandesa. He lived in 18th century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

**720 Arīhapancakanaika** in five acts of unknown authorship describes how Manmatha was reborn as the son of Saurīrāja, the deity that is worshipped at Kṛṣnapuram (Irukkannapuram), Tanjore District, how as an infant he was cast into the sea by Śambarāśura, how the servants of Sambara found the infant in the belly of a fish and how Rati, the daughter of Sambara, enamoured of him, had him tended well, and in the end he married her after killing Śambara.<sup>6</sup>

1. Trav 78. For a description, see *Trav Arah Series*, V 22-25 wherein the genealogy of the author is also given. Vāsalakshmīkalyāṇa of Rāmānuja is a different work (*DC*, VIII 8804).

2. See para 160 supra.

3. Printed Madras, Keith, *sD*, 263.

4. *DC*, XXI, 8830 Printed Madras.

5. *DC*, XXI 8497

6. *DC*, XXI 8877 It is called Arīhapanoaka because it embodies five things:

चिन्ता योगस्सारम्भो व्यापारो हेतुदर्शनम् ।

अभीष्टलाभ इत्यर्थपञ्चक नाटकीकृतम् ॥

**721 Sundararaja Acarya**, son of Varadarāja of Āṭreyagoṭra, was a native of Elathur Agraḥaram in Travancore. He was born in the year Plava in Kollam year 1016 (1841 A.D.) and lived on for 63 years. He had the control of Mārūtimantra with which he was able at will to command the presence of the energies of Hanumān in predicaments of distress. Venkatalakṣmī was his wife. He was proficient in all Śāśtras and was a born poet. He was patronised by the rulers of Travancore and Ettiyapuram and was a friend of the royal poet Keralavarman of Travancore. His writings are many. Among Campūs are Godāparīṇaya, Kamsavadha, Rāmabhadravijaya and Srinivāsa-dikṣitendracariṇī. Among poems are Niṭirāmāyana, Rāmabhadrastuti and Kṛṣṇārāyaṇastuti. Among dramas are Padmīṇiparīṇaya, Vaidehī-vāsudeva, Snusāvijaya, Hanumadvijaya and Rasikāranjana. He wrote commentaries on Keralavarman's Kamsavadha-campū, Swāmīdīkṣita's Vallīparīṇaya and Godāparīṇaya.<sup>1</sup> His brother's grandson Varadarāja wrote his biography in a campū.

**722 Vaidyanatha Vacaspati Bhattacharya** lived at Nuddea about the middle of the 19th century A.D. He wrote his Caṭhrayagna in five acts at the instance of Īśvaraṇandra, Rajah of Nuddea. It depicts the legend of Dakṣa's sacrifice in all its details, the assemblage and reception of the Gods and the ceremonial of the sacrifice.<sup>2</sup>

**723 Viraraghava** was the son of Isvara and Kāmākṣī and of Kaundinyagotra. He lived in Sahajmahārājapuram (Iruvassindur) and was patronised by a King called Sivendra, Sivaji of Tanjore (1835-1865 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> His Rāmārājyalbhīṣeka is a drama in seven Acts describing the story of the Rāmāyana, and Vallīparīṇaya<sup>4</sup> is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Vallī and Subrahmanyā.<sup>5</sup> Pārvatī-śoṭra is a lyric in praise of Pārvatī.<sup>6</sup>

1. These books have been printed in different manuscripts in Travancore, Ettiyapuram and Madras. I am indebted for this information to Mr. A. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Vyākhānasa Pancānana, Akalamannadu, Kistna District.

2. CC, I 187. Analyzed by Wilson, *Theatre* II 412-415. Vaidyanātha, author of Kṛṣṇalīlānātukā (CC, I 128, II 24, 195), Vaidyanātha, author of Miḍhyācāra prahasana (CC, I 455) and Vaidyanātha, author of Saṭsangavijayanātaka (CC, I 690) are different persons and are themselves probably not identical.

3. See Subrahmanyā Iyer's *History of Maharatta Kings of Tanjore*, 88

4. DC, XXI 8484

5. Ibid. 8492

6. DC, No. 9608

**724 Sundaraviraraghava** was the son of Kastūriranganātha and grandson of Virarāghava of Vādhūlagotra. He lived at Balakīngāhapura (Sīruvallūr) in the South Arcot District. In Bhojarājānka he describes the domestic conspiracy at the Court of King Munja against the life of Bhoja.<sup>1</sup> His KAMBHARAVANIYA<sup>2</sup> is a drama describing the rape of Rambhā by Rāvaṇa and the consequent curse by Nalakūbara, her lover, that Rāvana's head should split into thousands, if he should outrage any woman. It was intended to be staged at Srīrangam at the Caiṭra festival. His play Abhinavarāghava<sup>3</sup> describes the story of Rāmāyaṇa.

His father wrote Raghuviravijaya,<sup>4</sup> a samavākāra in 3 acts describing the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. At the end the following dates are given for Rama's birth, marriage, banishment and coronation:

जातो वर्षे विलम्बिन्यजज्ञुषि भिहिरे जाप्रतीन्दौ नवम्या  
सौम्येऽब्दे मासि मीने जनकनृपसुता पूर्णिमायापुद्दूषा ।  
दुन्धु-न्यव्दे च चैत्रे विपिनमधिगतो मासि मीने युवाब्दे  
हस्ता शत्रून् स धातौ खलु मधुसमये राघवो राज्यमाप ॥

**725 Vallisahayakavi** of Vādhūlagotra was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa and lived at Virincipuram in North Arcot Dt in the middle of the 19th century. Vedapuri-ādhwarin, the author of Mārgasahāyacarita, belonged to the same family. His Yayāṭitarupānandam<sup>5</sup> is a drama in five acts on the loves of Śarmiṣṭhā and Yayāṭi who regained his youth by exchanging his old age with his son Puru.<sup>6</sup> His Rocanānandam is probably five acts describes the marriage of Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and Rocanā, daughter of Rukmavarman.<sup>7</sup> His Ācāryādīgvijaya is a campū on the life of Śāṅkara.

**726 Padmanabha** was the son of Kāmasāstrin of Bhāradvāja-gotra, a Telugu brahmin of Kotipalli, Godavari District. On the occasion of the festival of Somesvara at Kotipalli he composed his Tripuravijayavyāyoga,<sup>8</sup> celebrating the conquest of Tripura by Śiva.

1. *TC*, II, 2418. See para 515 *supra*.

2. *TC*, II, 2886

3. *TC*, III, 8288

4. *TC*, II, 2444

5. *DC*, XXI, 8477. Another Drama Yayāṭi-Devayāñicāṇṭram seems to have been composed with some songs for staging *DC*, XXI, 8479.

6. *Ibid* 8489.

7. *DC*, XXI, 8027

8. *TC*, III, 8870.

He visited Benares and on that occasion wrote his *Lilādarpanabhāṇḍ*, a piece of erotic narration.<sup>1</sup> He lived in the 19th century.

**727 Narayana Sastrin** lived at Nadukāveri in Tanjore District. His brother Śrīnivāsa was a great authority in the Dīrghas and edited the Journal called Brahmapidyā. Nārāyaṇa was a born poet. He bore the title of Bhatta Sri and Bālaśarasvati. He was an impressive lecturer and gave the benefit of his lectures on the Gītā to many in assembly in Madras. He passed away in the year Sādhāraṇa (1911 AD) at the age of 51. His learning was versatile and in the field of poetry his authorship was prolific and he can well rival in volume and quality any other writer of the world. He wrote 92 dramas with themes embracing almost all Indian mythology as well as imagination. Of these ten are in print.<sup>2</sup> His *Mythbilyam* in 10 acts relates the story of Rāmāyaṇa, *Sarmiṣṭhavijayam* in four acts treats of the marriage of Yāyāthi and Sarmiṣṭhā, and *Kalividhūnam* in 10 acts describes the story of Nala. Two other plays are *Jairajavīṭekam* in 7 acts and *Sūramayūram* in 7 acts.

He wrote *Sundaravijaya*, a long poem in 24 cantos, *Guruvīṭakampū*, *Cintāmanī* an Ākhyāyikā in 3 parts and Ācāryacaritā, a prose narrative in 2 parts on the life of Sankara. In rhetoric, he wrote *Nātakadīpikā* in 12 parts, *Vimarsa* in 6 parts and *Kīvamimāmsā* in 2 Adhyayas.<sup>3</sup>

The following are his other drama,

मैथिलीयम् (10), शर्मिष्ठाविजयम् (4), प्राणसामन्तम् (5), माभन्तसंविदलङ्घम् (7), सुदतीसमितिज्ञयम् (7), सुष्टुपाथेयम् (5), पुण्ड्रबोधनम् (9), मामाभिषङ्घम् (7), चितिनि-प्रहम् (7), विबदरम् (5), चित्रदीपम् (10) त्रिपुरविजयम् (14) शरभविजयम् (1), भट्टभासीयम् (9), बिल्हणीयम् (5), बालचन्द्रिका (9), (10), गूढकोशिरूपम् (7), मदालसा (7), मन्दारिकाविलासम्, महिलाविलासम् (7), रत्नमाळा (7), मीमरशी (5), मुग्धमन्धरम् (6), प्रसञ्जपार्थम् (5), वरगुणोदयम् (7), तरकिणी (3), लैरवार (3), राजीविनी (6), कान्तिमती (5), हारहैमवतम् (7), मत्कलमन्दारम् (10), कलिविजयम् (7), कृतक्यौवतम्, (10), युक्ताप्रवालम् (7), भधुमाधवीयम् (10), शधिद्यारदीयम्,

1 *Ibid* III 3177

2 Printed Madras and Chidambaram

3 The manuscripts of his works are said to be with his son at Alampallam village near Kollengode. My attempts to get at them have been of no avail and my better to the Curator, Oriental Manuscript Library giving the information seems to have been of no effect too in getting them preserved. Some of these plays are with Nangavaram Rajappa Iyer of Trichinopoly

## DRŚYAKĀVYA

(६), धूतव्यजप् (५), मन्नाशोकप् (७), रक्तसासप् (८), मञ्जुलमञ्जिदरप् (६), अयश्णकम् (७), दृष्टरोहितम्, अवकीर्णकौशिकप् (१०), कामगञ्जरी (६), कनकाङ्गी (७), मद्राजीयम् (५), काञ्चनमाला (७), माकन्दमकरन्दप् (१०), मणिमेखला (१), योभावती (२), अमृत-मथनप् (८), माहिषासुरवधम् (१), मृकण्डुमोदप् (९), मुमद्राहरणप् (६), मुक्तकेशी (१), प्रौढ परन्तपप् (७), मन्दारमाला (६), मूढकौशिकम् (५), माचतिमै रावणप् (७), मेथिलीविजयप् (८), पुष्करराघवम् (६), लवणलक्षणप् (७), सीताहरणप् (५), कूरसापत्न्यप् (६), स्तव-पाण्डवप् (५), क्लान्तकौन्तेयप् (७), छिष्टकीचकप् (५), लुष्टखण्डवप् (५), धृष्टघैरेयप् (५), शिशुविनिमयम् (६), निरुद्धानिरुद्धम् (५), व्यत्यस्तवक्तव्यप् (७), श्येनदूतप् (५), शिवदूतप् (६), विश्ववीरवतप् (८), विद्वेधनप् (५), विजययादवप् (७), वीरवैश्वानरप् (८), विष्णुव्याप्तमलप् (५), विद्राणमाधवम् (६), हुतवीरप् (५), मुक्तावक्ती (५), मनोरमा (५), महुविभूतनप् (३), बद्रबाहवप् (५), बहुलबालिशप् (३), बालप्राहुणिकप्, (६) ब्रह्मविद्वा (१०), मुक्तमन्दरप् (५)

**728** *Ramacandra* was son of Lakshmana and Subbamā of Korāda family and Kaundinyagotra. He was Pandit in Noble College, Masulipatam. He lived at Idipalle near Masulipatam late in 19th century. Among his works are Kumarodayacampū, Devivijaya, a long poem and a bhāna Sṛngārasūdhārnavā<sup>1</sup>

**729** *Parthasarathi* (Rompivarla, Bhattar) is the son Kodandaramācārya. For proficiency in grammar he bore the title Vaiyā-karana-Pancānana. He was patronised by the Zamindar of Nuzvid Venkatadri Apparao who like Bhoja was himself a poet and patron of poets in the 19th century. Besides Ārtīstava and Svāpaprātykya, a didactic poem, he wrote Madanānandabhbha<sup>2</sup>.

**730** *Eecambadi Srinivasacarya* was the son of Vedānta-cārya of Kaundinyāgotra of Tiruvahindrapuram in South Arcot District. He lived in 1848-1914 A D. His exposition of Kāñṭeśā's works, particularly of Sākuntalā, was unique. He was professor of Sanskrit in the Government College, Kambakonam. Himself a poet, he had a high standard of poetic excellence. He wrote a bhāṇḍa Sṛngāraṭarangī and a play Uṣāparinaya and a poem Hamsavilīśa in 6 cantos which is allegorical<sup>3</sup>. Among his prose pieces<sup>4</sup> are Śrī Kṛṣṇaḥsyīta (partly published on Sahṛdaya) and Sāṅgakopākhyāna

1 Printed, Masulipatam

2 Printed Nuzvid. See Chapter on Bhāṇḍa poet on this Zamindar and Index.

3 Printed, Madras.

4 The manuscripts are with Mr. T. K. Sundaramaghavachariar, M. A. L. T. Thiruvendram and Mr. T. E. Sastripathachariar, Advocate, Coonoore

His proficiency in music was manifested in the poem of songs, *Amṛtamāṭhāna*<sup>1</sup> on the style of *Gitagovinda* and on the same he has left an incomplete poem. He wrote commentaries on *Nāgānanda* and *Mṛtchakatikā*.

Among poets of Tiruvahindrapuram there were others equally great. *Aṣṭāvadhanam Anantācarya*, whose *extempore* composition of *Samasyas* and enigmas was a wonder. In some of his verses he artistically wove the names of rāgas, e.g.

चिकुराळी तु वराळी वदन तव भाति शङ्करामरणम् ।

*Desikabhakta Kavi Venkatacarya* talked in verses to his last breath and some of them are now remembered locally.<sup>2</sup>

**731 Sonthi Bhadradri Ramasastriṇi** (1856-1915) was a Velanāṭi Vaḍiki Brahmin of Pithapur in Godāvari District. He was the son of Gangāramayya of Gautamagotra. A great Sanskrit scholar and poet, he adorned the Courts of the Zamindars of Urlam and Lakkavaram. Besides Śrī Rāmavijayakāvya, and Sambarāsuravijaya-campū, he wrote a play MUKTAVALI.

**732 Padmanabhacarya** was an advocate at Coimbatore and passed away about fifteen years ago. He wrote the plays Dhruvaṭapas and Govardhanavilāsa.<sup>3</sup> They are divided into scenes and do not follow the rule about Ankas (acts).

**733 Sankara Lala** was the son of Mahesvara of Bhāradvāja-gotra. His mother was Monghibai. He belonged to the family of Prashmora Nagar Brahmins of Kathiawar. He was born in 1844. He was proficient in Avadhāna. He was made Principal of Sanskrit College at Morvi at the age of 21. He then wrote Rāvajirājakirṇivilāsa, a poem on the royal family of Morvi State. He wrote the Kāṭhas, Anasūyābhuyuda, Bhagavaṭbhāgyodāya, Caṇḍraprabhācarita, Maheśapraṇapriyā, a long poem Bālācarita and minor poems Pāncalicarita, Arundhativijaya, Prasannalopamudra, Kesavakṛpālesalahari, Bhogavati-bhāgyodaya, Kailāsayaṭrā, Bhrāntibhayabhanjana, Meghaprārthanā and several stotras and prāśastis. Among his dramas are Sāvitrīcarita,

1. For instance

उदिताम्बुजसदनात् उदिता शशिवदना ।

2. I am indebted for this information to Mr. Chetlur T. R. Sundararaghava-chariar, M.A., L.T.

3. Printed at Coimbatore with English translation.

Dhruvābhuyudaya, Bhadrāyurviyaya, Gopālacintāmaṇi, Kṛṣṇacandī-  
bhyudaya, Vāmanavijaya and Parvaṭiparinaya. He was made Mahāma-  
hopādhyāya in 1914 and passed away in 1916. In his memory, his  
admirers have founded Sankarāśrama, where sanyāsins are invited to  
deliver discourses on religion.<sup>1</sup>

**734. Narayana Sastrī** of Radhāmangalam was the son of  
Vaidyanātha. He was Professor in the Sanskrit College, Trivadi near  
Tanjore and died in 1932. He says he wrote more than 108 works,  
of which 24 were dramas. Among them are Mahesvarollāsa, Uḍāra-  
rāghava and Mukundamanoratha, the last of which is on the sports of  
Kṛṣṇa.<sup>2</sup> The rest are not known.

**735. Srinivasacarya** son of Kṛṣṇamācārya, was born in  
1863 near Tiruvadi, Tanjore District. He was Sanskrit Pandit in the  
Board School of Rājamadam. He wrote two plays, Dhruva and  
Kṣirābdhisayanam which were staged in the school there. He passed  
away in 1932.<sup>3</sup>

**736. Srisaila Tatacarya** son of Venkatavarada, of Śatha-  
marṣanagoṭra lived at Conjeevaram in 1862-1925. Besides a small  
play Yugalānguliya, he wrote Vedāntadesikacarita on the model of  
Sankalpasūtryodaya on the merits of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy.<sup>4</sup>

**737. Peri Kasinatha Sastry** (1857-1918) was the son of  
Venkata Sastry of Gautamagoṭra. Ānanda Gajapati (1851-1897)  
Maharajah of Vizianagaram was his paron. He was a professor of  
Grammar and Rhetoric in the Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Vizia-  
nagaram. Besides minor poems, Gangāstava, Godāvarīstava and

1. Many of these works have been published and further particulars can be had from the poet's grandson Bhatt Shukdeo Khelsankar (S. K. Bhatt) Kathiavar.

2. Printed in *Samskrata Kamadhenu*. Some verses on a maiden's ball play at-  
fine

ॐ सरस्वतिकेशपात्रमसकृत्संष्टुष्टकार्चीशुणम्  
मुक्ताहरविष्णुनाविगाळितश्यामसाङ्गकैकस्तनम् ।  
उत्सेपत्रमणावपातनभग्न्त्सेवादुगणङ्गस्थलम्  
तन्वया ललितप्रकारबहुल तत्कन्तुकनीडितम् ॥  
कुचक्षिप्तिरुचलद्वद्वलै शुद्धवद्वर्तनविक्षिप्तकटाङ्गीः ।  
कवरीकृतकल्पाहृदन्वये कुरुते कन्दुकविभ्रमैर्विनोदम् ॥

3. The manuscripts are with his son B. S. Krishnamachariar, Rajamadam.

4. Bangalālī Tātācarya wrote a poem Desikābhuyudaya on the life of Vedānta  
desika. See page 122 suya.

Durgāsoundāryasaṭaka he wrote the plays Pāncālikārakṣanam and Yāminīpurpaṭilakā

To the same place Vizianagaram belonged JAYANII VENKANNA (1864-1924) He was a vakil but devoted his time to Sanskrit learning Besides poems of melodious verse Abhinava-Rāmāyana a summary of Rāmāyaṇa in 700 slokas (printed in Telugu script), Mukundānandala-harī (in imitation of Śivānandalaharī of Sankarācārya) and Lakṣmi-paṭisaṭkam, he wrote Prahlādacampū on the story of Nṛsiṁhāvatāra.

**738 Mulasankara Maneklal Yagnik** of Gautamagoṭra was born on 31st January 1886 at Nādiad in the Vadnagra Nagar Brahmin community from which came some of the celebrities of the Gujarati literature and the ablest Dewans of Native States of Gujarat and Kathiawar He studied in the Baroda College and graduated in the year 1907 After some service in the Indian Specie Bank, he became Principal of Rājakiya Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya of Baroda. He was initiated into the cult of Śrīvidyā by His Holiness Abhinava Saccidā-nanda Bhāratī, Sankarācārya of Sivaganga Pith in 1916 His proficiency in music is apparent from the Geya Padas of his Sanskrit dramas His Vijayalahari is a minor poem In the field of historical research, he prepared genealogical tables of Solar and Lunar dynasties with a map of Jambūdvīpa and wrote a lucid prose summary of Viśṇupurāṇa. His dramas are three, all with a historical grounding referable to standard works on medieval Indian history CHATRAPATI-SAMRAJYA in 10 acts describes the reign of Śivāji, PRAJAPAVIJAYA in 9 acts depicts the life of Śrī Mahārāja Pratāpa Sinha of Mewar, and SAMYOGITASVAYAVARA exhibits the amorous intrigues of Prithvirāja Chauhan, the last Kṣatriya Emperor of India For melody of diction, for grace of expression, for choice of scenes, Mūlasankara's poetry is much appreciated The introduction of songs that can be set to lyre and sung on the stage makes the plays very realistic \*

**739 Pancanana Tarkavāgīsa (Mahāmahopādhyāya)** of Bhālpura (24 Parganas) was born in Bengali year 1273 and was son of Nandalāṭa Vidyāraṭha of Gautamagoṭra He is one of the greatest living erudite scholars of Bengal and he lives in Benares City. Besides a poem PARĪHASVAMEDHA published in the Vidyodaya journal (now defunct) he wrote the play Amaramangala on the life of Rāna Amara-simha, son of Rāna Pratāpa, in Saka 1835 Among his illustrious ancestors was Alla Bhatta of Kānyakubja

I. All his works have been printed in Baroda.

**740** **Caṇṭrakānta Tarkalankara** (*Mahāmahopādhyāya*) was son of Rādhākānta and was professor of Philosophy and Rhetoric in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta in 1883-1887. Besides Saṭiparīṇaya and Candravamsa, poems in limitation of Kumārasambhava and Raghuvamsa and Alankārasūṭra on rhetoric he wrote the play Kaumudisudhākara<sup>1</sup>.

**741** **Haridasa**, Siddhānta Vāgīsa<sup>2</sup> was the son of Vidhumukhi and Gangādhara Viḍyālankāra of Kāsyapagoṭra. He was born on 7th Kartuck 1798 Saka (1876 A D) at Unashia near Kotwalipara in Faridpur District, East Bengal, a place described traditionally as "Second Kāśī where Brahmins worship a hundred thousand idols of Śiva". Gangādhara's father, Kāśicandra Vācaspaṭi was an eminent scholar and was ninth in descent from Yādavānanda Nayācārya.<sup>3</sup> Among his ancestors was the famous Maṭhusūdana Sarasvatī<sup>4</sup>.

Haridasa was renowned from boyhood for his piety and before he was 18, he had acquired high proficiency in Sanskrit literature. At 14, he composed a play Kamsavadha and a campū Kamsavadha, at 16, the poem Śankarasambhava in 5 cantos, at 18, the play Jānakivikrama, and at 20 a poem Viyogavaibhava.

He was a pupil of Jīvānanda Viḍyāsāgara. Later, he wrote the plays Virājasarojī, and Vangiyapraṭāpa, a poem Rukmīpiharāṇa and a romance Saralā. He also composed commentaries with historical introductions on Naṭadha, Māgha, Kāḍambarī, Dasakumāracarṇa and Sāhityadarpana and on the poems and plays of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti.<sup>5</sup>

He was professor of Sanskrit in the Tol of Zamindar of Nakipur. His present undertaking, an edition of Mahābhārata with a Bengali translation, has been highly appreciated and Ādiपarvan and part of Vanaparvan have been published. It is hoped that the learned scholar will live long to complete the edition.

1. This information was kindly forwarded to me by Saṭīsh Kumar, Managing Director, Bareilly Corporation Ltd.

2. He bears titles Kāvyatīrtha, Viḍikaranātīrtha, Smṛitiśīrṣa, Sāṅkhyaratna, Purāṇasūṭra, Śabḍacārya, and Mahopadeśak.

3. The earlier history of the family has been furnished to me by Jagesendra Bhattacharya, manager, Karmasādhin to whom I am indebted for varied information on modern Bengalī authors.

4. See para 704 *supra*.

5. Most of these have either been printed at Calcutta or are in course of publication.

**742 Deviprasada Sukla,** Kavicakravarti, of Benares is a scholar of renown. He wrote a poem Lakṣminārayana and a play Nalacarita<sup>1</sup>

**743 Kalipada Tarkacarya** is the editor of Samskritasahitya Parishat Patrikā, Calcutta. Besides commentaries on many poems and plays he wrote the plays Syamantakoddhāra and Naladamayantiya and an account of Kāvya literature called Kāvyacintā<sup>2</sup>

**744 K S Ramaswami Sastri** is the son of K Sundaram Iyer and Campakā Laksmi lives at Kumbakonam. Rāmaswāmi recently retired as District Judge. His appreciation of Sanskrit poetry is at once critical and æsthetic. His Rativijaya is a small play in five acts, suggested by Kālidāsa's story of Raṭī in Kumārasambhava and aims "at presenting the rebirth of love under a new inspiration and with true loyalty to Dharma and to God and at giving a new interpretation to an ancient and beautiful story and its underlying motif i.e. the Lord's sentiment in the Gīta वर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कान्त्योऽस्मि भरतरथम् !

**745. V Krishnan Tampi, B.A.**, Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum, has written some short plays for amateur dramatic entertainment with scenic directions, Lalitā, Pratikriyā, Vanajyośinā and Dharmasyasukṣmāgath<sup>3</sup>

**746 Makalinga Sastri (M.A., B.L.)** is an advocate of the High Court of Madras. He is the son of Vagnaswāmin, great-grandson of Tyāgaraja (better known as Rāju Sastrigal),<sup>4</sup> and 12th in descent from Appaya Dīkṣita. He was born in July 1897. Love of Sanskrit has rightly been his heritage and young as he is, his writings are many and of merit. There are his minor poems such as Vanalaṭa, Nadipūra, Vyājokṭraṇāvali, Arthāntaranyāsapancāṣṭa, Bhāraṭivisāḍa, Bhramarasandeśa, Durjanahṛdaya, Laghupāndavacariṭa, Laghurāmacariṭa, and Drāvidāryāsubhāṣitāsaptaṭa. Besides short stories like Kaliprādurbhāva, he has an abridgment in prose of Bhūsa's dramas, Bhāskaraṭhāsāra, which has been widely appreciated by the Universities.<sup>5</sup> There are his plays Udgārtadasāñana, and Pratirājāsūya. The latter dramati-

1 Published in Suprabhāta

2 Published in Jl, Sam Sah Pt

3 Printed, Trivandrum

4 Rāju Sastri was a famous authority on Dharma Sastras and in the field of philosophy was an unrivalled professor

5 Some are printed in Udyānapaṭrikā, Trivadi. Other minor poems have been collected under the title Krūḍīmālā. The manuscripts are with the author.

ges the anecdotes of Vanaparvan of Mahābhārata<sup>1</sup>. In Kaundinya-prahasana the hero is a complacent glutton and his inevitable raids on the kitchen become impossible to thwart. It is said that appetite is "presented here as the root cause of fiction between the two classes of men--the owner and the trespassers" and appetite stands for all the incomitable animal cravings in man.

747 R Shama Sastrin, B A., Ph D., has translated the play of German poet Lesing, Amelie Galat̄i in 11 scenes<sup>2</sup>.

### SECTION 5

#### Allegorical plays

748 Personification of inanimate beings and personal qualities or senses, shortly called, allegory, is as old as the vedic literature. The comparative superiority of the various organs and senses was often illustrated by dialogues and action. Such, for instance, are the controversies between *vāk* (speech) and *manas* (mind) and the *prāna* (life) and the five *indriyas* (senses).

अऽभ्यट्टकार वाक्चमनश्चातिपीता, अह देवेभ्यो हन्य वहासीति वाग्बवीत्, अह देवेभ्य इति मन ॥ तौ प्रजापतिं प्रश्नमैताग्नेषु । सोऽब्रवीत् प्रजापतिर्दूरीरेव त्वं मनसोऽसि, यदि मनसा आयति तद्वाचा बदति तत्पटः तुभ्य । न वाचा शुहुवचिलब्रवीत् । तस्मान्मनसा प्रजापतये ज्ञाति ॥

*Kṛṇayajus*, II. v. 31, 4.

The following story is in Bhadāraṇyakopanisat, Adhyaya, VI.

ते हेषे प्राणा अहश्चेष्यसे विवदमाना ब्रह्म जग्मुः, तदोऽनु, को नोऽसिष्ठ इति । तदोवाच यस्मिन्व उत्कान्त इदं शरीर पापीयो मन्यते स वो वसिष्ठ इति ॥ 7.

वारघोऽक्षक्राम, सा सवत्सर श्रोप्यगत्योवाच, कथमशक्त मद्दते जीवितुमिति । ते हेषुः यथाकला, अपदन्तो वाचा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृणवन्तश्चोत्रेण, विघातो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्येति । प्रविवेष ह वाक् ॥ 8.

क्षुर्हेष्वक्राम, तत्सवत्सर श्रोप्यागत्योवाच, कथमशक्त मद्दते जीवितुमिति । ते हेषुः यान्वा, अपश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, बदन्तो वाचा शृणवन्तश्चोत्रेण, विघातो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्येति । प्रविवेष ह चक्षुः ॥ 9.

शोक्र होऽवकाश, तत्सवत्सर श्रोप्यागत्योवाच, कथमशक्त मद्दते जीवितुमिति । ते हेषुः वैद्युर्धर्थावाचिता, अशृणवन्तश्चोत्रेण, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, बदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, विघातो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्येति । प्रविवेष ह श्रोक्षम् ॥ 10.

1. Printed, Madras.

2. Printed Jl. of Mys. Sanskrit College, VII, 116.

## DRŚYAKĀVYA

मनो होक्षकाम, तत्सवत्सरं प्रोप्यागत्योवाच, कथमशक्त महते जीवितुभिति । ते होच्छया-  
द्वाचा, अविद्वासो मनसा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, बदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्चोनेण,  
प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह मन ॥ 11

रेतो होक्षकाम, तत्सवत्सरं प्रोप्यागत्योवाच, कथमशक्त महते जीवितुभिति तेहोच्छया-  
द्वीचा., अप्रजायमाना रेतसा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, बदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्चोनेण,  
विद्वासो मनसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह रेत 12

अथ ह प्राण उत्क्रमिष्यन् यथा महासुहय सैन्धवः पद्मीशशङ्कुर् सवृहेदेव हैवेमान्  
प्राणान् सवर्वर्ह, तेहोच्छुर्मामगव उत्कमी., नैव शक्ष्यामस्त्वदते जीवितुभिति । तस्योमेवलि कुरुतेति  
तथेति ॥ 13.

सा ह वाशुवाच, यद्वा अह वसिष्ठास्मि, त्वं तद्वसिष्ठोसीति । यद्वा अह प्रतिष्ठास्मि त्वं  
तद्वसिष्ठोसीति चक्षु । यद्वा अह सपदास्मि त्वं तस्पदसीति श्रोत्र । यद्वा अहमायतनमस्मि  
त्वं तदायतनमसीति मन । यद्वा अह प्रजातिरस्मि त्वं तप्रजा रसीति रेत \* \* \* 14.

**749** In the fables like *Pancatantra*, animals are humanised and their dialogues impart ethical precepts. In *Aśvaghoṣa's Sāriputraprakarana*, *Buddhi*, *Kirti*, *Dhṛti* are personified and at the end of their dialogues, *Budha* appears. This is adopted by *Kavikarṇapūra* in his *Caiṭanya-candroḍaya*, in which *Caiṭanya* takes the place of *Buddha*.<sup>1</sup> Later literature has abundantly made use of this dramatic artifice to represent with vividness, tenets of particular schools of philosophy and other questions of religious controversy.

**750** *Kṛṣṇamīṣa*<sup>2</sup> was an ascetic of the *Hamsa* order. He was a follower of Śankara and missionary for the propagation of *Advaita* doctrines. It is said that among his several disciples there was one who was averse to the study of philosophy. To put him in the way, the ascetic composed the play *Prabodhacandroḍaya* on the plan of *Purāṇjanopākhyāna* of Sri Bhāgavata.<sup>3</sup> With the apparent exterior of erotic ideas, it dramatises the supreme truth of *Advaita Vedānta* and ridicules the tenets of other schools of philosophy. The characters are personifications of abstractions. "The Evil king Error appears on the scene, as ruler of Benares surrounded by his faithful adherents, the Faults and Vices, while Religion and the noble king Reason, accom-

1. Ed. *Babī Ind* Calcutta.

2. *Kṛṣṇamīṣa*, author of the *Viravijaya Khamīṣīga* (OC, I. 595) is probably different.

3. III. 25-28.

panied by all virtues have been banished. There is however a prophesy that Reason will some day be reverted into Revelation, the fruit of the union will be True knowledge, which will destroy the reign of Error. The struggle for this union and consummation, followed by the final triumph of the good party, forms the plot of the piece ”<sup>1</sup>

**751** The prologue to the play mentions the victories of king Kirtivarman,<sup>2</sup> and his general Gopala over the armies of Karnadeva,<sup>3</sup> as the occasion of immediate rejoicing and the enactment of the drama, recently composed, as an item in the programme of festivities Kirti-

1 Ed Bombay Tran into Germ by Goldstucker, Königsburg (gives end of 12th century), by Herzl, Zurich, into English by Taylor, Bombay On this drama, see Schuyler, *Bibl* 19, Macdonell *SL* 366-7, Weber, *IL* 207, S Levi, *TL*, 229-35 H Brockhaus, Int to *Edn* (Leipzg), M Williams, *IW*, 508, *Jl Tel Ac* III 408-22, Keath, *SD* 251 (This contains a very full and critical account of the play and its time). *S.R.* II, 67 For quotations in the anthologies, see Peterson, *Subh* On the Bibliography of Kṛṣṇamīśra, see *JASB*, XXV 189

VENKATESH VAMAN SOVANI, discovers a long metre at the end of Act IV, a passage forming a magnificent hymn of Ādikeśava at Benares

अमरचय (चमू) चक्रचूडामिश्रेणीरिजितोपान्तपादद्वयाम्भोजराजशस्थोतख्षोत्त-  
किर्मारितसर्णपीठ स्फुरद्वैतविभ्रान्तिसतानसंतपवन्दालससारनिद्रापहरैकदक्ष लभामण्डलोद्धार-  
समारसघट्टदध्याम्भकोटिस्फुरच्छैलचक्रकमाक्षान्तलोकव्य ।

प्रबलमुजवलोदध (दू) तगोवर्धनम्भपनिशा (वी) रिताखण्डलोधोजिताकाण्डचण्डाम्भ-  
वाहातिवर्षेतस्त्रोकुलभाणविस्मापिताशेषविश्वप्रभो ।

विमुषादिपुवधूर्गसीमन्त्सिन्दूरसन्ध्यामयूखच्छटोन्मार्जनोद्भामधामाविप व्रस्तदैत्येन्द्रवक्ष-  
स्तटीपाटनाकुण्ठमासश्वस्त्रेणिपाणिद्वयस्तस्तविसा (स्ता) रिरत्पर्णवामश्वलोकव्य ।

विमुषादिपुकैटमोहण्डकण्ठासिकूटस्फुटोन्मार्जितोद्भामदोर्दण्ड खण्डेन्दुचूडप्रिय शौढदो-  
र्दण्डविभ्रान्तमन्धाचलम्भुव्युद्धाम्भुविप्रोद्यित श्रीमुज(जा)वल्ली(हि) संश्लेषसकान्तपीनितमामोग  
मकावलीक्षणविलोरसल स्थलमृतापलोदारहरैप्रमामण्डल(प्र)स्फुरत्कण्ठ वैकुण्ठ मत्स्य  
क्षेकस संसारमेहचिक्षद देहि बोधोदय देव तुम्ह नम ।

2 According to the Mahoba inscription, the king Kirtivarman here referred to was a Chandella king who with his general Gopala defeated Karga, king of Oedi. There is, however, some difference between the accounts given in the inscription and the play. Kirtivarman is mentioned as the friend of Gopala in the drama, whereas in the inscription, the latter is said to have been the general of Kirtivarman.

3. Kartikeya, son of Gangadeva, was the king of Oedi (1040-70 A.D.) who joined Bhima, king of Gujarat in crushing Bhoja, the king of Malwa, about 1060 A.D. F. Smith, *BSR*, 302, Bandali, *History of Nepal* (*JASB*, (1908), 18), S. Levi & Nepal, II, 918 note. R. D. Banerji, *Palace of Bengal*, (*JASB, Memoirs*, 1918). M. Duff (*Chronology*) gives the date about 1090 A.D.

varman ruled between 1049 and 1100 and his victory over the Karpadeva was about 1063 A D<sup>1</sup>

The genealogies<sup>2</sup> of the Kamakoti Pīṭha record that Mankha and Kṛṣṇamīśra were contemporaries of Candraśekhara Sarasvatī the 47th occupier of that seat (1097-1165 A D)

**752** There are commentaries on the play by Rudradeva,<sup>3</sup> Gaṇesa,<sup>4</sup> Subrahmanyasudhi,<sup>5</sup> Rāmadīsa,<sup>6</sup> Sadūṭamamupi,<sup>7</sup> Ghanasyāma,<sup>8</sup> Maheśvara Nyāyālankāra,<sup>9</sup> R V Dikṣhit,<sup>10</sup> Ādhyanātha,<sup>11</sup> and Govindāmṛta.<sup>12</sup>

**753** Venkatanātha's Sankalpasūryodaya is an answer to Kṛṣṇamīśra and culcates Visistādvaita philosophy<sup>13</sup> Venkatanātha is Vedantadesika

[GOPALACARVA was the son of Rangācārya of Vadhlāgoṭra and lived at Mannārgudi and Pudukotta in 1881-1907 Rangācārya's father

1. Hultzsch (*EI*, I 220) shows that the play was composed between 1050 and 1116 A D and refers to coincidence between the passage relating to Kirīṭavarman and a passage in Mahoba inscription. See Grierson, *JRAS*, (1908), 1186

2.

मङ्ग श्रीजयदेवकृणसुहलप्रेष्टैर्मिहृष्टैर्वृत्त

विद्वद्विपरितं क्षिति विरचयन् यात्रा विजेता कृती ।

विद्यालोककुमारपालनृपतेस्सस्त्वमुत्तसित

हेमाचार्यमपि व्यापाकुतगिरावाचागष्टक्याकृतम् ॥

*Purṇaslokamanjarī*, 20.

See also N K Venkatesa, *Sankaracharya and his Kamakoti Peetha* (Kumbakonam), 28

3. *Cal Bod* 981 Ed. Bombay with Candrikā.

4. *CC*, III, 75

5. *DC*, XXI, 8429 *Tanj* VIII 8486 He was son of Venkatesa and Venkaīāmbā of Ponduri family

6. *Trav* 77 He was son of Vināyaka Ed. Madras, Leipzig and Poona. A manuscript is dated 1545 A D.

7. *CC*, II 78, 211 His original name was Gadādhara. The Ms. is dated Śaka 1486 (1571 A D.)

8. *Tanj* VIII 8482

9. Ed Calcutta, Leipzig

10. Ed Poona

11. Ed Shibpur

12. *TC* III 8818 Printed *ISS*, Trivandrum. He was apparently an ascetic and disciple of Prakāśatirtha

13. See para 120 *supra*. There are commentaries on it by Ahobilā, by Kaufika Śrīśāla Tājācārya (Rd. Conjeeveram), by Nārāyaṇa, and by Rāmānuja (*CC*, II, 188, 282).

was Gopālācārya, the well known scholar of eminence of Mannargudi under whom Mahāmahopādhyāya Raju Sastrigal studied. While yet very young, Gopālācārya was master of all the saṃtras and for his special proficiency in poetry and poetics he was honoured by then Maharaja of Pudukottai. In 700 verses in Arya metre called Arya Saptasati apparently named after Govardhana's work he wrote a biography of Vedāntadesīka, replete with devotion and poetic beauty. Parts of the book were published in Pudukotta Sanskrit Journal and will, I am told, be completely edited by his younger brother R. Srinivasachariar, State Vakil of Pudukotta, who has himself composed a short poem on the Lord. His elder brother is R. Krishnamachariar, the present Assistant Administrator of Pudukotta.

On Vedāntadesīka, there are also the poems Desikastotraratna-manjūṣā and Śrīsūktratnakara and Cetlur Śrinivāsācārya's Abdamālikā.]

**754** The attempt of Kṛṣṇamisra to establish the truth of particular tenets of religion by allegorical representation has been fruitful in the production of similar plays covering also the range of theology and ceremonial.

**755** **Gokulanatha** was a poet of the court of Fatteh Sāha of Śrīnagara, and contemporary of king Rāghavasimha of Mithila who ruled in 1615 A D. His Amritodaya<sup>3</sup> treats the story of the Jīvātman from creation to annihilation. His Madālaśā<sup>4</sup> is a play on the marriage of Madālaśā<sup>5</sup>. His Rasamahārṇava is a treatise on rhetoric and Śivasataka a lyric in praise of Siva.<sup>6</sup>

**756.** **Yasappala** was the son of Dhanadādeva and Rukmīpi of the Modha family and himself minister of king Ajayadeva. His MOHAPARAJAYA<sup>7</sup> is an allegorical play in 5 acts celebrating the support given by king Kumārapala to the Jain religion. The play was first enacted at Tharapadra, probably the capital of Marwar. Yasapala was one of the eminent men who heard the first reading of Mūluraṭha's Amāmasvāmicarita at the temple of Sāntuṇātha at Patan in Sam 1252 (1306 A. D.)<sup>8</sup>.

1. Ed. Bombay. See S. K. De, SP, 291. See para "supra"

2. CC, II, 97. There are Madālaśāparipaya (anonymous) and Madālaśā by Śāmishātti, CC, I, 498;

3. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay

4. Ed. GOS, Baroda

5. PR, IV, xxix. III, App. 89, 208. Keith, SD, 268

**757** **Samaraja Dikshita**, son of Narahari Bindu Purandara, lived at Maṭhura in the latter half of the 17th century Ānandarāya Chief of Bundelkhand was his patron His *Iripurasundarīstotra* is in praise of Pārvatī<sup>2</sup> and Kāvyenduprakāśa is a work on poetics<sup>3</sup> Besides a farce Dhūrṭanartaka he wrote *Sridāmacarita*,<sup>4</sup> a play in five acts in 1681 A.D describing the elevation of Sridāman or Sudāman, companion son of Kṛṣṇa, to sudden affluence "The opening of the piece is in the style of our ancient moralities, and in the first Act Poverty and Folly are said to assail Sridaman, who is abnoxious to Laxmi for his attachment to Saraswati or, in other words, who prefers learning to house and lands, for Fortune, it is said, will not even glance upon the pious and wise but flies from them in proportion as they are devoted to philosophy and virtue On the other hand, Krishna or Viṣṇu employs the same agents to recover those whom fortune has corrupted Folly, entering into their hearts, prepares the way for Poverty, and when reduced to distress, their minds are weaned from wordly affections and they are fitted to heaven These allegorical personages effect their purpose with Sridaman, by demanding the rites of hospitality, and being accordingly admitted into his dwelling"

His son Kāmarāja wrote the poem *Sṛngārakalikā*,<sup>5</sup> his grandson and great-grandson, vīrajarāja and Jīvarāja composed commentaries on *Rasamanjari* and *Rasaṭarangī*<sup>6</sup>

**758** In *Dharmavijaya*,<sup>7</sup> BHUDRVA ŚUKLA demonstrates, in five acts, the advantages of a life regulated by spiritual ordinances and lived in 16th century A.D He also wrote *Rasavilāsa*<sup>8</sup>

**759** **Bhuminatha** called Nallā Dikṣita was son of Bṛjalacandra of Kausikagoṭra<sup>9</sup> He was pupil of Rāmaḍhādra Dikṣiṭa and wrote *Dharmavijayacampū* on the life of king Shahaji of Tanjore (1684-1710

1 Ed. Bombay,

2. *BB* (1887-91), No 601.

3 *CC*, II 68, III. 142, with a commentary also Analyzed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 404-6 See also S. K De, *SP*, 320

4 Ed. Bombay

5 See under Bhāṇudatta, Chapter on Alankara post

6 *IO*, VII 1598 Printed, Bombay and *Sar. Bhāv Series*, Benares. See Mitra's Notices, I. 87. There is a commentary by his disciple Bhavaṇīśankara (*IO*, VII 4183).

7. Printed, *Sar. Bhāv Series*, Benares

8. See para 162 *supra*.

A.D.)<sup>1</sup> Besides the play *Subhadrāparinaya*<sup>2</sup> and *Śṛngārasarvasvabhāṇa*<sup>3</sup> he wrote the allegorical plays *Cīṭavṛṭṭikalyāṇa*<sup>4</sup> and *Jīvanmuktiśikalyāṇa*<sup>5</sup>

**760 Jagannatha Sighrakavi** was a poet of Kathiawar and lived in the 17th century during the days of Nānā Fātnāvis His Śau-bhāgyamahodayāñatāka represents all alankāras as courtiers in the Durbar of Maharajah Vakhatsinji of Bhownagar recounting their functions<sup>6</sup>

**761 Anandarayamakhin** describes the marriage of Jīvātman or the individual soul and Vidyā or spiritual wisdom The real author of this play VIDYAPARINAYA was VEDAKAVI and by him it was attributed to his patron Anandarao Peshwa, minister of Sārabhoji I and Tukkoji, kings of Janjore in the 18th century Ānandarāya<sup>7</sup> is referred to by Vancisvara in his Mahiṣasatāka<sup>8</sup> Vedakavi also wrote Jīvānandañatāka, a play of similar import

**762 Jatadevas** of Visvāmitragoṭra performed Soma sacrifice and became an ascetic He lived in Malabar about 1800 A.D. His Pūrṇapuruśārthacādrodaya,<sup>9</sup> represents the union of king Dasāsva or Ātman possessing ten horses (representing ten senses of man) and Ānandapakvavallī The various systems of thought are introduced as demons and are vanquished, and Suśradḍhā, and Subhakti bring about the union.

**763 Mallari Aradhyā** was the son of Sarabhaśāradhyā or Chaganta family probably of the Kṛṣṇa District His Śivalingasātryodaya in five acts is intended to establish the supremacy of Vira-Salva religion He composed it for the delectation of Basavesvara of Kandukuri family, probably a local chief of Kalyāṇapura of the 18th century A.D.<sup>10</sup>

1. *Tanq.* VII, 8269.

2. Probably *CC*, I, 726.

3. *Tanq.* VIII, 8609 Printed Bombay.

4. *CC*, I, 186.

5. *CC*, I, 207.

6. *Mod. Rev* XVI.

7. *Tanq.* 73. See para 165 *supra*.

8. See para 168 *supra*. A similar satirical poem is Kīlāñatāka, censuring one Kālējī, a courtier of King Ekōji of Tanjore (*Tanq.* VII, 3986).

9. *DG*, XXI, 847.

10. *mod. rev.* 8125.

**764** NRSIMHA's *Anumitipariṇaya* explains the Nyāya doctrine of inference. Anumiti, the daughter of Parāmara, marries Nyāyārasika. Nṛsimha was son of Venkatakr̥ṣṇa of Bhāradvājagoṭra and lived in Triplicane in the beginning of the 18th century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

**GHATTA ŚESACARYA**, son of Rāmanuja of Vādhūlagoṭra, belonged to Kavīrākika family and lived about the beginning of the 19th century A.D. at Manchalagadda, Madras Presidency.<sup>2</sup> His *Prapannasapindikaranañirāsa* established that for Prapannas there cannot be Sapindikarapa.

KRSNANANDA Vācaspati has lessons on grammar in the form of a dramatic entertainment in his *Nātyaparisista* or *Antar-Vyākaraṇa-Nātyaparisista*.<sup>3</sup> Ramescandra's *Saralacitśukhīśarā* is a similar work.<sup>4</sup> Narasimha's *Sīvanārāyaṇamahodaya* is a philosophical play in honor of a prince of Keonjhor.<sup>5</sup>

**765** **Madabhushi Venkatacarya** was son of Anantācarya of Naidhruvakāsyapagoṭra. His play *Suḍḍhasaṭṭva* inculcates Visiṣṭādvaita doctrines.<sup>6</sup> He lived in Samarlakota about 1860 A.D.

**766. Rani Mahagni Cinna Narasimha Kavi**, popularly known as Rani Cayanulu was born in 1862 in the village of Yenugu-mahal of Godavary District. After spending sometime with Ānanda Gajapati Raj, Maharaja of Vizianagaram, he became an ascetic. He was a mathematical prodigy and died very recently at Bezwada. His drama *Ciṣṭuryaloka* is allegorical<sup>7</sup> and his two works *Kālamānopapaṭṭa* and *Tīṭhūmanjari* indicate his astronomical scholarship.

**767** Harihara's *Bhart̥harinirveda*,<sup>8</sup> Ghānasyāma's *Pracandarāhūdaya*, Nārāyanasāstri's *Brahmavidyā* have been noticed. Besides these

1 *DC*, XXI 8862

2 *Ibid.* 8424

3 Printed Calcutta

4 Printed, *Jl Sam. Sah.* XVIII.

5 *CC*, III 184

6 The manuscript is with P. V Subramanya Sastrī, Sanskrit Pandit, Basole, Gedaveri District.

7 Mr. P. L. Narasimham, Advocate, Vizagapatam, tells me that this play is different from the one of the same name (printed, Vizianagram) by Mudumbai Narasimhadāsya and that he had seen another old play of the same name elsewhere.

8 See para 268 *supra*. Ed. Bombay. Analysed by Gopinatha in his *śāṇ. of Satakas*, Bombay. Translated into English by L. H. Gray, *JAOS*, XXV. 1. It is doubtful whether he is identical with Harihara, the author of *Prabhāśatipariṇaya-sātaka* (in *Mātrā* VII, No 2895, Levi II 77, 88, CC I 854, 762) Schuyler (Bibl.)

plays there are the following allegorical plays —Jnānasūryodaya of Vādīcandra,<sup>1</sup> Saṭsangavijaya of Vaideyanātha,<sup>2</sup> Saumatanātaka of Jayanta-bhatta,<sup>3</sup> Muktiṇipariṇaya of Sundaradeva,<sup>4</sup> Bhaktivaihbava of Jīvadeva,<sup>5</sup> Vivekacandrodaya of Sīva,<sup>6</sup> Vivekavijaya of Rāmānuja,<sup>7</sup> Sāntirasa of Vaikunṭhapuri,<sup>8</sup> Vedāntavilāsa of Varadācārya,<sup>9</sup> Miṭhyājnānakhandana of Ravidāsa,<sup>10</sup> Sivabhaktānanda,<sup>11</sup> Gairvāṇavijaya of Bālakavi,<sup>12</sup> Svānumhūṭyabhiḥā of Ananṭarāma,<sup>13</sup> Jīvanmukṭikalyāna of Mallā Somayājin<sup>14</sup> and probably Śuklesvara's Pramāṇādars.<sup>15</sup>

**768 Ramadeva** or Vāmadeva is known better by the pet name Cīranjīva. He was son of Raghavendra Bhattācārya, who was a renowned Śatāvadhāni<sup>16</sup> and grandson of Kāśinātha, the great palmist

treats them as identical. Bharṭṛhari's fourth Paḍḍhati Śaṅgipadḍhati is found mentioned in *Lit.* to *Cat. O P*

1 Printed Bombay *CC*, I 210 Composed in 1580 (?)

2. *CC*, I 690 Probably Miṭhyāśraprahasana (*CC*, I 455) and Krṣṇalila nāṭika (*CC*, I 128, II 247) are his works

3 *PR*, V 487

4 *Tan*, VIII. 3465. He probably wrote Viñodarangaprahasana (*CC*, I, 577).

5. He wrote on the Court of Pratapasūmha Gaṇapati of Orissa about 1500 A.D. He also wrote Bhaktibhāgavata. This is Krṣṇabhaktirāśyana (play) noted in Kavīrācārya's List (*GOS*), Baroda, No. 1987

6 *Gough*, 106

7. *DC*, XXI 8521.

8 *CC*, II 152. See on the author's other works *CC*, I, 591, where he is called also Viṣṇupuri. His verses are quoted in *Padyāvali*

9. *CC*, I 29

10 Printed, Calcutta IO, VII. 4200.

11. *CC*, I 650.

12. Printed, Palghat.

13. *CC*, I 752.

14. *Ric*, 256

15. *CC*, I 658.

16 Raghavendra was a great poet and his śatasloki is marvellous. Cīranjīva quotes verses of other poets in praise of Rāghavendrā, e.g.

अर्थं हृषिकेशदेवरमिलभस्तुतात् ।

साक्षात्कृतावधानस्त्वमवतीर्णि सरस्वती ॥

पुरुषादरणी साक्षात्कृतीर्णि सरस्वती ।

जितशतावधानतो विष्णुलापि न जिष्णतो ॥

Thisfeat is described by Cīranjīva thus in *Vidvanmodatāpaṅgi* (I 10-12) thus

एकैकमेकैककविमयात् सोक्षमित वर्णसप्तव्यवस्थ ।

आकर्षयै तत्सूक्ष्ममयमयुक्ते द्वयकर्त्त सोक्षमत च वर्णम् ॥

of Bengal Rādhāpur was his place. He was patronised by Yāsavant-simha who was the Naib Diwan of Decca about 1731 A.D. He wrote Vṛttaratuñavali<sup>1</sup> a work on prosody with illustrations in his praise,<sup>2</sup> and the poems Śringārañatini,<sup>3</sup> Kalpalatā and Sivastotra and Madhava-campū<sup>4</sup> and Kāvyavilāsa on poetics.<sup>5</sup>

His Vidvanmodaṭarangī<sup>6</sup> is a unique composition.<sup>7</sup> It is a humourous quasi-dramatic work, whence he brings together the followers of various religions and irreligious creeds and in the course of their dialogues, pools together the essence of various philosophical doctrines.

**769** [SATAVADHANI VEMURI SRI RAMASASTRIN was born in 1870 in Juvvugunta Agraharam in Kandukur Taluk of Nellore District. He is a 'Velanati' vaidiki of Haritagoṭra. In his early days he studied Veda, Śrauta, and Jyotiṣa at the feet of his father, and afterward studied Sāhitya and Vyākaraṇa. Satāvadhānam was his favourite hobby and from the age of 24 he travelled from Cape Camorin to the Himalayas exhibiting his scholarship at different chief centres. In Poona, he was highly appreciated by Dr Bhandarkar under whose auspices he performed wonderful feats of memory, and in Baroda he was highly rewarded by the Gaekwar for a similar performance. In 1903 he went to Kashmir and dedicated to him a Sanskrit work called "Graiveyaka Bandha" and in 1911 was presented at the Delhi Durbar for his work called "Dheelli Prabha" or "Durbar Khaneda". Through his chief pursuit is Sanskrit, he is now able to speak in 14 languages fluently, and can write poetry in Telugu, Sanskrit and Hindu. His Sanskrit works are "Avadhanā Viḍhānam," a work describing the process of Avadhanā, Gurukalpam and Nūṭanodyānam. He is still living at Bezwada.

रीतानया स्तोकस्त कवीनां शतस्य निर्वक्यवधारयेत्वा ।  
समस्या पूर्तिमालाकैवल्यं सकं कृतस्तोकवक्षीं तथैष ॥

Rāghavendra's teacher was Jagadīsh Tāpīlakālī whose gloss on Kāvyaprakāśa was copied by one of his pupils in 1677 A.D. See Gopināth Kavirāj's *History of Nyāya-Vaisesika literature* (Sar Bhawan Series, V 148).

1. *CG*, I 597, *PR*, V 455

2. *Osādī* (1877), 22

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. Edited by Bātuknāth Sārma with introduction, *Sarasvatī Bhawan Series*,

5. Printed, Calcutta and Madras

VINJAMURI VIRARAGHAVACARYA, (1855-1920) was a Vaishnavite of Kausikagoṭra, and was his coworker. He belonged to Donta-varam in Tanuku Taluk of West Godavary District. He lived at Bezwada and was for many years the Samskrit Pandit in High School there. He was a versatile Samskrit scholar and poet and wrote the following works in Samskrit Rāmānujaslokatrayī, Mansasandesa, Hanumat-sandesa, Pānaka-Narasimhastoṭra, Raghuviragadyavyākhyā, Caṭusloki-vyākhyā.

Abhinava Panditarāya Mādabhūci Venkaṭācārya (? -1897) of blessed memory was the forerunner of the performance of Avadhānas of the modern day. Though he was a genius in Samskrit, no Samskrit work is now available.

Divākarla Tirupati Sāstrin and Chellapilla Venkata Sāstrin are famous as Tirupati Venkata kavis throughout the Āndhradeśa, as performers of Sātāvadhānam. Their Samskrit work is Kalisahasram.

Devulapalli Subbarāya Sastrin (1853- ?) and Thammanna Sastry (1862- ?) were famous satāvadhānis and were known as Devulapalli brother poets. They were poets of the court of the Maharajah of Pithapuram and both were versatile scholars in Samskrit. Among them, Subbarāya Sastrin wrote a work called Rāvuvamsāmukṭavalī.<sup>1</sup>

## SECTION 6

### Chayanataka

**770 Chayanataka**, literally shadow-play was considered by Wilson to denote the shade or outline of a drama, "intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and processions". As a dramatic genre it is not recognised by Sanskrit writers on dramaturgy. But Nilakantha, in commenting on रूपोपजीवन in Mahābhārata (XII, ccxcv, 5) wrote

रूपोपजीवन जालमण्डपिकेति दाक्षिणालेपु प्रसिद्धम्, यत्र सूक्ष्मवस्त्र व्यवधाय चर्ममयै-  
राकारै. राजामासादीनः चर्या प्रदर्शयते ।

"Rupopajivanam is called Jalamandapika among the southerners where, having set up a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers etc., is shown by leatheren figures"<sup>2</sup>. This is the picture-show known in South India from time immemorial. The pictures made of leather or

1. See "Hymnsvatiparivayam" or *Lives of Modern Telugu poets* published by Raja Bhujanga Rao of Elllore.

2. Wilson, Theatre, II. 41, 90; Levi, 21, 241.

card-board are manipulated by persons behind the screen, so as to move and shake the images falling on the screen as in magic lantern shows, and the dialogue is repeated by the persons from behind the screen quite dramatically. It approaches a Talkie of modern days.

Vātsyāyana mentions Ākhyānaka-pata “ which is evidently a roll of canvas containing the representation of a short story in several scenes like the *Yamapata* which was spread by a spy of Cāṇakya before the people in Candanadāsa’s house and was exhibited by them with songs.

तहिं जनपद पसारिअ पटतसि गीदायिं गाइदुम् । — *Mudrārakṣasa*, Act I

**771 Subhata** is highly praised by Somadeva and Namisādhu. His Dūtāngada<sup>2</sup> was enacted in the reign of King Tribhuvanapāladeva of Anhilvad about 1242 AD during a festival held in commemoration of the restoration of a Siva’s temple at Somanāth by King Kumārapāla deva (1147-1172 AD). It describes the embassy of Angada to the Court of Rāvana and on failure of the negotiations, the beginning of the war.

There are at least two recensions of Dūtāngada,<sup>3</sup> the shorter that has been printed in Bombay and the larger that is preserved in the India Office Library<sup>4</sup>

**772 Vyasa Ramadeva** wrote three such plays Rāmābhuyādaya, Pāndavābhuyādaya and Subhadrāparinaya about 1402-1415 AD<sup>5</sup>

1. Ed Kāvyamāla, Bombay Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* (II 890) Translated into English by L. Gray, *JAS*, XXXII 58 (where there is full discussion of Chāya nātaka). See also Bendall, *JRAS*, (1898), 229, M. Duff, *Chronology*, 189, Schuyler, *BAB* 85. There is a similar drama by Bhubbhatta, (*CC*, I 4). Here is a fine verse

भो भो रावण रावणा करि बहुनेतान् वय शुश्रुमः  
प्रारोक्तं किल कार्तवीयनृपतेद्दोषदण्डपिण्डकृतम् ।  
एक नर्तनदापिताम्भकल दैत्येन्द्रदासीजनैः  
एक वक्तुमपित्रपामह इति त्वज्ञेषु कोन्योऽथवा ॥

2. Pischell says there are as many Dūtāngadas as there are manuscripts. For a summary of them, See *CC*, I 257, II, 55, III 56.

3. 10, VII No 4189 On the Eggeling says not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but ‘ narrative verses are thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem.’

4. *DC*, XXI 8485, *CC*, I, 728, II 192, III 161, Levi. *App* 77, 10, VII 4187 where manuscript was copied in 1471 (?) Bendall, *JRAS*, (1898) 281; *Cat*, 106-8 Analysed by Levi, *TI*, 942 and Eggeling (*Cat*, No, 4187).

under the patronage of Kalacuri kings of Raypur Vitthala's Chāyāñātaka is based on the history of the Adilshāhī dynasty of Bijapur (1489-1660 A D)<sup>1</sup> Sāvitricaṇṭa of Śankaralāla is called a Chāyāñātaka<sup>2</sup> Haridūta deals with the story of Kṛṣṇa's mission to Duryodhana before the war<sup>3</sup>

**773 Traivikramam** is a short dialogue between Sūtradhāra and Nāī describing the Vāmana incarnation, as depicted in a painting which they were apparently looking at In the technique of dramatic construction it is unique and but for the mention of the words Sūtradhāra, nāī and 'enter' it can only be called a dialogue The third picture is described, this indicates that the actors were seeing a series of pictures probably of the several incarnations and Sūtradhāra was describing the purānic story connected with each, one after another, This is the third in the series and the last words show that the speakers pass on to the next picture The plot is shortly this

"Vāmana appears before Bali, son of Hiranyakasipu at the close of the Asvamedha sacrifice performed gloriously by Bali Bali as customary towards the end of any sacrifice was ready to grant any gifts and Vamana along with Brihaspati, the minister of the Devas, in a mortal coil, appeared before Bali and asked for a piece of land that can be measured by three strides Bali was ready to grant the request Samhlāda, his chief minister, pointed out that Vāmana was only Viṣṇu in disguise who killed his father Hiranyakasipu, the conqueror of the three worlds. Bali could not recede from his promise, such a distinguished guest ought to be satisfied, Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, moves away from the donee to the donor, and he grants Vāmana's request by pouring water into his hands Suddenly Vāmana grows into a Visvarūpa expanding to the corners of the universe Rākshasas blinded by the Viṣnumāyā fought among themselves talking their brethren for Viṣṇu Thus most of them perished and Bali was set as the emperor of Pātāla."

Traivikrama is neither a poem where the poet narrates the story, nor a play where the narrator is absent and a mere conversation of characters is presented to the audience with action as in a play

1. See *Bh* 251 OO, I 198. Printed, Bombay

2. *Ludens, SPAW*, (1916), 698,

3. OO, I, 467.

M R Kavi says "If it is not the drama of Bhāsa it may be ascribed to any of the Pallava kings preferably to Mahendravikrama or Narasimhavishnu" and adds Traivikrama is mentioned for its unique characteristics by the commentator on Śākuntalā. "The commentary is called Charchana, a large fragment of which was brought from Malabar and preserved in G O MSS Library, Madras. Besides Traivikrama the commentator refers to dramatic irregularities of all the thirteen dramas of Bhāsa and Viñavāsavadatta and Chandālā-rāmāyaṇa. The last mentioned work alone is not yet available to us. The commentator of Charchana may be older than 300 years as the style shows and probably a native of Malabar.

**774** In Telugu Literature, in a poem known as Krīdābhūrāma, translated from a Vidyā in Sanskrit, reference is made to this kind of composition. The two characters, Tittibha and Govinda pass through the streets of Warangal in its palmy days under Pratāparudra II and describe the various street scenes in a graphic and interesting manner. The painted canvas represents Palnadu heroes (63 in number) who with a naughty boy of the profession acting under the influence of songs sung by a professional lady strongly exhibits the ecstasy and blind zeal displayed by the feudal lords in their internecine quarrel brought about by the passions of the heroine, Āruvelliñāyanārū.

**775** Early writers have distinguished story-telling as by caṇṭrika, grānṭhiṇi, saubhika which may respectively mean narration of a story with the help of a painted scene or by song and action or by dress and deportment. The following passage of Abhinavagupta (Natyāśāstra, Gaekwad Edition page 174) supports it

तत्रापिनाव्यच्छायात्मकतैव नाव्यसैव शमी भागनेष्यन्दाधित्रपुक्षिकापुस्तप्रभृतयो प्रथि-  
कादिपरिकल्पितसाक्षात्कारकल्पयप्रत्ययसम्पदा ।

Bhoja-deva in his Śringāraprakāśa distinguishes this kind of composition as Akhyānaka and defines it thus

आस्यामकसङ्गान्तर्लभते यदभिनयम् पठन् गायन् ।  
प्राचिक एक कथयति गोविन्दवदवहिते सदसि ॥

Traivikrama may be called Ākhyānaka

To appreciate its peculiar characteristics, the piece is printed here :

श्री

## तै वि क्र म स्

(नान्धन्ते तत् प्रविशति सूत्रधार सह प्रियया)

**सूत्र—आर्ये, नृतीर्ये सुलु चिक्रपटे—**

दैत्येन्द्रगौलिमणिष्टाष्टिकिर्णकृतस्य  
पादस्य यस्य गणनोद्गमगर्वितस्य ।  
त्रैविकम त्रिभुवनाततमद्भुत य-  
द्भूतैर्विमुक्तमालिल वट्वामनस्य ॥

**नटी—**एमो भअवदो वट्वामणस्स अभ्य, तदो तदो (नमो भगवते वट्वामनाय । आर्ये, ततस्तत ) ।

**सूत्र—**आर्ये, श्रूयता दैत्येन्द्र जाले वैरोचन कृताख्यमेघमवश्यप्रस्तात मुक्ताजालालङ्कृतो-उभाङ्गकृष्णाजिनावलभितोत्तरीय पत्तीसहित वरप्रदानामिमुख त्रिदशगणभूतहितार्थमुपाध्यायहृष्य वृहस्पति पुरस्कृत स्य वट्वामनो भूत्वा वामदेव्य सामोद्राय यज्ञसमृद्धिं प्रशसन्नुपसृतो भगवान्महाविष्णु ।

**नटी—**तदो तदो, (ततस्तत )

**सूत्र—**ततस्तं दृष्टै प्रहादितमनसा बलिनाप्यसिहित वृणीष्व वरभिति ।

**नटी—**तदो तदो (ततस्तत )

**सूत्र—**तत आक्षापयचिन मम शुरोर्यहकरणार्थं त्रीन् विक्रमानिष्ठामीत्युक्त भगवता ।

**नटी—**तदो तदो (ततस्तत ) ।

**सूत्र—**तत ऐश्वर्यमदगर्वितेन तेनाप्यविचार्यमाणेन बाढं ददामीत्युक्तं बलिना ।

**नटी—**तदो तदो (ततस्तथ )

**सूत्र—**ततो लक्षणैर्विमलविशालुद्धिहृदयेन संहादनाम्नामालेन वारित न दातव्यभिति ।

अय स विष्णुर्मनसाप्यनेय मुरामुराणा मुखशोककर्त् ।

वट्वा नाय सकले विजेतं प्राप्तो यदि स्थाच जल प्रदेशम् ॥

**अपि च—**

भित्या शुर तव जघान नृसिंहरूणी वक्ष-स्तु नञ्चपूर्वैर्निश्चितैः उरा यः ।

साक्षाद्विरण्यकश्चिपु मुरदैस्तनार्थं प्राप्तास्त्रिलाजितवरप्रवर विरिक्षात् ॥

**इत्युक्तः सहादेन ।**

**नटी—**उम्मे वस्त्रे (वस्त्राल्लात्)

सूत्र—तत् —

सोऽय यदि स्यादहिमोगशायी शार्ङ्गसिचकोद्गदशङ्कपाणि ।  
युद्धेष्वसङ्गो यदि याचेत मा दास्याभि सख्त्रतमार्थितोऽहम् ॥

अपि चैतदप्युक्त बलिना—

देहीति यो बदति त प्रवेशस्यलक्ष्मीर्त्तीति यो बदति त पुनरभ्युपैति ।  
तस्माद्दामि पृतिर्यां मवृत्सदनाय श्रीरेव मां भजतु त प्रविश्वलक्ष्मी ॥

इत्येवमुक्तवा विसर्जित सहादो बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत्)

सूत्र—तत् खरमुरनरकनमुचिप्रभृतिभिर्वार्थमाण प्रतार्थमाणस्तान्त्रिभर्त्स्यार्थमन.  
सख्यवचनमेवास्थाणसुरगणहितकराभ्यां मुरगणाहितकराभ्यां कराभ्या जाम्बूनदमय भृक्षारभादाय  
इति इतो भगवान्यथेष्ट तोय गृहणेत्युक्त बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत्)

सूत्र—तत् मुरगणहितकरे असुरगणनिधनकरे अमलकमलदलसदृशे तस्मिन् करतले  
प्रसूतमात्रे तोये द्विगुणचतुर्भिर्दोषैरलङ्घत्य त्रैलोक्यप्रमाण प्रविजून्मितो भगवान् दिव्यमूर्ति ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत्)

सूत्र—ततो विवृतवदनदष्टोष्टमुकुटीपुटविषभीकृतरक्तनयना. ससरम्भमहमहमिकया  
सप्तुभिता दैत्येन्द्रसङ्घा ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत्)

सूत्र—ततस्तर्जसैव त्वं विष्णुरित्यन्योन्य प्रहल नष्टा देत्या·, हष्टा देवा,  
आहता देवदुन्दुमय , अत्युदृता वायव , अतितपतिस्मादिल्य , पतिता वृक्षा , आन्ता मेघा ,  
वान्तमिव नभ., स्खलिताः पर्वता , क्षमिता सागरा., प्रलीना वासुकिप्रमृतयो भुजक्षेश्वरा. |  
किं तु स्त्रियद—

प्रलयमिदमुपेतं किं तु माया न विशः  
प्रमुरवतु हरिनों हन्त हा हा हता स्मः ।  
इति विविधनिभिर्त्यौहयन्यागतास्ते  
भुवनपतिष्ठुपेन्द्र सर्वलोका प्रणेषु ॥

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत्)

सूत्र—तत्—

नारायणाय हृये मुरक्षासनाय त्रैलोक्यजन्मलयपालनकारणाय ।  
देवाय दैत्यमयनाय जगदित्याय विश्वम्भराहितकराय नमोऽप्युताय ॥

इत्युक्त्वा प्रणिपतितानि सर्वभूतानि ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः.)

सूत्र—विष्णोर्विजय विजयमित्युक्त्वा त्रीत् लोकान्निस्तप्तकृत्वः मेर्हो प्रहरत् पर्यं  
द्वजाम्बवान् ।

दर्पान्धः पादलशो नमुचिरपस्थुतो यालेव गगन  
सहादः पादयोगादुपल इव गिरेभूमौ निपतितः ।  
निष्ठैषा यस्य भूमिः सगीरिकनपुरा धर्तैव चलिता  
धर्मङ्गः सत्यसन्धः सुकृत इव बलिधैर्यान्ध चलति ॥

आपि च—

खर्गं सुरेन्द्रं इव दत्तमनेकमोगं  
पातालमेत्य सुतलं हारिणा स दैत्यैः ।  
मक्ष्यार्चयद् परमया रमते विभक्त  
किं वा करोति महता न समाश्रयोऽप्यम् ॥

नटी—रमणिष्ठो सु कहाजोओ, अंणं चित्रपटं वणेदु अथ्यो । (रमणीयः खलु  
कथायोगः, अन्य चित्रपटं वर्णयत्वार्थः)

अर्थे बाढं हरिपदकथा सेयमन्तं प्रयाता  
मक्तिर्यात्तव च मम च श्रीधरस्याङ्गिप्रपदे ।  
नश्यत्वेवं दुरितमसकृत्यश्यतां नृतां नः  
सत्यो राजाप्यवतु वसुधां खस्ति गोवाङ्गोम्यः ॥

(त्रैविक्रमं समाप्तम्)

**776** "In Java the Rama cycle may be treated in the dramatic categories of the *wayang purwa*, a shadow play produced by puppets of buffalo leather, the *wayang topeng*, and the *wayang Wong*, produced by masked and unmasked men respectively, and the *wayang beber*, in which pictures are unrolled and explained by the *dalang* (juynboll, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, XIII, 4-5) In many respects the latter, as the manager of the puppets and the speaker of the dialogue, in which he modulates his voice according to the various characters of the drama ('Serrurier, 95-96, 106-112, Hazeu, 7-9,) corresponds very probably to the Sanskrit *sutradhara*, although his name seems to signify merely, stroller, strolling player,' and it has been suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang* (Hazeu, 23-24, 39-57) At all events, we are justified in seeing in the Javanese *wayang purwa* or shadow play, the analogue of the Sanskrit *chayanataka* and both are without doubt the congenors of the Chinese shadow play, the Turkish *garagos* and the marionettes which, originating in India, have spread throughout Asia and Europe to be enacted at the present day (see, for example, Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Rehm, *Buch der Marionetten*, Jacob, *Erwähnungen des Schatten-theatres in der Welt-Literatur* and *Geschichte des Schatten-theaters*, together with the literature cited in these works."

## SECTION 7

### Miscellaneous Plays

**777 On Weddings** Draupadiparinaya of (i) Peri Kāśinātha of Vijayanagaram<sup>1</sup> and (ii) Kṛṣṇa, son of Nṛsiṁha<sup>2</sup>, Pāncalipariṇaya of Addanki Bālaśūrī<sup>3</sup>, Rukminipariṇaya<sup>4</sup> (i) of Ātreyā Varad.<sup>5</sup> and (ii) of Kavīṭārkikasimha,<sup>6</sup> Godāparinaya (i) of Śrisaila Śrinivāsa<sup>7</sup> and (ii) of

1 He died in about 1929. His son Tātaryudu is vice principal, Sanskrit College, Visianagaram.

2 *DO*, XXI 846

3 *TC*, III 8198

4 There is Pr̥thvirīja's poem Rukminīkṛṣṇavallī, *PR*, V 186

5 *Tanj* VIII 8502 Printed Bombay. He lived at Venkatagiri in 19th century.

6 *DO*, XXI 8410, 8489, *CC*, II 163 He lived at Guptakuti (Kuttakandi) in

S Arcot Dist, and was of Śrīvaṭsagoṭṭha. He was the nephew of Kṛṣṇa abovementioned.

7 *DO*, XXI 8899,

Kesāvanātha,<sup>1</sup> Subhadrāparīpaya (i) of Nallākavi,<sup>2</sup> (ii) of Raghu-nāthācārya,<sup>3</sup> Vallīparīpaya (i) of Bhāskara, son of Śivasūrya of Srīvatsa-goṭra,<sup>4</sup> and (ii) of Virarāghava,<sup>5</sup> Nilāparīpaya of Venkatesvara, son of Dharmarāja,<sup>6</sup> Marakatavallīparīpaya of Śrinivāsa, son of Devarāja,<sup>7</sup> Rukmīnīharapa of Sevacintāmanī,<sup>8</sup> Lakṣmikalyāna (i) of Sadāśiva Dīksita,<sup>9</sup> and (ii) of Mānavikrama<sup>10</sup>

Madālasāparīpaya,<sup>11</sup> Pārvatīsvayamvara,<sup>12</sup> Sītāvivāha by Sesādri of Bhāradvājagotra,<sup>13</sup> Bhaimīparīpaya<sup>14</sup> (i) by Sathagopācārya<sup>15</sup> and (ii) by Venkatācārya,<sup>16</sup> Bhānumati-parinaya,<sup>17</sup> Candrakalāparīpaya by Nṛsimha,<sup>18</sup> Saugandhikāparinaya,<sup>19</sup> Indirāparinaya by Virarāghava, son of Srisaila,<sup>20</sup> Indumati-parinaya,<sup>21</sup> Jānakīparinaya (i) by Nārāyaṇabhatta<sup>22</sup> and (ii) by Sītārāma,<sup>23</sup> Kalyāniparīpaya,<sup>24</sup> Kāmakṣiparinaya,<sup>25</sup> Kanakavallīparinaya,<sup>26</sup> Uṣāparinaya by Śrinivāsa,<sup>27</sup> Lakṣmīsvayamvara by Śrinivāsa, son of

1. *CC*, I. 159

2. *TC*, I. 1040 He was son of Bālcandra of Kausikagotra. He wrote Śringārasarvasvabhāṣaṇa. He says he lived at Kandaramanikya where Uddanda also lived in 15th century.

3. *CC*, I. 728

4. *DC*, XXI. 8589 See para 187 *supra*.

5. *CC*, III. 118 *HR*. III. ix, II. ix Written in the time of king Sivaji of Tanjore See para 168 *supra*

6. *Tan*. VIII. 8415. In *CC*, I. 803, there is one by Dṛggbhavaṭ.

7. *Ibid* 8450

8. *CC*, I. 527.

9. *Trav* 78

10. *Trav*. 191

11. *CC*, I. 426

12. *CC*, I. 886

13. *Tan*. VIII. 8524 He lived at Conjeevaram and wrote also Rāmavillāsakāvya.

14. See *CC*, I. 416

15. *CC*, II. 95

16. *CC*, I. 416

17. Levi, App., 78

18. *CC*, III. 88 He is author of Nanjarājayaśobhuṣaṇa. In the prologue Kaśīpati probably the author of Mukundānanḍabhāṣaṇa, is praised

19. *CC*, I. 787

20. *HR*, III. 1749, ix

21. *CC*, I. 59

22. *CC*, I. 206

23. *CC*, I. 308.

24. *CC*, I. 86.

25. *CC*, I. 94.

26. *CC*, I. 78

27. *CC*, I. 71 There is Uṣāharapa of Harpanātha, Schuyler, *B&B* 41

Rāmānuja,<sup>1</sup> Vakulamālinīparīpaya by Vīravallī Śrīnivāsa,<sup>2</sup> Vijayendrā-  
parīpaya by Subrahmaṇya,<sup>3</sup> Pāncālīparinaya by Balasūri of Srīrangam,<sup>4</sup>  
Mīnākṣiparīpaya by Apnāsāstrin<sup>5</sup> and Lāvalīparinaya by Lalāśmīpaṭi<sup>6</sup>

**778 On Kṛṣṇa** Kṛtārṭhamādhava by Rāmamānika Kavīrāja,<sup>7</sup>  
Kṛṣṇalilā by Vaideyanāṭha Tatsaṭ,<sup>8</sup> Kṛṇakutūhalā,<sup>9</sup> Bālikāvancīṭaka,<sup>10</sup>  
Rāmā-Rādhā,<sup>11</sup> Kamsānṭaka by Hariyajvan,<sup>12</sup> Kṛṣṇabhaktīcandrīkā  
by Anantadeva,<sup>13</sup> Vaidarbhitivāsudeva by Sundararājā<sup>14</sup>

Rāmacandra and Abhinavagupta quote from Hejjala's Rādhā-  
vīpralambha, e.g.

मेचाश्चक्षिश्वपितताण्डवविधावाचार्यक कल्पयन्  
निर्हर्दो मूरजस सूर्खेतिरा वेषुस्वनापूरित ।  
वीणाया कल्पव लयेन गमकालुग्राहिणीं सूर्खेन  
कर्वल्येष च कालकुष्टिलयां रम्यश्रुति षाढवे ॥

CAYANI CANDRASEKHARA was the son of Vājapeyi Gopīnāṭha-  
rājaguru, religious teacher of the King Vīrakesari Rāmacandra of  
Bundekand of the 17<sup>th</sup> century A D.<sup>15</sup> His Maṭhurāniruddha is a  
drama in eight acts with no prakrt in it, on the secret lives of Uṣā to-  
wards Aniruddha who was kidnapped by her maiden Ciṭralekha on her  
behalf

**779 On Rāma** Raghuvīracarita by Cakravarṭi Vedāṅgasūri,<sup>16</sup>  
Sītārāghava of Rāmapāṇivāda,<sup>17</sup> Kusalavavijaya by Venkatakr̥ṣṇa,<sup>18</sup>

1 OC, I 540, III 114.

2 TC, I 1047 See para 242 for the author

3 CC, II 185

4 TG, III 3128 He says he wrote at the instance of king Rājasekhara

5 Mya 279.

6 Mya 282

7 OC, III 25

8 CO, I 128, Ulvar, 998

9. OC, I 119

10 Mentioned in ND.

11 Mentioned in BP

12. Mya 636

13. Trav 180

14. Trav 181

15 OC, I 426 Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 896.

16. TG, II, 299, He lived in Villimbakkam, near Chingleput He was of Srivaig-  
gotra His descendant Gorāla, son of Venugopāla, wrote Praṭīpārīghava (TG,  
III, 8056.)

17 DC, XXI 8558 See para 177 *supra*

18 Trav. 76,

Rāmāyananātaka by Somesvaradeva,<sup>1</sup> Muḍitarāghava by Salakṛṣṇa,<sup>2</sup> Śīḍānanda by Tātācārya,<sup>3</sup> Rāmarājyābhīṣeka of Virarāghava,<sup>4</sup> Kṛtyārāvāṇa, Jānaśrāghava, Rāmābhinanda, Vālivadha, Chalitārāma, Nirdoṣadasaraṇa, Māricavancīṭaka, Māyāpuṣpaka,<sup>5</sup> Abhirāmarāghava by Anapoṭanāyaka, Amogharāghava,<sup>6</sup> Abhimavarāghava of Kīraswāmin<sup>7</sup> Prapanna-Vibhīṣana of Lakṣmana Sūri,<sup>8</sup> Abhirāmamani of Sundaramiśra,<sup>9</sup> Harāvasāna by Kanhyalal Fancatirtha,<sup>10</sup> Raghuviracariṭa of Sukumāra,<sup>11</sup> Anjayenavijaya of Bhāṣyakara,<sup>12</sup> Janakajānanadana of Nṛsimha,<sup>13</sup> Praudhābhīrāma of Venkatanātha<sup>14</sup>

MAHADEVA was son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kaundinyaagotra and lived at Palmaner in the Madras presidency Nīlakantha was his contemporary and so he belongs to the first half of the 17th century His Adbhutadarpaṇa narrates the progress of Rāma's war onwards from Hanūman's return from Ceylon<sup>15</sup> RAMAKRŚNA was the son of Tīrumala of Vaṭsagoṭra and pupil of Ramendrasarasvatī Probably owing to the surname Bhavabhūti he had, he thought of writing a play Utṭaracariṭa to imitate Utṭarārāmacariṭa It is said that he lived in the 18th century He describes his family in the Colophon thus<sup>16</sup>

श्रीमन्महाकुलप्रसूतस्य श्रीवत्सगोत्रस्य सकलविद्वज्ञनमुकुटालकारहीरस्य जगचायमद्वारक-  
पौत्रस्य काव्यनाटकालंकारसंबंधस्य पदवाक्यप्रमाणस्य वेकटादिभद्रारकपुत्रस्य श्रीरामेन्द्रसरसती-  
चरणारविन्दसेवात्परस्य श्रीमदनगांपालमंत्राचिन्तनापरस्य शब्दशास्त्रविचारदस्य सकलकला-

1. PR, III ap 896.

2. OC, II. 106.

3. OC, II 2875

4. Tanj. VIII 3718.

5. Mentioned in SD, SK, ND, BP, DR, or AB

6. Mentioned in RS.

7. Mentioned in ND. See Chapter on Alankāra post and Index

8. Printed Sah Vols XX, XXII and XXIII He also wrote a dīpa Ghosayāṭṭī For the author, see para 246 supra

9. OC, I 26. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 895 It was composed in 1599 A. D.

10. Printed, Jl. of Sam, Sah. Par, Calcutta.

11. Trav. 78.

12. Mys. 278

13. Mys. 276

14. Mys. 278

15. Ed. Kavyamīla, Bombay

Mahadeva Sastrī, author of Uamāṭārāghava (play) (OC, I 66) and Mahādeva Kavīścārya Sarasvatī author of Dānakelikkuvumi di Bhānikā (OC, I. 244) are different

16. HR, I. and Hst̄r 89

प्रवीणस आश्रितजनरक्षणदक्षस्य तिरमलभट्टारकस्य पुत्रेण मध्यभूतिना विरचितोचरचरित नाम  
नाटक समासिमगमत् ।

ATIRATRA-YAJVAN was a younger brother of Nilakantha and lived in the middle of the 17th century. He was himself well-versed in the *tantras* and *kratus*, besides being born a poet and commentator, he was a specialist in the Saiva-Siddhānta. His *Kuba-kumudavatiyam*, a drama in five acts, describes the loves of Kuba, the eldest son of Rāma, and Kumudavati, the princess of the Nāga race. He is also known to have written a poem called the *Praṭi-Raghuvamśa*, obviously on the history of the Solar race, and *Tripuravijayacampū*.<sup>1</sup>

**780 On Bharata** Asvamedhanātaka by Sumaṭṭijitāmitrāmalla-deva, king of Bhalgoan,<sup>2</sup> Pāndavavijaya by Jayarāmamahādeva,<sup>3</sup> [Draupadiswayamvara, Pāndavānanda and Vilakṣa-Duryōdhana],<sup>4</sup> Bhīmaparākrama by son of Saṭānanda Abhinanda,<sup>5</sup> Abhimanyunātaka by Sāligrāma,<sup>6</sup> Ghoṣayātra of Śīṭalacandra<sup>7</sup>

**781 Puranic.** Yayāticarita of Mayyan Rāmārya of Trivandram,<sup>8</sup> Bhaktivijaya of Śrī Dhūrjatiprasada Kāvyatir̥tha,<sup>9</sup> Subhadrārjuna by Kesavasāstrin,<sup>10</sup> Subhadrādhananaya of Gururāma,<sup>11</sup> Subhadrāharana of Māḍhavabhatta,<sup>12</sup> Subhadrāvijaya,<sup>13</sup> Candrikā-Janamejaya by Paḍmanābha,<sup>14</sup> Manmathābhuyudaya by Venkatesa,<sup>15</sup> Prabhāvatipradyumna

1. *Tanf* VIII 8878 See para 154 *supra*

2. *CC*, III 8.

3. Called also Bhīmaparvanātaka *HPR*, (1904) Pāndavānanda quoted by Dhanika is different

4. Mentioned in *ND* and *AB*

5. *TC*, IV. 4440. See para 59 *supra* On the battle between Bhīma and Jarāsandha Abhinavagupta mentions the play

6. Printed, Calcutta. Here is a fine' Nāndī

गौरीबाहुलताचङ्गवलयाद्युभिरञ्जसा ।

कृष्णोऽवर्जुनदो वीतः कण्ठो भीमसपातु व. ||

7. Printed, Calcutta

8. *Mys* 1281

9. Printed, Calcutta.

10. *Trav* 182

11. *JSSP*, Calcutta, XI, on Prahlāda's story.

12. *CC*, I. 728

13. *CC*, I. 728

14. *TC*, IV. 6570

15. *TC*, XII. 8268 He was contemporary of a pupil of Nilakantha (see para 154 *supra*).

by Rāmakṛṣṇa,<sup>1</sup> Hariscandracariṇa,<sup>2</sup> Uṣāniruddha by a king of Kāśī,<sup>3</sup> Revatiḥālāṅka by Puruṣottama,<sup>4</sup> Madanābhhyudaya by Venkatesa,<sup>5</sup> Natesavilāsa by king Sivājī of Tanjore,<sup>6</sup> Gangāvaṭarapa,<sup>7</sup> Mangala-nāṭaka by Jīvānanda Jyotiṣrvid,<sup>8</sup> Anarghanalacanṭrā by Sudarsana,<sup>9</sup> Hariscandranāṭaka by Prabhākara Śrīnivasa,<sup>10</sup> Manmathavijaya by Venkatarāghava,<sup>11</sup> Anandacandrodaya by Rangilāla<sup>12</sup>

**782 Miscellaneous Natakas** Kalyāṇapuranajana by Tirumalā-karya,<sup>13</sup> Jagadānanda by Haradeva, Samayasāra by Banarsi dasa Sekharanābha,<sup>14</sup> Candravilāsa (i) by Gangādhara,<sup>15</sup> (ii) by Ruḍrasarma Tripāṭhū,<sup>16</sup> Lingādurgabhedana by Paramānanda or Dādāmṛhatta,<sup>17</sup> Kusumāvacaya by Madhusūdanasarasvatī, Kamalā Kanthīrava by Nārāyanāḍhvare, son of Lakṣmīdhara,<sup>18</sup> Candrarekhāvīdyādhara,<sup>19</sup> Nilādri candrodaya by Vīra-rāghavācārya of Puri,<sup>20</sup> Prabhāvata by Raghunāṭha,<sup>21</sup> Lakṣmīdeva-nārāyaṇīya by Śrīdhara,<sup>22</sup> Gopicandana,<sup>23</sup> Kalpanākalpaka by Se-agiri,<sup>24</sup> Sukābhīpatana by Śrīnivāsa,<sup>25</sup> Śrīnivāsadayāvilāsa,<sup>26</sup> Sāhitīsamulāsa by Muddu Venkārya,<sup>27</sup> Siddhāntabherī by Sudarśanārya,<sup>28</sup> Muktācarita by Kṛṣṇakavi<sup>29</sup>

1. OC, II, 79

2. Quoted in SP

3. BR, 11

4. Tanj, VIII, 8804,

5. TC, III, 8203

6. It describes the story of the deity at Cidambaram

7. OC, III, 30.

8. Printed, Benares. It is in 9 Acts on the greatness of Devi.

9. Printed, Bombay.

10. Mys, 287.

11. Printed, Bombay. Trav 186.

12. Ulwar, 998 Composed at Baroda in 1849

13. Mys 275 He was of Sāthamarṣanagoṭra of Polepalli family and in the court of Polabhpāla of Gadval in Nizam's dominions in 17th century.

14. Gough, 208.

15. OC, II, 86

16. PR, III, 309, 884

17. Levi, App 80, OC, I, 544

18. Tanj, VIII, 8857. He lived in Brahmaḍēśam near Īṇipettem.

19. Tanj, VIII, 8894

20. Printed Conjeerālam It mentions King Mukundadeva of Orissa in the Prologue

21. Mys, 278

22. Trav 78

23. OC, I, 168

24. Mys, 275.

25. Mys 994

26. Mys, 285

27. Mys, 286

28. Mys 256.

29. TTD Janm 1014

**783 Prakarana** Sākṣīvāṇakumāra's Anangasenā-Harinandīni; Amāṭya Sankuka's Ciṭṭopalāvalambhitaka, Ḍarāṅgadattī, Puspadūvitaka, Prayogābhuyaḍaya, and Padmavatīparinava,<sup>1</sup> Candraṅkāta's Kaumuḍi-sudhākara,<sup>2</sup> Ganapatisaṅśṭriṇī's Mādhavivāsantīya<sup>3</sup>

Devīparinaya and Nalavikrama,<sup>4</sup> Udayanacarita and Viḍhivilasiṭa,<sup>5</sup> [Vikrānta Śūdraka, Mayūramāṛjālīkā, Vedīkā, Maṭhyabasīta, Bhīma-kulyā, Ratīvilāsa, Lakṣmīsvayamvara, Subhadrāharapa, Rāsakānka, Mudrāsuveda, Śālinīsamvāda, and Saṭakarnīharapa],<sup>6</sup> [Kāmaḍattī, Rāmānanda, Mahesvarānanda, Kandarpasambhava and Virānanda],<sup>7</sup> Vakraṭundagāṇāyaka.<sup>8</sup>

In Padmaprābhṛṭaka, Śūdraka quotes from a drama Kumudvati  
कुमुदती प्रकरणे शूर्पेकसत्ता राजदारिकां धात्रीं रहस्यमुपालभत्—

उन्मसे नैव तावत् स्तनविषममूरो नेद्रुता रोमराजि  
नव्युत्पन्नासि च त्वं व्यपनय युवर्तीदोहल दुर्विदधे ।  
व्युत्पन्नाभिस्साहीभिस्सततमविनयव्यवन्थमध्याप्यसे त्व  
केनेद बालपके भनासिजकदन कर्तुमभ्युत्थितासि ॥

KRSNADASA's Kalāvati-Kamarūpam describes the marriage of Kalāvati and Kāmarūpa, son of King Kāmaketu of Kāśī, after rescuing her from the hands of a Rākṣasa who carried her away.<sup>9</sup> KAVI-VALLABHA's Abhirāmaciṭṭalekham is a long drama in 10 acts describing the marriage of Abhirāma and Ciṭṭalekhā, daughter of Bhujangarāja. It is said to have been enacted at Srīrangam at Caṅṭra festival.<sup>10</sup>

**784 Natika** Anangavati, Indulekhā, Bhattārī Bhavanuṭacūḍa's Kauśalikā,<sup>11</sup> Indumati<sup>12</sup> and Ciṭṭalekhā,<sup>13</sup> Padmavati,<sup>14</sup> Vāsanātīkā of

1. Mentioned in ND or AS

2. Printed, Calcutta.

3. Trav 180 See para 247 supra.

4. Mentioned in ND

5. Mentioned in BP

6. Mentioned in SP.

7. Mentioned in RS

8. CC, I 54

9. DC, XXI 8891 Manuscript breaks off in fifth Act. The author lived in Malabar in the end of 18th century A D

10. TC, III. 8984 A Kavivallabha is mentioned as having composed Aditya-bhāṭṭiya (a Dharmasāstra). See TC, III 8688.

11. Mentioned in ND

12. Mentioned in SP

13. Mentioned in RS.

Rāmacandra,<sup>1</sup> Candrapralbhā,<sup>2</sup> Kuvalayāvati<sup>3</sup> of Kṛṣṇakavīśekhara,<sup>4</sup> Rāmānka of Dharmagupta,<sup>5</sup> (andralaka (i) of Nārāyaṇa<sup>6</sup> and (ii) of Visvanāṭhakavirāja,<sup>7</sup> Śṛṅgāravāpikā of Visvanāṭhabhatta<sup>8</sup>

**785 Vyayoga** Nṛsimhavijaya,<sup>9</sup> Vijayavikrama by Āryasūrya or Kaundinyaagotra,<sup>10</sup> Bhīmaparakrama,<sup>11</sup> or Jarāsandhavyāyoga, Vinatā-nanda or Pracandagaruda of Govinda, son of Śeṇayagnesvara,<sup>12</sup> Pracandabhairava of Sadāśiva,<sup>13</sup> Jāmadagnyavijaya,<sup>14</sup> Vīkrāntarāghaviya by Śrīkṛṣṇa and Viraraghaviya by Pradhāni Venkatabhūpati<sup>15</sup>

**786 Prahasana**,<sup>16</sup> Candānuranjana of Ghanasyāma,<sup>17</sup> Kuhanā-bhairava of Ayyalunātha of Bommaganti family of the Circars,<sup>18</sup> Mundita,<sup>19</sup> Ānandakosa,<sup>20</sup> Bṛhatubhadraka,<sup>21</sup> Dhūrṭacariṇi,<sup>22</sup> Dhūrṭavidambana by Mahesvara,<sup>23</sup> Dhūrṭanartana by Sāmarāja,<sup>24</sup> Hāsyaratnaka-raka<sup>25</sup>

1 IO, 2843 composed in 16–17th century A D There is a poem Vāsanipikaprayaya of Narasimha (CC, I, 566)

2 CC, I 181

3 CC, III 25

4 CC, I 268 Written in 1810 A D

5 CC, I 179

6 Quoted in his SD

7 IO, VII 4196

8 DC, XXI 8410 TG, I R No 891

9 TO, II 1751

10 TC, IV 4440 There is Bhīmavikrama of Mokṣādiṭya, Cat of Br. Museum, 278

11. Tanj. VIII 8641 CC, I. 576, II 77 He lived at Benares and was a native of Nandipura a village on the Godavan. He also wrote Gopālalilārpavabhāpa (Tanj. VIII 8577) Govinda Kavibhusiṇa author of Samṛḍḍhamāḍhava (CC, III. 86) is different.

12. Tanj. VIII 8639

13 Printed, Bombay, Calcutta and Mysore Analysed by Wilson, Theatre, II. 874 There is commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa, CSC, 226

14. Mys. 288

15 O Capelier, Zwei Prahasanas, Gurupujamaumudi, Leipzig

16 Tanj. VIII 8620 On the author, see para 166 supra

17 TO, III 8251.

18 CC, I. 8

19. Mentioned in RS.

20. Mentioned in RS

21. Mentioned in SD, 586

22 CC, I. 272

23. CC, I. 273. See para 757 supra. Analysed by Wilson, Theatre, II 407.

24. Mentioned in DR, Int. p 80.

Nāṭavāla of Yadunandana, son of Vāsudeva Cayani,<sup>1</sup> Sāndrakuṭubala of Kṛṣṇadatta,<sup>2</sup> Pāṇḍumandana,<sup>3</sup> Pāṇḍavidaṁbana,<sup>4</sup> Pavodhi-maṭhana,<sup>5</sup> Vinodaranga,<sup>6</sup> Miṭhyācāra of Vaideyanātha, Kāleyakautūbala by Bhāradvaja,<sup>7</sup> Venkatesaprahasana by Venkatesvara,<sup>8</sup> Kālikantakuṭuka by Rāmaśrīna,<sup>9</sup> Subhagānanda by Vāsudevañarendra akas Śrivatsāṅka,<sup>10</sup> Kautukas-rvava by Gopinātha,<sup>11</sup> Hāsiyārnava by Jagadīśa,<sup>12</sup> Kālikeli,<sup>13</sup> Kandarpakeli,<sup>14</sup> Hṛdayavinoda of Kavi Pāṇḍīpa,<sup>15</sup> Bhāṣuprabandha of Venkatesa,<sup>16</sup> Devaḍurgaṭi of Rammojy,<sup>17</sup>

Sandilyapariṇājaka,<sup>18</sup> Somavalliyogānanda by Arunagirinātha,<sup>19</sup> Mattavilāsa by Mahendravikrama Varman,<sup>20</sup> Kukūmbharibhaikṣava by Prādhāni Venkata Bhūpaṭi, Kukūmbhari by Venkatacārya and Kuhanābhaikṣava by Tīrumalānātha,<sup>21</sup> Lokaranjanā by Śrinivāsācārya<sup>22</sup>

SANKHADHARA flourished in the Court of king Govindacandra of Kanouj<sup>23</sup> in the 12th century A D His Latakāmelaka, describes the marriages of Dantura and Madanamanjari and is called also Danturāparīṇaya<sup>24</sup>

1 Printed, Bombay

2 *CC*, I 707

3 *CC*, I 380

4 *CC*, I. 886.

5. Mentioned in *RS*

6 *CC*, I. 577

7 Ed. Poona, *CC*, I 396

8 *CC*, I 602. He is called Kālidāsa.

9. *BR*, (1897) 1

10. *CC*, I 727, *Tanj* VIII 8684. He was another name Govindāktiveśīna and appears to have been a chief in Kashmir.

11. *CC*, I. 181, III 28 Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 410 and by Cappeller in Gotupujakauṇḍali, Leipzig, 59-62

12. Ed by Capeller, Jena, Ed Oxford, Ed Calcutta with Bengali translation. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 408-9, *IC*, VII. 4191 8 with an English translation.

13. Mentioned in *RS*

14. Mentioned in *SD* 584 5

15. *CC*, II. 237

16. *CC*, I. 405.

17. Printed, Calcutta.

18. *Mys. Sup* 18.

19. *Tanj* VIII 4687, *Mys.* 28 See para 185 *supra*

20. See para 48 *supra*. Keith, *SD*, 182, *Mys Sup* 12 T N. Ramachandran *The Royal Artist, Mahendravarman*, *JOR*, VII 919, 808

21. *Mys* 275

22. *Mys.* 268, 182

23. See L4, XIX 249 for grants dated Sam 1161 and 1188.

24. Printed, Bombay.

HARIJIVANAMISRA was the son of Lātamisra, and was patronised by a King named Rāmasimha He lived in the 17th century A D <sup>1</sup> A manuscript of his Vijayaparājīṭanātaka is dated Sam 1730 He wrote also prahasanas, Prasangikā, Sahridayanandana, Vibudhamohana and Adbhutaranga

KAVITARKIKA was the son of Vāṇināṭha He was Court Chaplain of King Māṇikyadeva of Bhuluya, one of the 12 independent chiefs who ruled in Bengal at the time of Moghul invasion in 16th century A D His Kautukaratnākara is a pleasant prahasana ridiculing an imbecile king who relies on some knaves to recover his abducted queen <sup>2</sup>

**787** **Bhana** <sup>3</sup> Śṛṅgāraratnākara by Sundaratātācārya,<sup>4</sup> Anangalaṭkā,<sup>5</sup> Anangasarvasva of Lakṣminarasimha,<sup>6</sup> Pancabānavijaya of Rangācārya,<sup>7</sup> Pancabāṇavilāsa,<sup>8</sup> Pancāyudhaprapanca of Trivikrama,<sup>9</sup> Madanagopālavilāsa of Rāma,<sup>10</sup> Rasikāmṛta of Sankaranārāyana,<sup>11</sup> Rasollāsa of Śrinivāsavadānṭācārya,<sup>12</sup> Śṛṅgarasṛṅgātaka of Ranganāṭha<sup>13</sup>

Rasikaranjana of Śrinivāsa, son of Nṛsimha of Praṭivāḍibhayankara family,<sup>14</sup> Mukundānanda<sup>15</sup> of Kāśipāṭi, son of Ramāpati of Kaundinya-gotra, a nameless bhāna,<sup>16</sup> Sarasakavikulānanda of Rāmacandra of

1. *OC* I 570

2. *IO*, VII 1618, 4197, *OC*, I 181, II 25 Analysed by Appeller in *Guruṇyā-kaumudi*, Leipzig, 62-3

3. See Analyse d'un monologus dramatique indien, Palla.

4. Gough, 188

5. Lez, App. 78

6. *Tan* VII 8574.

7. *OC*, I. 815 Printed Madras.

8. *OC*, I 815.

9. *OC*, I, 817, II. 261 It was composed in Śaka 1727

10. *OC*, I 495, II. 97.

11. *HR*, II. viii. He began to write poetry in his 11th year.

12. *Tan*. VIII 8589, *TC*, I 1018 He lived at Bhūṭapuri (Śriperumbudur) near Conjeevaram,

13. *OC*, II. 158.

14. He was Principal of Free Sanskrit College, Coimbatore He died about 1900

15. Printed, Bombay and Madras Enacted at the festival at Bhaṭṭagiri, Bhaṭṭalālām near Nutanapuram, probably in the Circars.

16. *TC*, III. 8485 probably written at Trichur, Cochin State,

Vellāla family,<sup>2</sup> Manmathamodana by Kadayokudi Subrahmanyasastrī,<sup>3</sup> Vasantabhūṣaṇa by Varadārya of Bhāradvājagoṭra<sup>4</sup>

Sāradāṭilaka<sup>5</sup> (i) of Sankara<sup>6</sup> and (ii) of Sesagiri,<sup>7</sup> Śrṅgāramanjarī (i) anonymous<sup>8</sup> and (ii) of Avadhāna Sarasvatī of Kāncī,<sup>9</sup> Madanabhbūṣaṇa of Appākavi,<sup>10</sup> Śrṅgāraṣṭabaka of Nṛsimha of Haritagoṭra,<sup>11</sup> Rasaraṇākara of Jayanta,<sup>12</sup> Śrṅgārajivana of Varada of Kousikagotra,<sup>13</sup> Śrṅgāratāranginī of Rāmabhadra,<sup>14</sup> Śrṅgāracandrikā of Śrinivāsa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra,<sup>15</sup> Śrṅgārasundara of Īśvarasarma of Bimbali,<sup>16</sup> Śrṅgātaranginī of Venkātācārya of Surapuram,<sup>17</sup> Śrṅgaravāpika of Viśvānātha,<sup>18</sup> Anangamangala by Sundara,<sup>19</sup> Śrṅgaradīpaka by Venkata-dhvarin<sup>20</sup> Harivilāsa by Haridāsa<sup>21</sup>

Anangajīvana,<sup>22</sup> Anangavijaya (a) of Sīvarāmaṅkrsna of Gautamagoṭra,<sup>23</sup> (b) of Jagannātha<sup>24</sup> Kandarpavijaya of Ghanaguru, of Kausikagotra,<sup>25</sup> Candrarekhāvilāsa,<sup>26</sup> Mahiśamangala by a Nambudri brahmin of Puruvana in Malabar<sup>27</sup>

1. *TC*, II 1480. Enacted at Bhadrachelam in Godavari District

2. *Sah* VII

3. *TC*, I 1019 See Levi, *App.* 80 He was desciiple of Varājaḍesīka who was himself disciple of Śrūṭaprakāśikācārya

4. *CC*, I 643. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 384

5. *CC*, I 642, *Mys* 284 Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*. II 384

6. *Mys* 284 He was teacher of Maharaja Kṛṣṇaraja Odayar of Mysore It is full of śabdālankara

7. *TC*, V 6806 The author wrote a poem Rāmacandroḍaya

8. *Tanj.* VIII 3599

9. *Tanj.* VIII 3592 See para 162 supra *JOR*, III. 71

10. *Tanj.* VIII 3607

11. *TO*, V. 6209 He lived at Śrīperumbudur near Chingleput

12. *CC*, I 661

13. *CC*, I 660

14. *CC*, II 157, *TO*, III 2989

15. *Trav* 79

16. *CC*, I 660

17. Analysed in *TO*, VII, 4196, *CC*, I. 661, II. 158. He was son of Mahādeva

18. *CC*, I 19

19. *CC*, I 661

20. *CC*, II 183

21. *DC*, XXI 8849, *Tanj* VIII 3566. He was the paternal uncle of Venkata-abhārī, the author of Viśvagunḍādarśa

22. *DC*, XXI 8847 Enacted at Vāmalur and composed at the instance of King Narasamahipāla, son of Cikkadevaṇaya and his son Kṛṣṇapuyuvarāja of that place.

23. *Tanj* VIII 3575 probably of Vizianagar See para 124 supra.

24. *DC*, XXI 8881 Enacted at Srīrangam. See para 168 supra.

25. *DC*, XXI. 8401 Enacted at Kolahalarījadīhāni.

26. *DC*, XXI 8455 Composed at the instance of King Bāzārījavakma of Cochin

[Kāmakalāvilasa by Pradhānī Venkatabhūpati, Taruṇabhūṣana by Śathakopa, Madanagopāla by Svayambhūnātha, Madanasāmrājya by Bhujanga, Rasodara by Surapuram Aṇṇayāra, Śrīranganāthalbhāna by Śrinivāsa, Śṛngārvilāsa by Sāmbasiva, Sārasvatollāsa by Venkatarāma, Kaiṭavakalācāndra and Śṛngārvilasīta by Nārāyaṇa ]<sup>1</sup>

Anangamangala by Sundara Kāvī,<sup>2</sup> Anangasarvasva by Lakṣmiṇśimha,<sup>3</sup> Gopālalilārnava by Govinda,<sup>4</sup> Kāmavilāsa by Venkappa,<sup>5</sup> Kusumabānavilāsa,<sup>6</sup> Rasavilāsa by Cokkanātha,<sup>7</sup> Rasikajanarasollāsa by Venkata,<sup>8</sup> Rasikajanamānasollāsa,<sup>9</sup> Śṛngaramanjarī and Śṛngarārāja by Gopālaroya<sup>10</sup>

Sāradānandana of Śrinivāsācārya, son of Varadācārya of Kausikagotra,<sup>11</sup> Śṛngarādipaka by Vinjumūri Raghavācārya,<sup>12</sup> Śṛngārapāvana of Vaideyanātha son of Kṛṣnakavi of Śrivatsāgotra,<sup>13</sup> Śṛngāraraśodaya of Rāmakavī, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Kāsyapagotra,<sup>14</sup> Śṛngāraṭīlaka of Avināśiswāmi, son of Rāma of Aṭreyagotra,<sup>15</sup> Śṛngārasarvasva (*a*) of Swāmī Śāstri, son of Anantanārāyana of Hāritagotra,<sup>16</sup> (*b*) of Kausika Nallabudha,<sup>17</sup> (*c*) of Vedāntācārya of Bhāradvājagotra,<sup>18</sup> Harivilāsa by Haridāsa<sup>19</sup>

1. Mys 225-287, 687-7, Sup 12

2. CC, I. 12

3. CC, I. 12

4. CC, I. 163 He also wrote Vinaṭānandavyāyoga (CC, I. 576)

5. CC, I. 98

6. CC, I. 118

7. CC, II. 118

8. CC, III. 106

9. Mys 281.

10. CC, II. 158, 160

11. DO, XXI. 8588. He lived at Sriperambadur, Chingleput Dt

12. DO, XXI. 8584. He lived at Conjeevaram

13. DO, XXI. 8585 He lived at Tiruvalur, Tanjore Dt. He mentioned various works of his in the prologue mostly stotras in praise of Siva and Pārvatī.

14. ED. Bombay. DO, XXI. 8589 He lived at Lingamagunte in Guntur Dt.

15. DO, XXI. 8540 Enacted at Vacadarājapure near Srirangapatam during the days of Śāmarāja, King of Mysore in the later part of the 19th century. He was of Vandevāsi family.

16. DO, XXI. 8542 He lived at Trichinopoly. He was the author of a commentary on the Mudrārāshīgāsas, DO, XXI. 8468

17. Tanj. VIII. 8606. He was son of Balacātīda and Kingman of Rāmabhaṭṭa Dikṣīṭa. See 14, XXXIII.

18. Tanj. VIII. 8611 He lived under Rāmabhaṭṭa Naik of Madura of the 16th century A.D. Enacted at Tirupati.

19. DO, XXI. 8568. He lived at Praudha-Devarayapuram.

Śringārararasabhbṛngāra by Indragantī Kondasūri, son of Nārāyaṇa,<sup>1</sup> Maḍanalilādarpana by Paḍmanābha, son of Laksmaṇa and Venkamāmba.<sup>2</sup>

Kālikeliyatrā on the festival of Bhadrakāli at Kotilinga or Cranganoor and Madanamahotsava,<sup>3</sup> a satire on contemporary society<sup>4</sup> of Śrikanṭha alias Nanjunda, of Āṭreyagotra

Vallavipallavollāsa by Manjulācārya alias Kṛṣṇamūrti Kumāra, of Vasuṭhagotra of the Circars,<sup>5</sup> Vasanṭabhūṣana by Nṛsiṁhasūri, of Vangipuram,<sup>6</sup> Śṛṅgāracandrika by Śrinivāsa, son of Varada of Śri-vaṭsagotra,<sup>7</sup> Anangatilaka by his son Ranganātha,<sup>8</sup> Śṛṅgāraśanjivana by Sathajit Kavi of Bhāradvājagotra,<sup>9</sup> Maḍanalilādarpana of Padmanābha,<sup>10</sup> Śṛṅgāralilātilaka of Bhāskara.<sup>11</sup>

Pancabāṇavijaya by Rangaraya,<sup>12</sup> son of Bhāvanācārya of Vādhūlagotra, Madanavijaya by Seśācārya, son of Vikkīrlā family of Kālahasti,<sup>13</sup> Maḍanābhuyudaya of Kṛṣṇamūrti,<sup>14</sup> Manmaṭhābhuyudaya of Venkatesa.<sup>15</sup>

1. *TC*, III, 8175 Enacted at Srīsailam in the Circars at the festival of Mallik Arjuna He says he also wrote *Mahēśāmanasamahātsava*, probably a poem

2. *TC*, III, 8177 Enacted at Benares at Caitra festival He was a Telugu Brahmin of Kotipalli, Godavari district. He also wrote the *Tripuravijayavyāyoga* (*Ibid* III, 8870) where see for fuller information

3. *DC*, XXI, 8898

4. *DC*, XXI, 8442 He mentioned Cidambara Kavi as one of his Gurus He lived at Bālavyāghrapura (Sirupuli yur)

5. *TC*, III, 8696 There is another anonymous bhāṇa of this name (*Ibid* III, 2878).

6. *TC*, III, 8748 He was a native of Parāṅkumāpuram (Ponvalaunda Kalastur, Chingleput Dt) Enacted at festival at Conjeevaram.

7. *TC*, III, 2989 He was the daughter's son of Virādghava, probably of Conjeevaram.

8. *TC*, III, 8178 Enacted at Srīrangam.

9. *Ibid*, III, 804 The author's father migrated to Gutala on the Godāvari from Conjeeveram Enacted at the festival of Saṅṭānagopāla at Ellore and was patronised by King Venkatañarāśmīha, probably of Nuzvid.

10. *TC*, III, 8177 He also wrote *Tripuravijayavyāyoga*

11. Printed JSSP, XVII June He was a poet of Kerala patronised by a Sri Vikramadeva.

12. *TC*, II, 2068 Printed, Madras and Calcutta He wrote also Rāmāntya-campu and Rāganāyakasaundaryasūti. Enacted at Srīrangam.

13. Printed Madras He was Sanskrit Pandit, C. S. Mission College, Vellore.

14. *TC*, II, 2078, III, 2878. He is the author of *Yakṣollāsa*. See para 819 *supra*. He was also called Abhinava-Kālidāsa but he was of Vāsisthagotra.

15. *TC*, III, 8208.

Vilāsabhūṣaṇa by Venkata Kṛṣṇa of Bhāradvājagoṭra,<sup>1</sup> Caturī candrikā by Venkātārya, son of Saranyapāda,<sup>2</sup> Śṛṅgārakośa<sup>3</sup> by Gīrvāṇendra<sup>4</sup> and Kandarpadarpaṇa (i) by his son Śrikantha,<sup>5</sup> and (ii) by Srikrṣṇa,<sup>6</sup> Śṛṅgāramanjarī by Viśvanātha,<sup>7</sup> Madanavilāsa by Nāganātha,<sup>8</sup> Kāminikāmukollāsa<sup>9</sup>

**788** Sarada is mentioned by Saluva Narasimha as the authoress of eighteen plays and several poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit

गद्यपद्ममयै काव्यसाधादशनाटकै ।  
साक प्राकृतकाव्येष्व साहित्य शारदाभ्यधात् ॥

*Rāmābhyanḍaya* I.

**789** In Virabhadravijaya, EKAMBARA DIKSITA gives a pedigree of Kempe Gauda Chiefs of Yelamanka, Mysore (1418-1728 AD) and he flourished in the Court of the last of the line, Mummadī Kempe Gauda (1705-1728 AD)

**790** Like Vatsaraja, PRADHANI VENKATABHUPATI of Mysore wrote plays of different species, Rukmīśvayavamvara (anka) Kuksimbhabribhaikṣava (prahasana), Kāmakalāvilāsa (bhāṣṇa) Urvasi-sārvabhouma (bhāṣṇaga), Vibudhadānava (samavākāra), Virañghavavijaya (vyāyoga), Siṭakalyāṇa (vīṭhi), and on poetics Alankāramanidarpaṇa<sup>11</sup>

वीचीस्थाने सहस्र मरतकपरिच्छस्तर्थि विभ्रङ्गुजाना-  
मुस्तेनो हारजालैरदण्डचिरनन्ताहिरलप्रभासि ।  
विभ्राण. शङ्खमन्तश्चरमचरमनिवापणीय च तेज़.  
पायाद्द. शार्ङ्गधन्वा शथित इव समुद्रैकदेशे समुद्र ॥

1. *TC*, II, 2928 Probably of the Circars Enacted at the festival of Bhadrachellam.

2. *TC*, II, 2842 Probably a resident of Tirupati, Chittoor District staged at the festival at Tirupati.

3. *Tanj* VIII 4649, *TC*, I, 989 He resided at Conjeevaram.

4. *Tanj* VIII 38596

5. *Tanj.* VIII 3575

6. *Mys. Sup* 12.

7. *TC*, II, 2618 He was a poet in the Court of Venayamantri

8. *TC*, II, 2669.

9. *TC*, II, 2619.

10. See Puttalaya, *The Kempe Ganda Chief* (*JMys*, XIII, 724), *Mys Gazetteer* (1897), II 20, *Memoirs of Mysore*, Vol. II.

11. *Mys* 274-287, 296 There is Uḍḍihṛṣṭavṛkoḍaka (prakṣaṇaka) by Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇa also of Mysore, (*Mys*, 274).

सोमालङ्कृतमस्तु वस्तु कुशलस्तोमाय वामाङ्गक-  
च्छायाबालतुणालि च वैष्णकलाचञ्चन्मुगाश्वत्करम् ।  
सव्यार्थस्फुरदशुजालकलम श्रेणीशिखाखण्डना-  
कुण्ठोत्कण्ठशुकार्भकप्रविलसद्वामप्रकोष्ठाश्वलम् ॥

लक्ष्मीर्धमजलच्छलेन सुधया दन्तच्छदच्छन्नना  
सोदयेण च कौस्तुभेन शक्लेनेन्दोर्ललाटात्मना ।  
पाणिस्पर्शविधावभीभिरुचिंतनीतेव दातु विमो-  
रालम्ब्याङ्गमधोक्षजस्य भवतीं कामप्रसू कल्पताम् ॥

शम्भोस्तत्प्रथम विहारभवन सम्माविताया रह.  
स्तम्भोपान्तनिगृहस्मितसखीनेत्राम्बुजैरचिंता ।  
चूडाचन्द्रसुलक्षिता मणिमये दीपेऽपि हस्ताबृते  
देव्या. प्रेमभय(र)वपाशबलिता सुरधा स्थितिः पातु वः ॥

एक तत् पितरौ समस्तजगतामेणाङ्करेखाङ्कित  
कारुण्यायतन वपुर्दिष्टु व. काङ्क्षाधिकौ सपदम् ।  
यस्यार्थेन पितामहोऽपि पितृसानर्थेन च श्रीमता  
मेनाजानिरवधवारिवजयेत मेरोः सहायो गिरि. ॥

विद्वेशो व. स पायाङ्गलनिधिमस्तिल पुष्कराग्रेण पीत्वा  
यस्मिन्नुद्दल दह्ते विसृजति सकल दृश्यते व्योम्नि देवैः ।

काप्यम्भ. कापि विष्णुः क च(न) कमलम्: काप्यनन्तः क शैलाः  
काप्यौर्वः कापि मत्स्या. क चन मणिगणा कापि नकादिचक्रम् ॥

श्रीमद्वाम समामनन्ति कमलं तद्वान्धव वा यथो-  
रक्षीन्द्रीवररूपमाहुरथवा तद्वन्धुरूप शुधा ।  
सावर्णं तटिता वपुः शुभतां धर्तेऽथवा तदता  
भूयास्तां शुजगेन्द्रशीलवसतीं तौ दृपतीं सपदे ॥





## CHAPTER XXIII

### Sahitya Sastra

**791** **Sahityasastra** in its broadest meaning embraces the science of all poetic art, be it poetry for the eye (*drsyā*) or poetry for the ear (*sṛavyā*), that is, all that a critic (*sahṛdaya*) would expect in ideal poetic compositions<sup>1</sup>. The words *Alankāra* and *Rasa* used by Bharata had come to be collated and annotated by his followers and early writers like Bhāmaha and Dandin, and the result was the advent of an elaborate literature of rhetorical lore, which by the correlation of matter came to embrace many subsidiary thoughts relating to poetry, faultless and meritorious.

Strictly speaking, the word *Alankārasāstra*, though even now understandable in this expanded sphere, was replaced by the word *Sāhityasāstra* as early as the 8th to 9th century A. D. Rājasekhara in his *Kāvyaśāmī* has

आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयीविद्या दण्डनीतयश्चतसो विद्या इति कौटिल्य । पञ्चमी साहित्यविद्या  
इति यावरीय । सा हि चतुर्णामपि विद्याना निष्पन्द । शब्दार्थयोर्यथावत् सहमावेन  
साहित्यविद्या ॥

There have been more than 30 treatises, named with the word *Sāhitya*, and it may be roughly said that latterly the word *Alankāra* has been used in names of treatises more for a limited sphere of treatment of *alankāra* (figures of speech) and *rasa* (sentiment). The word *sāhitya* is “derived from सहित=सम्+वा+त् by the rule समो वा हिततयो meaning coherence, or (?) from सहित=सह हितेन meaning the quality of that which is attended with good”

*Vīśvanātha*'s *Sāhityadarpana* may be taken as the type of treatises comprehending all spheres of the poetic science, viz

(i) **KAVYALAKSANA**—theory and definition of poetry with reference to its soul (*ātman*) or essence, *rasa*, *alankāra*, *rīti*, *dhvani*, *vakrokti*, &c.

1. On the history of *Alankara* literature, see S K De, *Sanskrit Poetics, Orientalia*, II, 207. (The outlines of *Rasa* theory, from Bharata to Jagannātha), Varmanacharya, *Int. to Kāvyaprakāsa*, Durgeprasad, *Int. to Sahityadarpana*, P V Kane, IA, XLII, 194, Jacobi, *ZDMG*, LVI, 892, Winternitz, IL III 4, Medepalli Venkata-ramanacarya, *Alankaracarstra* (in Telugu), and Ints to *Nātyadarpana* and *Bhava-prakāśana* in GOS, Baroja, V. V Sovani, *Pre Dhvani Schools of Alankara*.

(ii) **SABDAVYAPARA**—denotation of words abhidhā, lakṣaṇa and vyanjanā, a philosophy of language or Hermeneutics.

(iii) **NAYAKA AND NAYAKI**,—hero and heroine and their relations and moods and classes

(iv) **RASA**—sentiments including their antecedent and resultant emotions

(These two heads cover Kāmasāstra or erotics)

(v) **.Guna AND Dosa**—merits and faults of poetry, classes of poetry, dṛṣya and sravya, padya and gadya and their varieties

(vi) **NATYASA STRA**—dramaturgy, all about the drama in its several varieties except the music and the dancing

(vii) **ALANKARA** proper—figures of speech

These are treatises dealing with all those topics or some or one of them only and all these go under the title Alankrasāstra or Sāhityasāstra

To state briefly, therefore, Sāhitya or Alankarasāstra means the Science of poetry. It embraces in its sphere, theory of poetry, the origin, form and variety of poet's work, its faults and merits, and a description of several embellishments which distinguish poetic from unpoetic compositions. In its widest sense it covers the field of music, dancing and erotics.

**792.** The earliest literature of the Hindus is poetic and is the natural effusion of man's instinct. But poetics as a science must be of later origin, for without a volume of poetry (*lakṣya*) there cannot be a science (*lakṣana*) dealing with the regulation of its composition. Tradition says that Goddess of Learning, Sarasvatī, created Kavyapuruṣha as the Personification of Poetry, and the Creator sent him down to the human world for the propagation of poetics. In 18 chapters, he taught the subject to his seventeen pupils. The several topics were embodied by these disciples in separate treatises, Kavirahasya by Sahasrākṣha, Auktika by Uktigarbha, Ritinirnaya by Suvarṇapāṇabhā, Anuprāsa by Prācetāyana, Yamaka and Cīṭra by Cīṭrāṅgada, Sabdaslesa by Śeṣa, Vāstava by Pulastya, Upamā by Aupakāyana, Aṭīśaya by Parāsara, Arthasleṣa by Utathya, Ubbhayālankārīka by Kubera, Vainodīka by Kāmadeva, Rūpaka by Bharata, Raśadhikāra by Nandi.

---

1. Batuknath Bhattacharya's *A brief survey of Sāhityasastra JDL*. Calcutta University, 1928, p. 97 et seq.

kesvara, Dosa by Dhivana, Guna by Upamanyu and Aupaniṣadika by Kucimāra These references are given by Rājaśekhara in Kāvya-mīmāmsa (I 1)

It has been thought fashionable to treat these accounts as fictitious, but when we see that much of the earliest literature has been lost and replaced by later compendia, which, on account of the ease of study, have tended to throw the older treatises into oblivion, it is possible that these traditional accounts are not after all a fraud. Opinions of many of these early writers are noticed in later works and Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtras cites some of them for their views<sup>1</sup>

**793** The Samhitās of the Vedas contain much that is poetic and uses figures of speech like simile, nature, hyperbole. The essence of all poetic art is thus summed up

“एकश्चाद् सम्यग्ज्ञात् सुप्रयुक्तं सर्वे लोके कामधुक् भवति ।”

The supreme Spirit is described as Pleasure, ANANDA, and (the embodiment of) RASA, essence of sweetness<sup>2</sup>. But a regular theory of poetics is not traceable in the Vedic literature

1 See chapter on KAMASASTRA post.

- 2 (i) अप्राप्तेव पुस एति प्रतीची गर्तार्हगिव सनये धनानांश् ।  
जायेवप्य उद्यती सुवासा उषाहसेव निरिणीती अप्सः ॥ (Bk, I 124-5)  
(ii) सूर्यस्यैव वक्ष्याद्य ज्योतिरेषा समुद्रस्येव महीमा गमीरः ।
- 3 वातस्येव प्रजवो नान्येन स्तोमो वासिष्ठा अन्येतत्र व. ॥  
(iii) तमेकनेभिं त्रिवृत बोडशान्त शतार्थर्वं विश्वितप्रत्परामि ।  
अष्टकैष्वहसिर्वश्चरूपैकेपाशा त्रिमार्गमेद द्विनिभिर्तैकमोहम् ॥  
(iv) द्वाषुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समान वृत्तं परिषस्जाते ।  
तयोरन्यं पिष्पल साद्विति अनश्वन्यो अभिवाकशीति ॥ (Bk, VII. 88-9)  
(v) चत्वारि शृङ्खालयो अस्य पादा. द्वै शीर्षे सप्तहस्तासो अस्य ।  
त्रिधा बद्धो वृशमो रोरशीति महादेवो मर्त्यानामिवेष्ट ॥ (Bk, IV 88-9)  
(i) रणव क्षेत्रमिव । (Bk, X 88-9)  
(ii) अफलामपुर्णा वाचम् । Bk X 71-5  
(iii) दिवित्मता वाचः । (Bk, I 26-2)  
(iv) ब्रह्मैव रस. । रसो वै स । आनन्दं परब्रह्मणो रूपम् ।

**794** AMONG PURANAS Agnipurana has some chapters on poetics<sup>1</sup>. It mentions gesticulations, figures of speech and faults and merits of poetry and describes the figures of speech Yamaka, Citra, Upamā, Rūpaka, Sahasrī, Arthāntaranyāsa, Utprekha, Atisaya, Vibhāvana, Virodha and Hetu. The enumeration is sufficiently scanty that it is quite in keeping with the antiquity of the Purānas. The name of Bharata is cited, but it is not conclusive to determine the relative priority of the extant Nātyasāstra and these chapters of Agnipurāna, because the origin of the name of Bharata and his work is lost in remote antiquity.

**795** YASKA speaks of Upamā thus

अथात उपमा । यदेतत् तत्सदशसितिगार्थस्तदानां कर्म व्यायसा वा गुणेन प्रस्थातत्तमेन वा कनीयासं वा प्रस्थात वा उपमीयते । अथापि कनीयसा व्यायासम् ॥

**796.** PANINI has

उपमित व्याखादिसिस्तामान्यप्रयोगे ।—II. 56

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनै ।—IV. 1. 55

अत एव चोपमा सूर्यकादिवत् ।—I. IV. 1

**797** BHARATA'S NATYASASIRA is, as we have it, the earliest work on poetics. Bharata lays down that Rāsa is the essence of poetry, though his conception of poetry is dramatic. He enumerates 36 Lakṣaṇas or embellishments, 4 poetic types and 10 poetic merits and faults. But the Lakṣaṇas were either included by later writers, under the heads of Gupas or Alankāras, or classed as Nāṭyālankāras. Gupa and Alankāra are according to Bharata subsidiary to Rasa.

Bharata thus describes the genesis of Rasa.

अत्राह—यदाऽन्यार्थसमूत्तर्विभावानुभावव्यजितैरेकोनपचाशता मात्रै सामान्यगुणयोगेनाभिनिष्पथते रसस्तत्कर्त्त्वं स्थायिन एव मात्रा रसस्वमान्तुवन्ति । उच्यते... बह्वाश्रयत्वात्

1. Chapter 886-847 S K De (S.P. 108-4) says that these chapters are later interpolations copied from Dandin and Bhāmaha. It is too much to say that after the days of Dandin and Bhāmaha, when the Purānas were widely known, any such interpolations could have been contemplated at all. S K De himself admits that the tradition of opinion embodied in the Agnipurāṇa was developed by Bhoja and Bhoja was not an author who could not discover a fraud or would show regard to such a late interpolation.

Mahesvara in the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa says

अनिनपुराणादिभ्य उद्घृत्य काव्यरसास्वादकारणं अलङ्कारशास्त्रं भरतमूर्णे कारिकाभि॒  
संक्षिप्तं प्रणिनाय ।

So says Baladeva in his Sahityakaumudi (P.R., 1868, 12.)

सामिश्रता स्थानिनो भावा । यथा नरेन्द्रो बहुजनपरिवारोऽपि स एव नाम लभेत नान्य बुमहानपि पुरुषस्तथा विभावानुभावव्यमिचारिपरिष्कृत स्थायिभावो रसतां लभेते ॥

The original rasa-sūtra of Bharata विभावानुभावव्यमिचारिसयोगाद्रस-निष्पत्ति has been interpreted in four ways, by Lollata according to Mīmāmsa doctrines, by Sankuka according to Nyāya doctrines, by Bhatta Nāyaka according to Sāṅkhya doctrines and by Abhinavagupta according to Ālankārika doctrines. Mammata thus sums up the different views (Ullasa IV)

१ विभावैर्ललनोथनादिभिरालम्बनोदीपनकरणे रसादिको भाव जनित, अनुभावै कटाक्षभुजाक्षेप्रभृतिमि कार्ये प्रतीतिश्चोऽयः कृत, व्यमिचारिभिर्वेदादिभि सहकारिभिरुपचितो, मृख्या वृत्त्या रामादावत्कार्ये, तद्रूपतात्त्वसन्धानार्चतकेऽपि प्रतीयमानो रस ।—इति भद्रलोक्यादयः ॥

११ राम एवायम्, अयमेव राम इति, ‘न रामोऽयम्’—इत्यौरकालिके वाचे रामोऽयमिति, रामस्याद्वा न वायमिति, रामसद्वशोऽयमिति च सम्यङ्गमित्यासशयसादश्यप्रतीतिम्यो विलक्षणया चित्रतुरुगादिन्ययेन रामोयमिति प्रतिपलाग्राहे नेटे \* \* \* काव्यानुसन्धानबलात्, शिष्याभ्यासानिर्वर्तितस्कार्यप्रकटनेन च नटेनैव प्रकाशितै कार्यकारणकार्यसहकारिभि कृतिमैरपि तथा अनसिमन्यमानै विभावादिशब्दव्यपदेशै ‘सयोगात्’ गम्यगमकमावरूपात् अनुभीयमानोऽपि वस्तुसौन्दर्यबलात् रसनीयत्वेन अन्यानुभीयमानविलक्षण स्थायित्वेन सम्भाव्यमानो रसादिर्मावस्त्रासच्चपि सामाजिकानां वासनया चर्व्यमाणो रस ।—इति श्री शङ्कुकः ॥

१११. न ताटस्थेन नात्मगतत्वेन रस प्रतीयते नोत्पथते नाभिव्यज्यते, अपि तु काव्ये नात्ये चाभिधातो द्वितीयेन विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना भावकत्वव्यापारेण साव्यमानं स्थायी सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसाविद्विश्रान्तिसतत्वेन भोगेन भुज्यते ।—इति भद्रनायकः ॥

१७ लोके प्रमदादिभिः स्थव्यनुमानेऽस्यासपाटवता काव्ये नात्ये च तैरेव कारण-त्वादिपरिहारेण विभावानादिव्यापारवत्वात् अलौकिकविभावादिशब्दव्यवहारैः भैरवैते शत्रोरेवेति तटस्थस्यैवैते, न भैरवैते न शत्रोरेवैते न तटस्थस्यैवैते, इति सम्बन्धविशेषस्तीकारपरिहारनियमानध्यवसायात् साधारण्येन प्रतीतैः ॥

अभिव्यक्तस्त्रामाजिकाना वासनात्मतया स्थित स्थायी रसादिको नियतप्रभावातुगतत्वेन स्थितोऽपि साधारणोपायबलात् तत्कालविगाळितपरिभितप्रमातुभावशोभिमितवेदान्तरसपर्कशून्यापरिभितभावेन प्रमात्रा सकलसहृदयसवादभाजा साधारण्येन साकार इवाभिष्ठोऽपि गोचरी-कृत चर्व्यमाणतैकप्राणो विभावादिजीवितावधि पानकरसन्ध्ययेन चर्व्यमाण पुरे इव परिस्फुरत् इदयमिव प्रविशन् सर्वाङ्गीणभिवालिङ्गत् अन्यसर्वभिवितरोदधत् ब्रह्मस्वादभिवानुभावयन् अलौकिकचमत्कारकारी शुक्खारादिको रसः । \* \* इति श्रीमद्वाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादाः ॥

**798** By the beginning of the Christian era, the study of poetics had well progressed and we hear of various writers of whom we have references in citations. For instance, there are Kākyapa, Kapila, Kōhala, Daṭṭila, Maṭṭanga, Rāhula, Sākalīgarbha, Mātrgupta, Priyāṭīhi, Sumanas, Nandīswāmī and Brāhmaṇandin. These writers must have so far speculated on poetics, as to recognise modifications in the views propounded in Nātyasāstra<sup>1</sup>. The result of this advance in poetic criticism was the immediate advent of distinct schools of thought of Bhāmaha and Dandin and the possibility of newer schools in the coming centuries.

**799** Bhāmaha is called the founder of Alankāra school. According to him Vakrokṭi is all in poetry.

सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोत्तिरनयाऽयोः विभाव्यते ।  
यत्तेऽस्यां कविना कार्यं कोऽलङ्कारोऽन्या विना ॥—II 85.

By Vakrokṭi Bhāmaha meant all poetic expression other than natural, that is, all adorned expression as opposed to naked Vakrokṭi, said Bhāmaha, was the means by which the meaning was rendered assimilable or delectable, in short Vakrokṭi flashes Rasa. Rasa is therefore subordinate to Alankāra and Alankāra is founded on Vakrokṭi. The idea of Vakrokṭi was carried to an extreme by Kunta(la)ka and his Vakrokṭijivitam enunciates the theory that Vakrokṭi is the life of poetry<sup>2</sup> and that comprehends in it other characteristics of poetry, Alankāra and Dhvani<sup>3</sup>. But before him Udbhata had kept himself within reasonable limits and accepted Bhāmaha's general theory, except in some subordinate details of definitions and classifications, and on Bhāmaha's work he wrote a commentary. To this school also belongs Mukula and Praṭīhārendurāja who commented on Udbhata's work.

**800** Alongside of this theory of Alankāra, there was the growing thought that Rīti or style, as a consideration in composition, was not negligible. Bhāmaha mentioned Vaidarbhi and Gaudiya styles as made melodious and flowing words, but said they wanted imaginative charm. Dandin expanded the scope of Rīti and said that Vaidarbhi for instance is not made by a mere jumble of letters or words but must contain

1. See for more details Chapter on Nātyasāstra post

2 वक्रोत्तिः काव्यजीवितम् ।

3 शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारश्चालिनि ।

कथे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तदिदाहादकारिणि ॥

pleasurable ideas. He elaborated the characteristics of two styles, Vaidarbī and Gaudīya, and while the former was tender and charming the latter was harsh and boisterous, each being suited to the expression of particular sentiments. What Bhāmaha called Alankāra, Dandin called GUNA. Dandin says that Guṇas pertain to the soul of poetry and that Alankāras are "those attributes which produce charm in poetry" and all Alankāras endow the sense with Rasa.<sup>1</sup> While Bhāmaha subordinated Rasa to Alankāra, Dandin subordinated these to Rīti. And they spoke of Rasa, Bhāva etc., as Rasavaṭ, Preyas, Urjasvin,

**801** But it was VAMANA who expressly declared that style is the soul of poetry and Rīti is the composition of words of superior excellence. Vāmana however saw that mere style unaccompanied by other embellishments would not make good poetry. He included Alankāra and Rasa among the necessary qualities (Guna) of poetry and those qualities he classed as formal and essential,<sup>2</sup> he called Rasa as an essential feature of Kānti-guṇa.<sup>3</sup> He differed from Dandin in saying that Guṇas are those attributes which produce charm in poetry, while Alankāras enhance the charm.

**802** During the period of the progress of the Alankāra and rīti theories, Bharata's theory of Rasa had not lost its charm. UDBHATA still admired it and he wrote a commentary on Nātyasāstra. But he was influenced by the views of Bhāmaha, for he assigned the same place to rasa as Bhāmaha did though he appreciated that bhāvas were needed to realise rasa more critically. He mentioned a fourth Rasālankāra, Samāhiṭa. He recognised Śāntarasa as suitable for the drama as for the poem. RUDRATA championed rasa, as of universal merit, that is, not merely in dramas but in poems too; a poem devoid of rasa is no more than an insipid sāṣṭra. He mentioned nine rasas and one more preyas.<sup>4</sup> RUDRABHATTA expressed a similar view in his Śṛṅgāraṭilaka.<sup>5</sup>

1. Kāvyañlankārasaṅgraha I, 81—84

2. अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोज कातिसमाधय । इति वैदर्ममार्गस्य प्राणा दश गुणास्स्पृता ।

—Kāvyañdarī, I, 4

काव्यशेभाकरान् धर्मानलङ्घारान् प्रचक्षते ।—Ibid, II 1

वाक्यस्याग्राम्यतायोनिर्माणुर्ये दर्शितो रस ।

इहत्वष्टरसायत्ता रसवत्ता स्पृता गिराम् ॥—Ibid, II 292

3. रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य । विशिष्टपदरचना रीति । sūtra, I, ii, 16

4. काव्यशेभाया कृतीरो धर्मगुणा । तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्घारा ॥ Ibid, III 11—12

5. Kavyālankāra, XII 2, 4

6. I. 56

**803** From the earliest times, speculation was rife among rhetoricians on the grammatical rectitude and the exegitical interpretations of expressions in poetics. For instance, Upamā or comparison is of various kinds, comprehending in it various Alankāras, which have been given distinct names by later writers. Even in Upamī proper, there are several classes, according as the particle of similitude is expressed or implied. Grammar was described as father of poetry. Bhāmaha thought it necessary to devote a whole chapter on grammatical forms adaptable in poetry. Vāmana did the same. The theory of speech and meaning has always been a point of difference among the several schools of philosophy in India, that is, to state shortly, whether the real meaning of a word is what is expressed or what is comprehended by way of suggestion and inference, that is, in Sañdhabodha they differed. This difference has led rhetoricians to distinguish between the merits of abidhā and lakṣaṇā, expression and implication on the lines of propounded by grammatical philosophers. The result of the expansion of these disquisitions was a close alliance in the study of poetics and grammar and in the next stage of progress, a third function of words, namely vyanjanā, was conceived on the analogy of the theory of Sphota.

**804** The theory of Sphota, briefly stated, is that sphota or dhvani is the characteristic capacity of words to signify their import. It is attributed to the grammarian Sphoṭayana, a predecessor of Pāṇini and it attained its perfection in Bhartṛhari's Vākypadīya. Anandavardhana adopted this theory and applied it to poetics. He rejected the earlier theories of rasa, alankāra and rīti, so far as each claimed to be the soul of poetry and propounded that vyanjanā or dhvani is the soul of poetry. This Rasadhvani theory of Anandavardhana "differs from the original theory of Rasa as formulated in the Nātyasāstra of Bharata in two points. According to the former the Rasas are enjoyed by the audience only, being suggested by the words, but according to the latter the factors vibhāva, etc. whether expressed or suggested by the words create the pleasure in the minds of the audience (विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसयोगाद्वसनिष्पति). Moreover, the chief function of poetry according to Anandavardhana is to suggest the sense of Rasas, Alankāras and plots for Vasṭu as applied to both the poems and dramas. Bharata holds that the best form of poetry is that where the representations of Vibhavas, etc., before the audience create the aesthetic pleasure in their minds."

; It cannot be said that vyanjanā was a discovery of Anandavardhana. Bhāmaha and Dandin saw that a suggested sense was always there in

Samāsokṭi, Aprasṭuṭaprasamsā, Vyājastuti etc Bharata and Udbhata included dhvani in Paryāyokṭi. So did Rudra Vāmana included it in Vakrokti, which he defined as ‘suggestion founded on similarity’. But with these writers, the suggested sense (vyanjita) was ancillary to the expressed (vācya).

**805** According to ĀNANDAVARDHANA Dhvani is supreme in characterising good poetry. Dhvani literally means suggestion. The poet expresses an idea in a sentence and to the readers' mind flashes an idea not actually expressed by the words, but implied or suggested by them. Dhvani is the result of the function vyanjanā, as opposed to abhidhā or lakṣanā. Dhvani is the soul, Gunas like mādhurya, ojas &c are the properties of the soul of poetry, as bravery is the property of the human mind, and Alankāras are ornaments which enhance the charm of poetry, as ornaments of gold set off a person's beauty. Poetry is classed under three heads, Dhvani, where the suggested sense is prominent, Guṇabhūṭavyangya, where it is not prominent and Cītra where it is not manifest.

**806** The Dhvani theory was not applauded by all. There were still the admirers of Rasa. PRATIHArendurāja wrote Laghuvyāpti on Udbhata. He said that Dhvani was implied in Alankāras like slega, rasavat and paryāyokṭa, and reiterated that rasa was the soul of poetry. He differed from Bhāmaha in refusing to include Rasas among Alankāras.

- (i) एवमेतदृथञ्कत्वं पर्यायोक्तादिवन्तभात्तम् ।
- (ii) रसाथधिष्ठित काव्यं जीवदूपतया यत ।  
कथ्यते तद्रसादीना काव्यात्मत्वं व्यवस्थितम् ॥

यतु रसादीना पूर्वमलकारत्वमुक्त तदेवविधमेदाविवक्षया ।

**807** BHATTANAYAKA was a devout follower of Bharata. Starting from Bharata's explanation of bhūva, vibhāva &c he said that besides abhidhā, which is the only operating function in Vedas and Śāstras, there are two other functions bhāvaktva and bhojakāṭva in all kāvya, dṛṣya or sravya, from which emanates the aesthetic pleasure in the minds of audience.

BHOJA thought it was good poetry, if it was free from blemishes and if it had the merit of guṇa, alankāra and rasa.

**808** DHANANJAYA and DHANIKA did not recognise dhvani at all. Dhanka answered criticisms of Bhattanāyaka's views and held that Tāṭparyasakṭi, desire for expression and understanding “not only

makes the hearer understand the meaning of the sentence but also actuates him to act according to the sense of the sentence, not only to make the reader or the spectator understand the vibhāva, etc., from the poetry, but also to act accordingly. This activity is nothing but the enjoyment of the aesthetic pleasure. Thus the poetry becomes Bhāvaka of the Rasāsvāda through the Ātparyābhakti, and therefore, no dhvani or vyanjanāvṛtti as the chief function of the poetry is necessary. The connection between the Kāvya and Rasa according to Dhanika is Bhāvyabhāvakabhāva and not Vyāngavyanjakabhāva as formulated by the Dhvani school. This kind of connection according to him is different from the Janyajanakabhāva as held by the Nayāyikas (Avatkāryavādins) because rasas already exist in an appreciative mind in the form of permanent moods (Bhāvavati)." Dhananjaya did not adopt sānta as a rasa.

**809** The theory of Dhvani however soon gained prominence and obtained recognition. ABHINAVAGUPTA's erudition gave fresh vigour to it and his Locana stands as it were an original treatise on Dhvani. But the theory was again assailed with vehemence. KUNIĀKA in his Vakroktijivita said dhvani was included in Vakrokti. MĀHMĀHĀITA did not brook the insolence against logicians and in a mood of revenge set up his theory Anumāna or Katvānumūti. In his Vyaktiviveka, he attempted to demolish the various theories of poetics and said that anumāna or inference was all-pervasive and in it was embraced dhvani or whatever was attributed to it.

**810** VIDYADHARA was a follower of Anandavardhana. He refuted the views of Bhāmaha and others who denied dhvani. Dhvanyabhāvāvādins. He refers to Bhāmaha and Rudrata and Māhmā as Āñparbhāvavādins viz. dhvani is comprehended in gupṭa and alankāra and is not different from anumāna, and to Bhatta Lollata as Virghavyāpāra vādin, viz., the expressive power of words reaches very far like that of arrows.

**811** By the time of MAMMATA, Dhvani attained a firm stand, but the earlier theories of alankāra, rasa and riṭi were still in the field for Bhoja and his erudite circle gave them prominence. Mammata therefore thought it prudent to define poetry in more comprehensive terms, keeping Dhvani as the foremost quality and appending to it the essentials of alankāra and rasa, with a better recognition. "Mammata was influenced by Vāmana (III 1-1-3) although Mammata considered gunas as primary attributes of rasas and only secondarily of letters. To a

less extent he was influenced by the alankāra school, as he allows a Kāvya to be devoid of alankaras in a few cases. However, Bhamaha's Vakrokti does appear in Kavyaprakasha under the name of Praudhokti." Being as it were a compromise of the existing theories, without giving up the accepted superiority of Dhvani all the same, Mammata's views have been considered the perfectest theory of poetry and during these long centuries they have not lost their appreciation. In the mode of exposition and in the classification of the subject, his work has been the standard and many rhetoricians of repute thought it a merit in them to compose commentaries on Mammata's Kāvyaprakasha, though they expressed their views in independent treatises on poetics. Except in the way of further illustrations, newer definitions and keener classifications the science of poetry as described by Mammata has remained unaffected.

**812** The views of different rhetoricians have thus been summed up by RUVYAKA in his Alankārasarvasva

इह हि तावत् भास्महोद्दृप्रसूतय चिरन्तनालङ्कारकाग प्रतीयमानमर्थ वाच्योपस्कारकतयालङ्कारप्रक्षनिक्षिप्त मन्यन्ते । तथा हि—पर्यगोक्ताप्रस्तुतप्रशसासमासोक्त्याक्षेपव्याजस्तुत्युपमेयोपमानन्वयादौ वस्तुमात्र गम्यमान वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेन 'संसिद्धये पराक्षेप परार्थं संसर्पणम्' इति यथायोग द्विविधया भङ्गचा प्रतिपादित तै ।

रुद्रेण तु भावालङ्कारो द्विवैवोक्त । रूपकदीपकापृहुतितुल्ययोगितादावुपमाथलङ्कारो वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेनोक्त । उत्प्रेक्षा तु स्वयमेव प्रतीयमाना कथिता । रसवत्रेय प्रसृतौ तु रसमावदिर्वाच्यशोभाहेतुत्वेनोक्त । तदित्थ विविधमपि प्रतीयमानमलङ्कारतया रूपापितमेव ।

बासनेन तु सादृश्यनिबन्धनाया लक्षणाया वकोक्त्यलङ्कारत्वं तुवता कश्चिद्विनिमेदोऽलङ्कारत्वैवोक्त । केवल गुणविचिष्टपदरचनात्मका रीति काव्यात्मकेनोक्ता ।

उद्गटादिभिस्तु शुणालङ्काराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम् । विषयमात्रेण भेदप्रतिपादनात् सञ्चनाधर्मत्वेन चेष्टे । तदेवमलङ्कारा एव काव्ये प्रव्यान्मिति प्राप्यानां भतम् ।

वकोक्तिजीवितकार पुनर्वैदेवध्यभज्ञीभणितिसमावौ बहुविद्या वकोक्तिमेव प्राधान्यात् काव्यजीवितमुक्तवान् । व्यापारस्य प्राधान्यं च काव्यस्य प्रतिपेदे । अभिधानप्रकारविशेषा एवालङ्काराः । सल्लिपि त्रिभेदे प्रतीयमाने व्योपाररूपा भणितिरेव कविसरम्भगोचर । उपर्युक्तवक्त्वादिभिस्समस्तो ध्वनिप्रपञ्च स्वीकृत । केवलमुक्तिवैचित्यजीवित काव्य न व्यङ्गार्थं जीवितमिति तदीय दर्शन व्यवस्थितम् ।

भड्नायकेन तु व्यङ्गार्थव्यापारस्य प्रौढोक्त्याम्युपगतस्य काव्याशत्वं तुवता न्यग्मावित-शब्दार्थस्त्रूपस्य व्यापारस्यैव प्राधान्यमुक्तम् । तत्राप्यमिधामावक्त्वलक्षणव्यापाराद्योक्तीर्णे रसचर्णात्मा भोगापरपर्यायो व्यापारः प्राधान्येन विश्वान्तिस्थानतयाङ्गीकृत ।

भवनिकार पुनरभिधातात्पर्यलक्षणास्यव्यापारव्ययोर्तीर्णस्य वननयोतनादिशब्दाभिधेयस्य व्यञ्जनव्यापारस्यावश्यान्मुपगम्यत्वात् व्यापारस्य च वाक्यार्थत्वाभावात् वाक्यर्थसेव च व्यञ्जनरूपस्य गुणालङ्कारोपस्कर्तव्यत्वेन प्राधान्याद्विश्रान्तिधामत्वादात्मत्व सिद्धान्तितवान् ।

यतु व्यक्तिविवेकारो वाच्यस्य प्रतीयमान प्रति लिङ्गितया व्यञ्जनस्यानुमानेऽन्तर्भावमारुण्यत् तद्वाच्यस्तप्रतीयमानेन सह तादात्मतदृपत्यमावादविचारिताभिधानम् ॥

*Alankarasarvasva, Bowbay Edn., 8-18*

**813** SAMUDRABANDHA in his commentary on Alankarasarvasva has another classification of these poetical theories, (*TSS*, p 4) into five schools

इह विशिष्टौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् ।

तयोश्च वैशिष्ट्यं अमृमुखेन व्यापारमुखेन व्यग्यमुखेन वेति त्रयं पक्षा ।

आथेऽन्यलकारतो गुणता वेति द्वैविधम् ।

द्वितीयेऽपि भणित्वैचिद्व्येण मोग्राहुत्वेन वेति द्वैधम् ।

इति पचमु पक्षेष्वाथ उद्घटादिभिरगीकृत , द्वितीयो वामनेन, तृतीयो वक्त्रोक्तिजीवितकारणे, चतुर्थो भट्टानायकेन, पचम आनन्दवर्धनेन ॥

व्यक्तिविवेककाराभिमतस्त्वनुमानपक्ष सिद्धान्तप्रदर्शनसमन्तर विचारसह वेन दूषितत्वात् महाकस्य पूर्वपक्षत्वे नामित इत्याहु ।

पूर्ण प्रस्थानेषु खाभिमत प्रस्थान तस्य सर्वेषांकरणीयता च दर्शयतुमेषामुपन्यास ॥

Vāmanācārya (*Int. Kāvyaaprakāsa*, p 24) thus summarises the views briefly

गुणालकारगुत्तौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यमिति वामनमतम् ।

अदोषाविल्लिथिकविशेषणयुत्तौ तौ काव्यमिति भम्मटमतम् ।

एवमेव प्रमाकरमतम् ।

निर्दोषौ गुणालकाररसवत् वाक्य काव्यमिति भोजमतम् ।

गुणालकाररीतिरसोपेत् साधुशब्दार्थसदर्म . काव्यमिति वाग्भटमतम् ।

निर्दोष गुणालंकारलक्षणरीतिवृत्तिमत् वाक्य काव्यमिति पीयूषवर्षमतम् ।

रसादिमद्वाक्य काव्यमिति शौद्धोदनिमतम् ।

एवमेव विश्वनाथादिमतम् ।

इष्टार्थोपेता पदावली काव्यमिति दण्डिमतम् ।

रसानीयार्थप्रतिपादकशब्द काव्यमिति जगत्वाथमतम् ।

अन्यात्मक वाक्य काव्यमिति महिममहमतम् ।

रसालकारस्युक्तं सुख्यविशेषसाधन वा काव्यमिति केशवमित्रमतम् ।

The following extracts from P V Kane's 'Outlines of History of Alankara Literature' (*IA*, XLI 124, 204) will be of interest

"The most ancient basis of classification appears to have been very simple Figures of speech were divided into two classes those that depend for their charm on words alone and those in which the beauty is seen in the sense alone This division of the figures of speech is the only one that is found in ancient writings on Alankāra Bharata does not speak of it in his *Natya-Sastra* Dandin tacitly recognizes it, inasmuch as he treats of Arthalankaras in the second Parichcheda and of Sabdalankaras in the third Both Bhamaha and Udbhata do not explicitly divide Alankaras into two varieties, but they seem to have had the twofold division in mind, for Bhamaha first speaks of Anuprasa and Yamaka and then of figures that are regarded by all as Alankaras of Artha Udbhata similarly speaks of Punaruktavada-bhasa and Anuprasa first and then of Arthalamkaras Vamana speaks of Sabdalamkaras in the fourth Adhikarana (1st Adhyaya) of his work and of Arthalamkaras in the second and third Adhyayas of the same Adhikarana Rudrata, Mammata, Ruyyaka and most subsequent writers recognise this twofold division of figures of speech

Some writers, however, propose a division which is a little more elaborate Alankaras, according to them, are either of *Sabda*, or of *Artha*, or of both Bhoja in his *Sarasvatikanhabharana* enumerates twenty-four Alamkaras of each It is worthy of note that he regards Upama, Rupaka, etc., as Alamkaras of both *Sabda* and *Artha* (and not of *Artha* alone, as said by almost all other writers)

The number of Sabdalamkaras has never been very large. Most writers, such as Dandin, Bhamaha, Udbhata, speak of two or three The largest number is that mentioned by Bhoja, viz., 24 The ancient works of Alamkara paid a good deal of attention to Sabdalamkaras, but as critical insight grew, the Alamkaras of words dwindled into insignificance

Unlike Sabdalamkaras, the number of Arthalamkaras has generally been large and has been subject to great fluctuations We may safely affirm that as a general rule, the more ancient a writer is, the fewer is the number of figures treated of by him Bharata speaks of only four Alamkaras Dandin, Bhatti, Bhamaha, Udbhata and Vamana treat of from thirty to forty figures Mammata speaks of more than sixty, while Ruyyaka adds a few more The Chandraloka (13th century) speaks of a hundred figures of speech, to which the Kuvalayananda adds about a

score more. This is the highest number known to us. Jagannatha prefers a smaller number of figures, although he is later than the author of Kuvalayananda. If for some slight difference a different figure of speech were to be defined there would be no end of figures, as remarked by Dandin.

In the ancient writers there is no basis of division. Dandin, Bhamaha, Vamana and Udbhata give no classification of the figures of sense. They generally first speak of Upama and some other Alamkaras based upon it and the rest are treated of at random ; e.g., Dandin puts Vibhavana between Vyatireka and Samasokti. It is Rudrata who first gives a fourfold division of Arthalamkaras. Mammata seems to have had in view no scientific basis of division. The Alamkara-Sarvasva gives first of all, the figures based upon Aupamya (resemblance) ; then those based upon Virodha (contradiction) ; then those based upon Srinkhala (chain), such as Karanamala, Maladipaka, Ekavali ; then the figures based upon Tarka-Nyaya, Kavya-Nyaya and Loka-Nyaya ; then the figures based upon the apprehension of a hidden sense ; and lastly based upon the combination of figures such as Samkara and Sansrishi. The Ekavali, the Prapaparudriya and the Sahityadarpana generally follow the classification. Jagannatha also speaks of figures based upon Aupamya, Virodha and Srinkhala. From Kavyalinga downwards he does not mention any express basis of classification but appears to have followed in the main the Alamkara-Sarvasva."

## CHAPTER XXIV

### Alankara

**814 Alankara-Sutras** Every science, *Sastra*, in India has its *sūtra*, *vṛtti* and *Bhāṣya*. So has Alankārasāstra Śaudhodani is mentioned by Kesava as an author of Alankārasūtras,<sup>1</sup> and it was on the Kārikas of Śaudhodani that Kesava commented in his Alankārasekhara.<sup>2</sup> Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśi have been considered, mostly in Bengal, as embracing the original Bharata's Alankārasūtras, on which Mammata wrote a *vṛtti* called Kāvyaprakāśa.<sup>3</sup> Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana took these Kārikas as Bharatasūtras and wrote his commentary on them Sāhityakaumudi in the 18th century.<sup>4</sup> Bharata, it is said to the contrary, wrote sūtras relating to *rasa* etc., in nātya and not sūtras for Alankāra, but these sūtras are but rarely preserved in the extant Nātyasaṃgraha.<sup>5</sup> Pāṇini mentions Natasūtras of Śilālin.

पाराशर्यशिलालिम्बा मिक्षुनटसूत्रो (IV iii. 10)

कर्मन्द्रहुशाश्वादिनि. (IV iii. 11.)

Alankārasūtras of unknown authorship have been commented upon by SOPHAKARA in his Alankāraraṭnākara.<sup>6</sup> Sobhākara was son of

1. अलङ्कारविद्यासूत्रकारो मगवान् शौद्धोदनि. काव्यस्य स्वरूपमाहा काव्य रसादिमद्वाक्यम्।

2. See S. K. De, SP I, 261.

3. So says Commentary Vivarāṇa काव्यप्रकाशश्य द्वावंशौ, कारिका वृत्तिश्वेति। मरत-  
मुनिप्रणीता या कारिका सा अलङ्कारसूत्रनान्ना व्यवहिते, मम्मष्टप्रणीता या वृत्तिस्वैव  
काव्यप्रकाशनामभाक् ॥

Several other authors call these Kārikas 'sūtras'

i. उदाहणेषु दृष्टव्यात्सूत्रानुकामपि प्रभेदद्यमाह—Maheśvara

ii. सूत्रे प्रस्नोचरपदं पूर्वापरवाक्योपलक्षकम्—Bhimasena.

iii. सूत्राक्षराननुसाराच्चोपेक्ष्यम्—Vaidyanātha

iv. सूत्रे विसागः उपलक्षणपर—Govinda Thakkura.

v. सूत्र चोपलक्षणपरतया योज्यम्—Nagojibhatta

4. सूक्ष्माणीं मरतमुनीश्वरणीतानीं वृत्तीनीं मितवपुर्णीं कृतौ ममास्थाप् ।

लक्ष्याणीं हरिणशालिनीं च सत्वात् कुर्वन्तु प्रगुणधियो बतावधानम् ॥

5. e. g. व्यभिचारभिमाविभाजकानि निर्वेदग्लानिशङ्कास्याः ॥

6. BKR, Ap. cxviii.

Trayisvaramisra and lived about the 12th century A D. He is quoted by Jagannātha. These sūtras have been extracted and illustrated by Yasaskara in his Devīstotra, a poem of devotion. Yasaskara was a poet of Kāśmir<sup>1</sup>. On account of ill-health, he spent much of his time at the sanatorium<sup>2</sup> on the hill Prādyumna and there on the spot held sacred on account of the final ascent of King Pravara to Heaven in bodily form, he composed his Devīstotra<sup>3</sup>.

There are again Kāvyālankārasūtras on which Vāmana wrote his own Vṛtti and Ruyyaka's Alankārasūtra on which Maukha wrote vṛtti Alankārasarvasva. Jayaratha mentions an Alankāravārtika in his commentary on Alankārasarvasva (p. 71).

बिन्बप्रविन्बमवेनापीय भवति । यथा—

श्लिपन्त्यचिन्त्यानि पदानि हेलया स्वराजहसानधिरुद्धा च स्थिता ।  
कट्टीन्द्रवत्सेषु च यत्र शारदा सहस्रपत्रेषु रमा च रज्यति ॥

अत वक्त्रपद्मयोर्बिन्बप्रतिविन्बमाव । अनेनैव चाशयेनाक्षालङ्कारवार्तिके ग्रन्थकृता  
दैशिष्ठष्टमस्यादर्थितम् ॥

**815 Bhamaha** was the son of Rakrila Gomin. Maskari was probably his son<sup>4</sup>. From the word Gomin and from the salutation to Sarva Sarvagna at the commencement of his work it has been said he was a Buddhist. Cāṇṭra in his grammar mentions Gomin as a termination of respect<sup>5</sup>. The epithets Surva and Sarvagna have been used for various divine incarnations without limitation. Bhamaha's reverence to the Hindu pantheon<sup>6</sup> and his elegant references to heroes of Rāmāyaṇa,<sup>7</sup> Mahābhārata<sup>8</sup> and Purāṇas<sup>9</sup> indicate more properly his Vedic persuasion. This surmise is supported by Bhamaha's scathing criticism of Buddhist theory of Anyāpoha<sup>10</sup>.

1 PR, I 12

2 This health resort is mentioned in Ray III 645

3 PR, I 77 (where the sūtras are all extracted)

4 He says so in his commentary on Gaṇḍama Dharmasūtra.

5 गोगिन् पूज्ये ।

6 प्रणम्य सर्वं सर्वक्षम् ।

7 II 85, III II 82, 86, IV 21, 28, V 44

8 III 7, V 26, 39, 41, 42, 43

9 III 5, 43 V 59.

10 VI 16, 17

On the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Dandin, there has been divergence of opinion<sup>2</sup>. But the assertiveness of Dandin's expression of dissent in relation to views of Bhāmaha on particular topics indicates his posteriority. It is possible that Bhāmaha was an elder contemporary of Dandin and Bhāmaha was an author whose opinions were then fresh in the minds of the readers which Dandin thought ought to be controverted before they gained a place of honor<sup>3</sup>.

From illustrations<sup>4</sup> of Alankāras and from their number and significance it is conjectured that Bhatti came after Bhāmaha.

If Dandin flourished about the beginning of the 7th century, Bhāmaha can be safely placed in the 6th century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Bhāmaha composed his Kāvyālankāra<sup>6</sup> after an investigation of the thoughts of good poets for the instruction of the virtuous

अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कीर्त्तीं।  
अवगम्य लिखिया च काव्यलक्ष्मं।  
सुजनावगमाय भास्महेन  
प्रथित रक्तिलग्नामिसूनेदप् ॥ VI 64

and the making of faultless poetry facilitates the pursuit of the Puru-

<sup>2</sup> 1 For details of arguments about the priority of Bhāmaha to Dandin, see Trivedi's introduction to Prataparudrayasobhuśana, M Rangacharya's Introduction to Kavyadarsa, Anantacharya in Brahmanavadin (1911), R Narasimhaacharya, *Ind Ant*, XLII 20 and Medepalli Venkataramanacharya's *History of Alankārasūtra* (in Telugu). Tarupavācaspaṭī, in his commentary on Kāvyādarśa (I 29, II 285 7, IV 4) distinctly says that Dandin criticises Bhāmaha. See S K De's *SP*, I 45 62. For a contrary opinion, see P V Kano, *JRAS*, (1808) 545, IA, XLII 12-98, Pathak, *JHAS*, XXXIII 19, IA, XLII 222, M T Narasimha Ayyangar, *JRAS*, (1905) 585, Barnett, *JRAS* (1905) 841, D T Tatacarya, Int to Edn. While Bhāmaha mentions that Upamā should not be divided into several categories as Niṇḍopamā, Praśamsopamā, etc., and that all such varieties should come under sāmānyagupta, these scholars see in it a criticism of Dandin's long list of varieties of Upamā.

<sup>3</sup> See A Rangasami Sarasvati, *JMy*, III 682

<sup>4</sup> For the list of Alankāras illustrated in Canto X, see *JRAS*, (1922), 880 *et seq*. On this question there is a difference of opinion. See para 48 *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Ganapathi Sastri, in his introduction to *Svapnavāsvadatta* (*TSS*, No 15 p XXIV), places Bhāmaha far earlier than Kālidasa and in the 1st century B.C. See III. 86 and I. 43, where references to Kālidasa's *Raghuvamśī*, XVI 7, 8 and *Megha*, I. are indicated. S K De, (*SP*, I 49) places him in 7-8 century A.D.

<sup>6</sup> Printed by K P Trivedi, as appendix to *Pṛatāparudrāyaśobhuśana* (*BSS*), Ed by P. V Naganathaswami translation, Tanjore, Ed D T Tatacarya with Vṛtti, Trivadi, Tanjore

sarthas and leads on to pleasure and celebrity His instruction for choice of words and their disposition is an enchanting instance of his aesthetics

एतत् ग्राद्य सुरसि कुसुम ग्राम्यमेतजिधेय  
वर्ते शोभा विरचितमिद स्थानमस्यैतदस्य ।  
भालाकारो रचयति यथा साहु विज्ञाय माला  
योज्य काव्येष्ववहितविद्या तद्वदेवाभिधानम् ॥ I 59

His humility is in keeping with his dignity and he leaves his homage to the Goddess of Poetry unmindful of his deserts

न दूषणायायपुदाहृतो विधिर्न चाभिमानेन किमु प्रतीयते (?) ।  
कृतात्मना तत्त्वदशा च मादशो जनोऽभिसंविधि क इवावमोत्स्यते ॥ IV 51

In six chapters, he deals with ७१ topics, Kāvyaśāstra, Alankāra, Dosa, Nyāya and Sābdasuddhi. His veneration for Pāṇini is supreme and his description of the Ocean of Vyākaranā reminds us of the garlands of metaphors which is Vālmīki's peculiar glory

सूत्राम्बस पदावर्तं पारायणरसातलम् ।  
घातूणादिगणग्राहं ध्यानग्रहबृहत्पृष्ठवम् ॥  
धीरैरालोकितप्रान्तमेधोमिरसूत्रितम् ।  
सदोपभुक्त सर्वाभिरन्यविद्याकरेणुमि ॥  
नापारयित्वा हुर्गावमप्य व्याकरणार्णवम् ।  
शब्दरत्न खय गम्यमलङ्कृतुमय जन ॥ VI 1-3.

Here is Vālmīki's description of the sky as an ocean

स चन्द्रकुमुद रम्य सार्ककारणदव शुभम् ।  
तिष्यश्रवणकादम्बमप्रशैवालशाद्वलम् ॥  
पुनर्वसुमहामीन लोहिताक्षमहाग्रहम् ।  
ऐरावतमहाद्वीप खातीहसविलोक्लितम् ॥  
वातसचातजालोर्मिचन्द्राशुशिशिराम्बुद्वत् ।  
मुजङ्गयक्षगन्धवप्रबुद्धरूपलोत्पलम् ॥  
हनुमान् भारतगतिर्महानीरिव सागरम् ।  
अपारमपरिक्षोभ्य पुण्डुवे गगनार्णवम् ॥

*Rāmāyaṇa*, V 57, 1-4

By his assertive expression and courageous criticism he displays the ardour of his study and the range of his learning He disapproves

as unnatural and improbable of the use of inanimate objects as messengers of love and the story of the capture of Vatsarāja by the lure of a false elephant. He condemns the Sphota theorists with disdain.

शपथैरपि चादेय वचो न स्फोटवादिनाम् ।  
नम कुसुममस्तीति श्रद्धायात् क सचेतन || VI 12

The illustrations are all Bhāmaha's except where he quotes expressly from other authors. He says—

स्वयं कृतैरेव निर्दर्शनैरिय मया प्रकल्पता खलु वागलङ्घति । II 96

Bhāmaha is called the founder of Alankāra school. According to him Vakrokti is the character of poetry

सैषा सर्वैव वकोक्तिरनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।  
यहोऽस्यां कविना कार्यं कोऽलङ्घारोऽनया विना ॥ II 85

This verse of Bhāmaha has been quoted by later writers, and Bhāmaha also states it in other words

वक्तास्मिधेयशब्दोक्तिरिष्टा वाचामलङ्घति ।—I 36  
वाचां वकार्थशब्दाक्तिरलङ्घाराय कल्पते ।—V 66.

And Abhinavagupta thus explains it

शब्दस्य हि वक्ता अभिधेयस्य च (वक्ता) लोकोर्तीर्णेन रूपेणावस्थानमिलयमेवासाव-  
लङ्घारान्तर्भाव । (?)

It cannot therefore be said that Bhāmaha was an opponent of the existence of Dhvani, though indeed Mallinātha called him Dhvanya-bhāvavādin.

Ānandavardhana appreciates Bhāmaha's views :

मामहेनाप्यतिशयोक्तिलङ्घणे यदुक्तं 'सैषा सर्वैव वकोक्ति' इति, तत्रातिशयोक्तिर्यमलङ्घार-  
मधितिष्ठति कविप्रतिभावशाचस्य चातुर्यातिशययोगोऽन्यस्यालङ्घारमात्रत्वेति सर्वालङ्घारत्वकरण-  
योगयत्वेनमेदोपचारात्, सैव सर्वालङ्घाररूपेलयमेवार्थोऽवगन्तव्य । तस्यावालङ्घारान्तरसङ्गीर्णत्वं  
कदाऽचिद्रात्म्यत्वेन कदाचिद्रथङ्गत्वेन । (Bom Edn P 207-8)

Ruyyaka thus sums up Bhāmaha's views :

इह हि तावद्वामहेऽद्वृटप्रसृतयथिरन्तनालङ्घारिका. प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कारतया  
अलङ्घारपक्षानिश्चितं मन्यन्ते ।

Among the authors and works mentioned by Bhāmaha are Nyāsa-

kāra, Medhāvin,<sup>1</sup> Sakhavardhana,<sup>2</sup> Rātāharana, Rāmasarman's Acyuttara,<sup>3</sup> Asmakavamsa and Rājamītra.

It is a matter of controversy whether this Nṛsakara was Jinendra-buddhi<sup>4</sup> Namisādhu mentions Medhāvān as a writer on Alankāra and adds

अत्र च स्वरूपोपादाने सख्यि चत्वार इति प्रहणाथन्मेधाविप्रश्चितिभिरुक्तम् यथा लिङ्गवचनमेदाई हीनताधिक्यमसम्भवो विपर्ययोऽसाहश्यमिति सखोपमादोषा , तदेतत्त्वस्तम् ।

Medhāvān is probably identical with Medhāvī Rudra, whom Rājasekhara instances as a poet born blind and one of the three Kālidāsas (Kālidasaṭrayi) mentioned by Rājasekara. The Lexicon Trikandasesa gives it as a synonym of Kālidāsa.

Rāmasarma's poetry is thus described

नानाधात्वर्थगम्भीरा यमकव्यपदेशिनी ।  
प्रहेलिका सा छुटिता रामशर्माच्युतोत्तरे ॥ II 19

Sākhavardana's verse is fine

निष्पेतुरासादिव तस्य दीना शरा धनुर्मण्डलमध्यभाज ।  
जाज्ज्वल्यमाना इव वारिधारा दिनार्थभाज परिवेषिणोऽकर्तु ॥ II 47

and the same verse is quoted anonymously by Namisādhu and Mamata

On the style of Asmakavamsa there is this comment

ननु चाश्मकवशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते ॥ I 33

From Rājamītra, there is an instance taken to illustrate the figure samāhiṭa

1 त एत उपमादोषास्तसमेवाविनोदिता । I. 40

2 His verse

निष्पेतुरासादिव तस्य दीना शरा धनुर्मण्डलमध्यभाज ।  
जाज्ज्वल्यमाना इव वारिधारा दिनार्थभाज परिवेषिणोऽकर्तु ॥ II 47

is quoted to illustrate the fault Asambhava.

3 His verse

सपीतवासा प्रगृहीतशाङ्को भनोऽभीम वपुराप कृष्ण ।  
शतहृदेन्द्रायुर्धीवाजिशायों सदृश्यमानश्चशिनेव मेघ ॥ II 57

is instanced for उपमाने अधिकपदत्वम् ।

4 On this see K. B Pathak's Bhamaha's attacks on Jinendrabuddhi (JBRAS, XXIII 18), P. V Kane, Bhamaha, Bhasa and Magha (Ibid 91) and K. P Trivedi, (I4, XLIII, 204, 207)

समाहित राजमित्रे यथा क्षत्रियोषिताम् ।  
रामप्रसर्तै यान्तीना पुरोऽद्वयत नारद ॥ III 10

Bhāmaha refers to Nanda and Cāṇakya thus,

चाणक्यो नक्तमुपयाचन्द्रकीडागृह यथा ।  
शशिकातोत्तोपलच्छन्न विवेद पयसो कौन्ते ॥—III 13

Bhāmaha has been honoured in the history of poetics as an Ācārya of antiquity and renown Vidyānātha wrote

पूर्वेभ्यो मामहादिभ्यं सादर विहिताङ्गालि ।

Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Vāmana and Mammata and others quote his views and verses with distinction

Udbhata's gloss, Bhāmahavivarapa, is now lost<sup>1</sup>

In the prefatory eulogies to his commentary on Kāvyaprakāsa Bhatta Gopāla wrote

उद्धेनापि नग्रेण नायकेनोपलालित ।  
हृषो माम हव ऋणामल्पारभ्मोऽपि भामह ॥

Is it possible that Bhattanāyaka also composed a commentary on Bhāmaha's Kāvyañlankāra, as Udbhata did?

It is suspected that Bhāmaha wrote a later work on rhetoric with greater completeness, for we have in Rasikarasāyanam,<sup>2</sup> which goes under his name, an elaborate treatment in seven parakārāpas of all topics embraced in poetics. The exposition of the Nātyāñlankaras of Bharata is particularly good. But a distinction must be made between the Kārikas and the Vṛttis. If these Kārikas could have been the

1. In his commentary on Udbhata's Kāvyañlankārsangraha Pratiñhārendurāja says,

विशेषोक्तिलक्षणे च भामहविवरणे भट्टोद्धेन एकदेशशब्द एष व्याख्यात ... ... .  
Abhinavagupta in his Locana (p 10) says

भामहोक्त 'शब्दच्छन्दोऽसिधानार्थ' इत्याभिधानस्य शब्दात् भेद व्याख्यातु मद्भट्टो भभाषे ।

Hemacandra in his Kāvyañlankāracudāmaṇi (p 110) says

तस्माद्बुलिकाप्रवाहे गुणालकारसंद इति भामहविवरणे यद्भट्टोद्धरोऽभ्यधात् तञ्चिरस्तम् ।  
and Ruyyaka in Alankārasarvasva (p. 188) says

अपि च शब्दानामाकूलता(?)चेति तस्य हेत्तू प्रचक्षते भामहीये । वाचामनाकूलत्वेऽपि माविकमिति चोद्धरलक्षणे ।

work of Bhāmaha Vṛtti must have been anonymously written later than the 12th century A D, for it mentions Kīvyaprakāsa and Bhāvaprakāsa and quotes Mālatīmādava.

In spite of the attempts of scholars to get at a complete manuscript of Bhāmaha's work, it is still suspected that these editions are not yet the last word. For instance in Locana, Abhinavagupta writes

भामहेन हि गुरुदेवनुपतिपुत्रविषयप्रीतिवर्णन प्रेयोऽलङ्कार दत्तयुक्तम् ।

But in the extant editions, we see only one verse delineating the Love for Devas

प्रेयो गृहागत कृष्णमवादीद्विदुरो यथा ।  
अथ या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते ।  
कालेनैषा भवेत्प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुन ॥—III, 5

There is an indication that Bhāmaha wrote also a work on metrics Rāghavabhatta in his commentary on Śikṣāntikā quotes

तदुक्त भामहेन—

देवता वाचका शब्दा ये च मद्रादिवाचका ।  
ते सर्वे नैव निन्या स्युर्लिपितो गणतोऽपि वा ॥  
क खो गो चश्च लक्ष्मी वितरति विषयो छस्तथा च सुख छ  
प्रीति जो मित्रलाभ भयमरणकरौ इवौ ठठो खेददु खे ।  
डश्चोभा ढो विशोभा ब्रह्मणमथ च णस्त सुख थश्च युद्ध  
दो अ. सौख्य मुद न सुखमयमरणकेशदुख पर्वग ॥  
  
यो लक्ष्य रथ दाह व्यसनमथ लवौ शस्तुख थश्च खेद  
सस्त्सौख्य हृश्च खेद विलयमपि च न ज्ञस्समृद्धि करोति ।  
सयुक्त चेह न सात् सुखमरणपुरुर्वर्णविन्यासयाग (१)  
पदादौ गथवक्त्रे वचसि च सकल प्राकृतादौ समोऽप्यम् ॥

And if these two authors are identical, this work on metrics appears to be an extensive treatise on the topic.

Here are some fine specimens of Bhāmaha's poetry

ताम्बूलरागवलय स्फुरद्दशनदीधिति ।  
इन्दीवरामिनयन तवेव वदन तव ॥ III 46  
अशुमाद्विश्च मणिभि फलनिझैश्च शास्त्रिभि ।  
फुलैश्च कुसुमैरन्यै वाचोऽलङ्कृते यथा ॥ V 64.

किञ्चुकव्यपदेशेन तमसारुद्ध सर्वत ।  
 दग्धादग्धमरण्यान्यां पश्यतीव विभावसु ॥ II 92  
 पुलातकोलनागसफुटवकुललताचन्दनस्पन्दनाद्य  
 सुक्काकपूरचक्रागाहकमनशिलाध्यानकाम्यासतीर ।  
 शङ्खत्रातकुलान्तत्तिमिकरकुलाकर्णिवीचीप्रतानो  
 धर्ते यसाम्बुराशिशशिकुमुदसुधाक्षरिशुदा सुकीर्तिम् ॥ V 68  
 तथा हारी स्तनासोगो वदन हारि सुन्दरम् ।  
 हारिणी तनुरखन्त कियबहरते मन ॥ VI 47  
 आक्रोशशाङ्खयजन्यानाधावन्मण्डल रुदन् ।  
 गा वारयति दण्डेन डिम्मस्पस्यावतारणी ॥ II 94

**816 Dandin + Kavyadarsa,**<sup>1</sup> in four parts, is a standard treatise on poetics and belongs to the school, for which *viti* or style is the mark of poetry.<sup>2</sup> It deals with only two types Gaudi (learned) and Vaidearbhi (simple) but allows intermediate types. The first part treats of the nature of poetry and classification of poems, the second and third parts with figures of speech and poetical devices and the fourth part with the faults of poetry. It refers to Setubandha<sup>3</sup> and quite often differs from opinions must probably of Bhāmaha.<sup>4</sup> Very soon it attained great eminence and as early as the eighth century A.D. it was copied in the Kanarese work on Alankāra, Kavirājamargavijaya of Amoghavarṣa or Nṛpaṭunga.

There are commentaries on Kavyadarsa by Vādīghanghāladeva,<sup>5</sup>

1. Ed by Premaonandra Tarkavagisa, (*Bib Ind*) Ed by Boethlingk, (Leipsig) with German translation by Jibanananda (Calcutta) Tr in English (Poona). On Agashe's doubt on the identity of the authors of Kavyādarśa and Daśakumāracarita, see I<sup>a</sup>, XLIV 67, S K De, *Bharavi and Dandin*, (IHQ, I)

2. The four *vibhagas* (parts) are called mārga arthālamkāra, sabdālamkāra and dōsa.

3. Kāvyaśāstra, I 34, also to a work called Kalāpariccheda

4. On the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Dandin see para 815 *supra* S K. De, *A note on Avantisundarikatha in relation to Bhamaha and Dandin*, IHQ, III 295

5. Ed with notes and translation by V Krishnamachariar and V Hanumantha chariar, Madras TO, III 3998, SKC, 61, 270

There is a copper plate grant of Ganga King Mārasimha dated 963 A.D. to a Jain Scholar Munjārya who had the title "Vādīghanghālabhatta" (See *Mys Arch Rep.* 1921)

The contents of this plate and 6 other plates are described by R Narasimhacarya in his paper "The Western Ganges of Talakad," published in the JI Mythic Society,

Tarunavācaspati,<sup>1</sup> S K Belvalkar and N B Raddi,<sup>2</sup> by Premacandra,<sup>3</sup> by Jībānanda,<sup>4</sup> by Harinātha son of Viśvesvara,<sup>5</sup> by Narasimha, Bhagiratha and Vijayānanda,<sup>6</sup> by Viśvanātha,<sup>7</sup> by Ṭribhuvanacandra,<sup>8</sup> by Trinaranata Bhima,<sup>9</sup> by Kṛnakinkara Tarkavāgīsa Bhattacārya,<sup>10</sup> by Mallinātha, son of Jagannātha,<sup>11</sup> and three anonymous<sup>12</sup>

Bangalore Ganga genealogy from Konganivarma to Marasimhadeva (Satyavakya) is given there See *El*, IV 141, *Mys Arch Rep* 1919, *Ep Car* X, Kolar 90 In commenting upon Kāvyāḍarśa, II 979, he says

रात (ज?) वर्मण इति रातवर्णो नाम

and that verse is from Keralavamīśakāvya In mentioning previous rhetoricians (1 2) he names Brahmadatta, Nandiswami etc He refers to Kusumamanjari an Ākhyā yikā Rāngacārya and Agasē read Rājavarmā and he referring to Rājēśvara varman alias Narasimhavarman II of Kānci whose titles Kālakāla Dandin is said to have alluded to in Kāvyāḍarśa (III 50) Mahāvīraṇa (*Ibid* IV 25) is said to be a from referring to the royal token of Calukya Pulakesin II S K De, (SP, I 55) says " But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a contemporary prince and as Pischell suggested the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work relating to history "

1 Ed Madras, by M Rangacharya with an introduction *DC*, XXII 8685. Tirunavācaspati and Vādīghanghāla say in their commentary on I 29, II 235 and IV 4 that Dandin there criticizes Bhāmaha Tarunavācaspati quotes Bhoja and the Jain poet Hastimalla and is quoted in an anonymous Subhāvitāsangabha, probably of the 15th century Poet Hastimalla referred to by him is probably the Jain dramatist (See S K De, SP, II 72) The name is given as Dharmavācaspati in *Opp* 2581

2 Ed *BSS*, Bombay

3 Printed, Calcutta

4. Printed, Calcutta.

5 Ed Madras *DC*, XXII 8688 It is called Hṛdayangamā In the commentary on I 2, it is stated that before Dandin, Kāśyapa and Vararuci had written works on Alankāra and Kālidāsa had produced his poem The second anonymous commentary is extant only to the 1st Pariccheda and seems to be an ancient work This quotes the first verse of Pratīgnīyaugandharāyana For the third, see *Mitra*, 297, CSC, VII 21

6 PR, VI 80 (Bod 206) He was son of Viśvadhara and wrote a commentary on Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa He cites Keśavamīra

7 OC, I 102 Narasimha was the son of Godādhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇasārma

8 Haraprasad Sastri's report (1896 00) and Haraprasad Sastri's Notices, second series, i iv He was a Jain and was also known as Vādiśimha

9 *Hall's Index*, 68

10 *IOO*, No 1497

11 OC, II 20 He is referred to by Viśvesvara in Alankārakaustubha (69) He is different from Kelacala Mallinātha

12 OC, I 108, *Opp*, 4113

**817 Dharmakīrti** is an old writer on Alankāra. He was a Buddhist philosopher.<sup>1</sup> He commented on Dignāga's Pramāna samuccaya and wrote several other works on Buddhistic philosophy. His Budhanirvānapastotra is a short poem of devotion. Quotations in the anthologies show his exquisite poetry.<sup>2</sup>

**818 Bauddhasangati**, though not now extant, is probably alluded to by Subandhu in his Vāsavadattā.<sup>3</sup> It is quoted by Ānanda vardhana<sup>4</sup> and Ksemendra.<sup>5</sup>

According to Jarānātha,<sup>6</sup> Dharmakīrti lived in the time of the Tibetan King Sron-isau-tzampo, who was born in 617 A.D. and reigned 620-696 A.D.<sup>7</sup> and if Dignāga flourished in the 5th or 6th century A.D.<sup>8</sup> it may be safe, apart from difference of opinion, to say

1. Utrecht, ISt, XVI 204, ZDMG, XXVII 41, CC, I 268. He is quoted in the Sarvādarsānasangraha (I 5). See also BR, (1897) xx.

2. For a full list of his works, see Thomas, Kav 48-9.

3. Bstod, foll 222.

4. Hall's Hdñ 285 and preface 10 वैद्यसगातिभिवालङ्कारभूषिताम्. On this Śiva rāma says अलङ्कारो नाम धर्मकीर्तिकृतो ग्रन्थविशेष. See also R. V. Krishnamachariar Int to Vasa xxxii, K. T. Telang, JBRAS, XVIII 148, K. B. Pathak, JBRAS, XVIII 88, L. H. Gray, Int to Vasa. Levi denies this allusion (Bulletin de l' Ecole Françoise d' Extrême Orient, III 45). The Tibetan Tanjur does not mention this work.

5. For quotations in the anthologies, see Petersou, Subh 46-48, F. W. Thomas Kav 48 50.

See for instance in SDA, II 141

शशिनमसूत प्राची कुलति भद्रो हृसन्ति ककुभोऽपि ।

कुमुदरज पटवास विकिरति गगनाङ्गे पवनः ॥

6. See Peterson, JBRAS, XVI 40 8, 172 8.

7. History of Buddhism

8. Dignāga's date is fixed at 5th or 6th century (see para 17 note *supra*) and Dharmakīrti must be at least half a century later.

There is a tradition that at the instance of Bāṇa, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa secretly studied under a Buddhist monk and after learning the secrets of their teaching vanquished Dharmakīrti, then they became friends and jointly composed the grammatical work Rupāvataṭa (Id. Madras). This would make Bāṇa, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa and Dharmakīrti contemporaries.

9. Burnell's Preface to Śāmavīḍhana Brāhmaṇa, K. B. Pathak, (JBRAS, XVIII 88) says that ITsing calls himself a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (Max Müller, India, 210 and 1A, XIX. 819 and Takakusu's Translation of ITsing's, A "record of the Buddhist religion," iv et seq and the accuracy of the translation is disputed (see JBRAS XVIII 149). See also I 4, IV 141 and IX 149, 816, K. T. Telang (JBRAS, XVIII 149) calls attention to this fact that Śthiramati who was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (Max Müller, India, 806) died some considerable time before 537 A.D. (IA, VI. 9).

that Dharmakīrti flourished in the last quarter of the 6th and the early part of 7th century A D

**819** Vāmana was a poet of the Court of King Jayapīda of Kāmarūpa (779-819 A D)<sup>1</sup> and having migrated later to the Court of the Rāṣṭrakūta King Jagatjunga known as Govinda III (794-813 A D,) he became also a member of his Council<sup>2</sup>. From the invocatory verses in his works, it is inferred that in religion he favoured Buddhism and Nāīnism. Abhinavagupta refers to Vāmāna's views as having been alluded to by Ānandavardhana and thus suggests that Vāmāna was the earlier<sup>3</sup>. Vāmāna makes quotations<sup>4</sup> from Kādambarī, Uttararāmācarita, and Siśupālavadha and these references make it probable that he flourished about the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century A D<sup>5</sup>. His Kāvya-lamkārasūtras with his own glosses<sup>6</sup> are divided into 5 chapters and embrace the whole sphere of poetics. His theory is that style (रीति) is the soul of poetry,<sup>7</sup> and though traces of this theory are discernible in earlier literature, it was Vāmāna who clearly propounded it and created a school of poetics. The popularity of the work has brought it the name of Kavipriyā.

There are commentaries on the Kāvya-lamkārasūtras by Gopendra

1 मनोरथशुद्धदरब्दकस्तान्विमासतथा ।

वयू कवयस्तस्य वामनाधाश्च मतिष्ण ॥ *Rat* IV 407

2 "While commenting on the phrase *Rājārtha* in the 9th Kārika of his Lingānuśāsana Vāmāna mentions Jagaṭjunga sabhā. Vāmāna also mentions the name of the village Śribhāvana as a village and this village is given in *EI*, XI 162 (Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates) of that King as a place where he spent the rainy season with his army." For the grants of Govindarāja III, see *EI*, VIII App 10-12, *EI*, V 192.

3 Dhvanyāloka, p 37 वामनाभिप्रायेणायमाक्षेप ।

4 He also quotes from Subandhu, Amaruśākā, Kirātārjuniya and Mṛcchakatikā and refers to Kāmandakinī, Nāmamāla and Hariprabodha, also to poets Viśākhila (author of Kalāśasprā), Śudraka and Kavirāja, probably the one mentioned as ancestor of Rājāśekhara (?)

5 Vāmāna the author of the grammatical work Kāśika is referred to by Huēn Tsang the Chinese Traveller and could not therefore be identical. See also *PR*, I 28 80. See articles in *COJ*, and II

6 Edited by Cappeller (Jeena), also Bombay (Kāvyamāla) and Srirangam. Ed by N N Kulkarni, Ed. by in *JSSP*, Calcutta Tr into English by Ganganath Jha

7 See para 801 *supra*. See article by K. Gopalakrishnasastri in *Andhra Sah Par Patraka*, XXI 189 and by G Ganapatisarma, in *Ibid*, XX, 817

Tippa Bhūpāla<sup>1</sup> and by Mahesvara<sup>2</sup> and by Sahadeva.<sup>3</sup> Sahadeva, the earliest commentator on the work says that the study of Vāmana's<sup>4</sup> work had fallen into disuetude and Bhatta Mukula procured a manuscript and revived the interest in it.<sup>5</sup>

Besides this work on rhetoric the following works were also Vāmana's compositions, Lingānusasana,<sup>6</sup> Vidyadharakāvya<sup>7</sup> and part of Kāsilāvṛtti.<sup>8</sup>

**820 Udbhata** was a poet of the court of King Jayapīda of Kāshmir (779-813 A D.) and was the President of the royal Council on a salary of a lakh of dinaras a day. In that council was Manorāṭha, Sankhadāṭa, Cataka, Sandhiman, Vāmana etc.

So says Kalhana (*Raj* IV 495, 497)

विद्वान् दीनारलक्षणं प्रस्वह कृतवेतनं ।  
भट्टोभूद्धरस्तस्य भूमिर्मर्तुस्समापतिः ॥  
मनोरथश्चादतश्चटकस्तानिधमात्साधा ।  
बभूतु कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

1. He is otherwise known as Tāpuprahara Bhupāla, apparently a South Indian Prince. He cites Vidyādhara, Vidyāñṭha, Mallināṭha and Dharmada and also a work called Kavikājñuśa. He lived probably in the 16th century A D. The commentary is called Kāmaḍhanu. Ed Benarer and Srirangam.

2. IOC, 866 C Bod 2076 See for further information under Śrīvatsalāñchana and Subodhanamisra, commentators on Mammata post.

3. Sahadeva was a disciple of Śāṅkadhara and belonged to the family of Tomaras. He learnt the work from Bhatta Mukula.

4. On Vāmana generally see V. V. Sovani, *Bhandarakaśa Com* Vol 898, G. A. Jacob, *JRAS*, (1897), 288, Buhler, *BW*, 65, P. V. Kane, *IA*, XLII 204, Vāmanācarya, Introduction to Kāvyaaprakāsa, Pischell, Introduction to Śringāratilaka, Capeller, Introduction to Edn. (His date as later than 1000 A D is untenable) S. K. De, *SP*, 81-4.

5. वेदिता सर्वशास्त्रणं भट्टोभूद्धरस्तस्य  
लक्ष्या कृतविदादर्थं भृष्टान्नार्थस्युद्घृतम् ।  
काव्यालङ्कारशास्त्रं यत्तेऽतद्वाप्नोदितम् ।

6. Ed with the author's own commentary by O. D. Dalal, (GOS) with introduction

7. This is referred to by Varḍhamāna in his Gaṇarājñanamahādājhi

“वामनोऽविग्रान्तविद्याधरकाव्यकर्ता”

8. The joint author was Jayāditya. See Belwalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* and articles in *JSSP*, Calcutta by Malati Sen.

In Sadgarusantānaparimala it is stated that Abhinavasankara, 38th Ācārya of Kānakotipīṭha was contemporary of Udbhata

शीरस्वामिभनोरथेशचटकश्रीसनिधमच्छङ्क-  
श्रीदामोदरदङ्कचवामनमहोपाध्यायमुख्यान् कर्वन् ।  
अष्टावच्चयमधूय दुर्जयतया मटोद्वट प्रलह  
यो दीनारकलक्ष्मेतनवह कोस्याग्रतस्सोऽप्यभृत् ॥

According to Kalhana, Jayāpida roamed about other kingdoms with a feigned name Kaliata and while witnessing Bharatanātya in the temple of Kārtikeya at Paundravardhana (in Gauda Country ruled by king Jayanta) he was so taken up by the graces of the art, that he took with him one of the dancing women, Kamalā and made her his queen. It was probably at the request of the king that Udbhata began his writings<sup>1</sup>

Ānandavaḍhana mentions him with great reverence. His KĀVYĀLANKARASANGRAHA, a treatise in six chapters, deals with 41 figures of speech<sup>2</sup>

There are two commentaries on it, one Vivṛti (now anonymous), probably the same as Udbhataviveka of Rājānaka Tilaka, the other by Praṭīhārendurāja<sup>3</sup>

Udbhata's gloss Bhāmahavivarana is referred to by Ānandavar-dhana, Abhinavagupta and Hemacandra.

**821** Udbhata's poem KUMARASAMBHAVA is extant only in the illustrations quoted in his KĀVYĀLANKARASANGRAHA. The few verses so preserved indicate a grace of expression and a mode of narration, which far transcends the theme of Kālidāsa in its poetic propriety. These are some verses

तत् प्रभृति निस्सङ्गो नागकुञ्जरक्तिस्त्रू । शितिकण्ठ कालगळत्सतीशोकानलव्यथ ॥  
तत्र तोयाशयाधेष्व्याकौशितकुषेशया । चकाशे शालिकिशारकपिशाशामुखा शरत् ॥  
सान्द्रारविन्दवृन्दोत्थसकरन्दाम्बुदिन्दुमि । स्वन्दिमिरसुन्दरसन्द नन्दितन्दिन्दिरा कचित् ॥

1. *Raj IV* 412-484

2. Bon Edn., pages 96, 108

3. Ed GOJS, Baroda. Rājānaka Tilaka is mentioned by Jayaratha in his commentary on Alankārasaṃgraha, as the author of Udbhataviveka (Bon Edn., 118). Tilaka was the father of Ruyyaka (Rucaka) and lived about the end of the 11th century for whom see post. In the introduction to this edition by K. S. Ramaswamiasastri Srivomani discusses all that relates to this commentary

4. Ed by Banhatti, Bombay

केलिलोलालिमालाना कले कोलाहले कचित् । कुर्वती काननारूढश्रीनूपुररवभ्रमम् ॥  
 कचिद्गुद्गुकमला कमलब्रान्तषट्पदा । षष्ठ्यदक्षाणमूखरा मुखरस्कारसारसा ॥  
 पद्मिनी पद्मिनी गाढस्पृहयागत्य मानसात् । अन्तर्दंतुरयामासुहंसा हसकुलालयात् ॥  
 जितान्यपुष्पकिङ्गजलकिङ्गजलकथेणिश्चमितम् । लेभेऽवतसतां नारीमुखेन्दुवसितोपलम् ॥  
 काशा काशा इवामान्ति भरासीव सरासि च । चेतस्याचिक्षिपुर्युना निम्नगा इव निम्नगा ॥  
 उद्गोत्सनाम्बुनेन्दुकुम्भेन ताराकुसुमशारितम् । कमशो रात्रिकन्यामिव्योमोद्यानमसिन्ध्यत ॥  
 उत्पदद्विष्ट पतद्विष्ट पिञ्छालीवालशालिमि । राजहैरवच्यन्त शरदेव सरोनुपा ॥  
 आसारथारावीशिद्यै नमोमागप्रमासिमि । ग्रसाध्यते स्म धवलैराशाराज्य वलाहकै ॥  
 सजहार शरत्काल कदम्बकुसुमश्रिय । प्रेयोवियोगिनीना च निशेषसुखसम्पद ॥  
 क्षण कामञ्जरोच्छ्वले भूयस्सन्तापवृद्धये । वियोगिनामभूच्छान्द्री चन्द्रिका चन्दन यथा ॥  
 तरुण्य इव भान्ति स्म चकवातै स्तनैरिव । प्रबोधाद्वल रातौ किङ्गजलकालीनषट्पदम् ।  
 शशाङ्कविम्बेन सम बर्मौ कुमुदकाननम् ॥  
 अपि सा सुमुखी तिष्ठेद्देष्टे पथि कथचन । अप्रार्थितोपसम्पदा पतितानभ्रवृष्टिवत् ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

इति काले कलोल्लापिकादम्बकुलसकुले । लिद्याधीशशार्दूल पश्चात्पापेन दूर्जीः ॥  
 तां शशिच्छायवदनां नीलोत्पलदलेक्षणाम् । सरोजकलिकागौरीं गौरीं प्रति मनो दधे ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

सदगधविग्रहेणापि वीर्यमात्रास्थितात्माना । स्पृष्ट कमेन सामान्यप्राणिविन्तमाचिन्तयत् ॥  
 चण्डालकल्पे कन्दर्प प्लुष्मा माये तिरोहिते । सञ्जातातुलनैराशया किं सा शोकान्मृता भवेत्

\* \* \* \* \*

स गौरीशिखर गत्वा ददश्येमा तप कृशाम् । राहुपीतप्रमेयेन्दोर्जयन्तर्मिं दूरतस्तनुम् ॥  
 पद्म च निशि निश्चीक दिवा चन्द्र च निष्प्रमम् । स्पुरुच्छायेन सतत मुखेनाथ प्रकुर्वतीम् ॥  
 शीर्णपर्णास्मुवाताशकष्टेऽपि तपसि स्थिताम् । समुद्रहन्तीं नापूर्वं गर्वमन्यतपास्विवत् ॥  
 या शैशिरी श्रीतपसा मासेनैकेन विश्रुता । तपसा तां सुदीर्घेण दूराद्विदधतीमध् ॥  
 अङ्गलेखामकात्मीरसमालभ्मनपिङ्गराम् । अनलकृकतामामोषमुर्दा च विभ्रतीम् ॥  
 दन्तप्रमासुमनम् पाणिपङ्गवशोभिनीम् । तन्वीं बनगतां लीनजटाष्टचरणवालिष् ॥  
 तपस्तेजस्फुरितया निजलावण्यसपदा । तपसास्याः कृतान्यर्त्वं कौमारायेन लक्ष्यते ॥  
 अचिन्तयच्च भगवानहां तु इमणीश्वता ।  
 पतेषुद्दि शशिधोतच्छठा पद्मे विकासिनि । मुक्ताफलाक्षमालाया करेऽस्थाः स्पाचदोपमा ॥  
 मन्ये च निपतन्त्यस्य कटाक्षा दिष्टु पृष्ठत् । प्रावाणाये तु गङ्गन्ति स्मरवाणपरम्परा ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

किंवात् बहुनोत्तेन ब्रज भर्तरमाप्नुहि । उदन्वन्तमनासाध महानथ किमासते ॥

**822** Lollata's commentary on Bhāraṭa<sup>14</sup> mentioned by Abhinavagupta and other later writers. He seems to have definitely championed the theory of rasa, and this Sankuka who came after him attacked. He was probably a Kāshmirian and lived about the beginning of the 9th century A D, because according to Abhinavagupta he controverted the views of Udbhatta. On the question of denotation of words, he held that *abhidhū* is comprehensive enough to include any implication or suggestion, so he is called by Mammata and Hemacandra as *Dīrghavyāpāravādin*. There is Rājasekhara's quotation in *Kāvya-mimāmsa* (p. 45)

“ ‘अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थसार्थ । किन्तु रसवत् एव निबन्धो युक्त , न नीरसस्य इति आपराजिति । यदाह—

‘ मञ्चनपृष्ठावचयनसन्ध्याचन्द्रोदयादिवाक्यमिह ।  
सरसमपि नातिष्ठहुङ्ग प्रकृतरसानभिवत् रचयेत् ॥  
यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरपुरुतरगरथादिवर्णने यत्न ।  
कविशक्तिरूप्यातिफलो विततधिया नो मत स इह ॥’ ”

This second verse is quoted along with another by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyanusāsana* (p. 35) as Lollata's

यथाह लोक्ट —

‘ यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरनगतुरगपुरादिवर्णने यत्न ।  
कविशक्तिरूप्यातिफलो विततधिया नो मत प्रबन्धेषु ॥  
यमकाहुलोभातदितरचक्रादिभिदोऽतिरसविरोधिन्य ।  
अभिमानमात्रभेतद्वङ्गरिकादिग्रवाहो वा ॥’ इति

This suggests that Lollata was son of Aparājita.<sup>15</sup>

1. Vallabhadeva has a verse of Bhatta Aparājita (*Sudh* 1024) which looks satirical

क्षुत्क्षायेण कथं कथयिदनिष गात्र कृष्ण विभ्रता  
आन्त येन गृहे गृहे गृहवतामुच्छिष्टपिण्डार्थिना ।  
अस्म. खण्डमवाप्य दैवपतित शून्या त्रिलोकीमिमा  
मन्वानो विग्रहो स एव सरमापुत्रोऽथ सिद्धायते ॥

Is he identical with Aparājita, the poet who was a contemporary of Rājasekhara and mentioned in his prologue to *Balarāmāyaṇa* (see para 655 *supra*).

On Lollata, see S. K. De, *SP* 86 and Vamanācārya, *Int. to Kāvya-prakāśa*.

**823 Sankuka**<sup>1</sup> is by tradition known to have criticised the views of Lollata on rasa, and he was probably a younger contemporary of Lollata, for his poem Bhavanābhuyudaya<sup>2</sup> was composed during the reign of Añṭapida, King of Kāśmir (814–851 AD)<sup>3</sup>. Sankuka's commentary on Nātvasāstra is quoted by Abhinavagupta and later writers. He lived earlier than Anandavardhana.

**824 Ghantaka** came after Sankuka. His verses are quoted in the anthologies,<sup>4</sup> but Abhinavagupta's quotation of his opinion on nātaka

श्रीशङ्कुकस्तु अयुत्तमेतदित्यभिधाय अष्टधेति व्याचष्टे । तथा च देवी कन्या च रूपाता  
अरूपाता भंदेन चतुर्थी । कन्या तु अन्त पुरसङ्गीतकभंदेन द्विधेति । घण्टकादयस्त्वाहु नायको  
नृपतिरिलेनावन्नात्म् । नाटकादावृपजीवित न तु प्रस्यातत्त्वमापि । तद्देदद्वयादन्ये बोडश  
भेदा इति ॥

suggests that he wrote a treatise on dramaturgy

1 In the Sārgadharapaddhati and Sūkṣmukjavāli, the verse

दुर्वारास्स्मरमार्गणा प्रियतमो दूरे मनोऽश्युत्सुक  
गाढं प्रेम नव व्योऽतिकठिना प्राणा कुलं निर्मलम् ।  
स्त्रीत्व व्यैर्यविरोधि मन्मथसुहृत् कालं कृतान्तोऽक्षमं  
नो सल्यव्यतुरा कथ तु विरहसोऽव्य इत्य शठ ॥

This is quoted in *Subh* as Mayura's son Bhatta Sankuka's. If Sankuka was the son of Mayura (see para 279 *sugra*) he must have lived in the 7th century AD and must be a different from Sankuka of Vikrama's Court.

2 Thus says Rājataranginī (IV 708–4)

अथ मन्मोत्पलकयोरुद्भूषाकणो रण । रुद्धप्रवाहा अतासीद्वितस्ता सुमटैर्हते ॥  
कर्वितुर्धमनस्तिव्युदशाङ्काशक्तुकामिभि । यश्चाद्यश्याकरोत्काव्य भुवनाभ्युदयाभिधम् ॥

On Sankuka, see S. K. De, *SP*, 88, Peterson's *Subh* 127, Quackenbos, *Sanskrit Poems of Mayura*, 50–52, G. A. Jacob, *Notes on Alankara Literature*, *JRAS*, (1897), 281, 287. For the misreading by Peterson (*PR*, II 59), see *IA*, XLI 189. For quotation in anthologies, see Quackenbos, *I* c 50 *fn* and Peterson *I* c. This is a poet Sankha or Sankhaka quoted in *Subh* 851a.

"In 1877 one of the Buddhist Pundits obtained clue to the existence of a copy but did not succeed in persuading the ignorant owner to produce it."

3 S. P. Pandit's Pref to *Gaudavāno*, lxxxvi

4 अनुर्माला मौर्वी कणदलिकुल लक्ष्यमबला  
मनो भेद्य छब्दप्रभृतय इमे पञ्च विशिला ।  
इयान् जेतु यथ लिमुवनभंदेहस्य विभव ।

स कामः कामान् थो दिग्दतु दयितापाङ्गवसति ॥ *Subh* 82

See on Ghantaka, B. Ramamurti in *JOB*, II

**825 Anandavardhana**,<sup>1</sup> was the son of Nona. He was a poet of the Court of Avantivarman of Kāśmir (855-884 A.D.). Rāṭnakara, Muktakāra and Śivasvāmin were his friends.<sup>2</sup> He was the father of the school of Dhvani in the science of poetics. His Dhvanyaloka or Kāvaloka,<sup>3</sup> elaborates the doctrine of dhvani or suggestion, as the soul of poetry, and on that basis he discusses its relation to the other poetic embellishments. His language is lucid and is such as must clothe the expression of one who was inaugurating a new thought. His ideas have always been respected and have found a deserving notice at the hands of every later author.<sup>4</sup> The commentary on it, Locana of Abhinavagupta, has given it a worthy elucidation and a wide renown.

His Devisatka is a melodious lyric in praise of Pārvatī.<sup>5</sup> Among his other works<sup>6</sup> are Arjunacantamahākāvya and two Prakrit poems, Visamabānalilā<sup>7</sup> and Harivijaya.

According to Gururāṭnamalikā, (64), Saṃcīdānandasaravatī, 38th Acārya of Kamakotipitha was a contemporary of Ānandavardhana.

अनुपश्चपुर चिराय तिष्ठत् खनिकारादिबुधाश्रितो व्रतिष्ठ ।

1. Ānandameru, the teacher's teacher of Pañmasundara who wrote the Rāya mallābhuyūḍhya Mahākāvya in Sam 1615 (1681 A.D.) (*PR*, III 257, IV, List of authors) is a different person. See para 281 *supra*.

2. Ray V 94

3. Called also Sahṛdayāloka. Ed. Kāvyamāla Bombay. Abhinavagupta appears to think (l c 54) that Ānandavardhana was the author only of the vṛttis and the Kārikas are anonymous. Uṭṭungodhya in his commentary on the Locana (*TC*, III 8878) calls Ānandavardhana's work Kāvylōka. Among the authors and works quoted are Kālidāsa, Pundarika, Bāṇa, Bhāṭṭopbhata, Bhāmaha, Sarvasena and Śāṭavāhana, Amaruka, Dharmakirți, a poem named Madhumajhanayijaya, Rājñavali, Tāpasa vatsarāja, Rāmābhuyudaya.

4. So says Rājāśekhara

अवनिनातिगमीरेण काव्यतत्पन्निवेदिना ।

आनन्दवर्धनं कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धनं ॥

—Jahlapā's Sukumukṭīavali

5. In *DC*, XIX 7678 and *SKC*, 68 there is a different work of the same name.

6. There is a commentary by Kayyata, son of Candrāditya and grandson of Vallabhadeva, composed in Kali 4078 or 976 A.D. in the reign of king Bhīṣmagupta. This Vallabhadeva is probably the famous commentator and the same as the poet quoted in the Subhāṣīṭāvali. See Peterson's *Subh* 112-114. Kayyata, son of Jayyata, the author of Bhāṣyapradīpa is a different person. See para 29 *supra*.

7. It was an anthology. See Sten Konow's Int. to Karpuramanjanī (*HOS* No IV) p 198. Peterson (*PR*, II 18) conjectures it is a work like Kuttinimesṭam.

**826 Mukula** was son of Bhattachallata who was a poet of the Court of king Avantivarman of Kāmīr (855-884) Mukula's son Harṣata wrote a gloss on Jayadevachandas,<sup>2</sup> and that is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Nātyasāstra.<sup>3</sup> Mukula's Abhidhārvitimatikā deals with the literal denotation of words.<sup>4</sup>

INDURAJA, also known as Praṭīhārendurāja<sup>5</sup> was his pupil He was born in Konkhan<sup>6</sup> and subsequently migrated to Kāmīr His only known work is Kāvīlankārasāralaghuvṛtti, the commentary on Udbhata's Kāvyālankāra.<sup>7</sup>

**827 Bhāttanayaka's Hṛdayadarpana** is reputed to be another commentary on Bhāraṭa Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha<sup>8</sup> quote a verse under his name, which Mahīma cites as from Hṛdayadarpana.<sup>9</sup> It is in prose and verse and is traced only in a fragment the availability of which now is doubted.<sup>10</sup> Bhāttanayaka thought that rasa is the essence of good poetry and differed from Dhvani theory of Ānandavar-dhana He was therefore the object of attack by Abhinavagupta Ruyyaka sums up Bhāttanayaka's views.<sup>11</sup> He was probably a poet of the Court of King Avantivarman (855-884 A D) and King Sankaravarman of Kāmīr He seem to have written a commentary on Bhāmāhā-lankāra.<sup>12</sup> His trancendental view of Nātya is rightly quoted by Abhinavagupta

1. Ray, V 66

2. See Bharati (1926) S K. De, SP, II 76,

3. Ed. Bombay If refer to Kumārī, Śabarawāmin and Bharṭphari.

4. On Indurāja, see PR, IV Index of authors, BKR, 66, Peterson's, Paper on Aucityavacaracācas, 20 and introduction to Subh 11, and Vamanacarya's introduction to Kavyaprakāsa, 22 Jacob JRAS, (1897), 295

5. He called himself कोङ्कण श्रीनृसाराज

6. Ed. Bombay Among old authors mentioned in it are Amarka, Kātyāyana, Curnikāra (Patanjali), Dandin, Vāmana, Bhāmaha.

7. See BKR, 64-67

8. See T R Chintamani, *Fragments of Bhāttanayaka JOR*, (1927), 257

9. The manuscript was possessed by the late father of M. Ramakrishna Kavī and was by him entrusted to Cheru Narasimha Sastrī of Pidur village, 8 miles from Manubole Railway Station in Nellore District This may set at rest the doubt and suggestion of S K De, SP, 89-48 that Hṛdayadarpana is not a commentary on Nātyasāstra, but an independent treatise on Alankāra

10. Ray, V 159. Peterson's, Subh 50.

11. GA Jacob, JRAS (1897), 296,

Bhātagopāla's commentary on Kāvyaprakāsa has

भृन्नायकस्तु, 'ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतम् अविद्याविरचित निस्सारमेदग्रे हे यदुदाहरणीकृत तत्त्वात्मक, तद्विद्याभि । यथा हि कल्पनामात्रसार तत एवानवस्थितैकरूप ध्येन कल्पनाशतसहस्रसह सप्तादिविलक्षणमपि सुषुटुरा इदयग्रहनिदानम् अत्यक्तसालम्बनब्रह्मकल्प नाटोपराचित रामरावणादिचेष्टित कुतोऽन्यभूतवृत्त्या भाति, तथा भासमानमपि च पुरुषोऽपायतमेति । तथा ताद्गोव विश्वसिद्धमसल्यामरुपप्रपञ्चात्मकमथ च श्रवणमननादिवशेन परमपुरुषप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थसूचनेन शान्तरसोपक्षेषोऽयं भविष्यति, 'स्त त निमित्तमासाध शान्तादुत्पद्यते रस' इति । तदनेन पारमार्थिक प्रयोजनमुक्तम्' इति व्याख्यान हृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत । यदाह—

'नम्नैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यत ।

प्रतिक्षण जगन्नात्मप्रयोगरसिको जन ॥' Baroda Edn, pp 4-5

He distinguished Kāvya for Śāstra and Ākhyāna by the poet's expression of Bhāvaktavavyāpāra generated by guna and alankāra Mahimabhatta embarked on the same object of refuting Dhvani theory, though he did it without seeing this Hṛdayaśārpaṇa and he was probably his younger contemporary<sup>2</sup>

**828 Rajasekhara's Kavyamimamsa** is a unique work of literary criticism and tradition It is supposed to be a fragment of a bigger treatise KAVIRAHASYA (or Kavivimarsha), not now traceable, though

उद्देनापि नग्रेण नायकेनोपलालित ।

इयो माम इव स्त्रीणामन्यारम्भोऽपि मामह ॥

V Raghavan explains that this does not mean any commentary on Bhāmaha

"Nāyaka accepted, i.e Abhinava says (p 12). that Rasa is the Ātman of poetry But in distinguishing poetry from ordinary, Sātradic, or Parāṇī utterances, he formulated the doctrine of अभिवाप्तावादान्य or व्यापारावादान्य This means an emphasis on the form of poetry as its differentia Bhāmaha gave Vakrokti as the differentia of poetry The Abhidhā of a poet is his characteristic expression as a whole, his Vakrokti Abhinava equates Nāyaka's Vyāpāra, (s e.) expression having it and Bhāmaha's Vakrokti in his commentary on the section on Lakṣapāṇas

Abhinava says in his Locana that the Bhāvaktavavyāpāra, which is one of the three Amīas of Kāvya Śārpaṇa as distinguished from other Śārdas, is the embellished utterance having Gunas and Alankāras pp 68-70

"भावक्तव्यापि समुचितगुणालङ्घरपरिग्रहमस्मामिरेव वित्तल वक्ष्यते ।"

Thus it is most likely that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, in defining poetry and its difference from other utterances, and in expounding his idea of Abhidhāpradhānya or Vyāpāra prādhānya, drew upon, adopted, exploited and re interpreted Bhāmaha's idea of poetry as being characterised by Vakrokti This is perhaps the उपलालन which Bhaṭṭa Gopala says, Nāyaka gave to Bhāmaha<sup>3</sup>

1. So he says अदृष्टदर्पणा ममवी.

Bhattaśrī Nārāyanasastrin mentions it and gives an extract about Bhāṣa's works<sup>1</sup> Kāvyamimāṃsa has been extensively used by Keemendra, Bhoja and Hemacandra and has been held in very great reverence<sup>2</sup>

A B Keith has an excellent summary of this work. He conceives of the Kavyapurusa, the spirit of poetry, son of Sarasvatī, and the Sahityavidya, science of poetics, who becomes his bride, the term Sahitya being derived, we may believe, from the old doctrine of the union of word or sound and sense to make a poem, as laid down by Bhamaha, Magha, and others. He distinguishes carefully science, Castra, and poetry, and analyses the division of the former and discusses at length the relation of genius, poetic imagination, culture, and practice in making a poet and classifies poets on this score. A further classification is based on the fact that a poet may produce a Castra, or a poem, or combine both in varying proportions, and of poets in the narrower sense he makes eight illogical groups. His own conception of poetry appears traditional, he defines it as a sentence possessing qualities and figures, and he accepts Vamana's doctrine of styles which are the extreme of Sahityavidya's wanderings in diverse lands. The sources of poetry are touched on, and the subject-matter as concerned with men, divine beings, or denizens of hell is investigated. Very interesting is the discussion of borrowing from earlier works, it is recognized as justified by freshness of idea and expression, and elaborate illustration is given of thirty-two different ways of evading improper plagiarism. Important also is the consideration of poetical conventions, and we are given a geography of India and many remarks on the seasons with their appropriate winds, birds, flowers, and action. Rājasekhara also gives curious details of the likings of different parts of India for certain languages and their mode of mispronouncing Sāṃskrit. The Magadhas and others east of Benares are blunt in Prākṛit, good at Sanskrit, but the Gaudas are thoroughly bad in Prakrit; the Latas dislike Sanskrit but use the Prakrit beautifully, the Surāstras and Travanas mix Apabhranca with Sanskrit, the Dravidas recite musically, Kāshmirian pronunciation is as bad as their poetry is good, Karnātas end up sentences with a twang, northerners are nasal, the people of Pancala sweet and honey-like. Women poets are recognised, and sex barriers despised, while of the ten grades of poets the rank of Kavirāja, held by Rajacekhara, comes seventh even above the Mahākavi himself. Great stress is laid on the assem-

1. See para 568 *supra*

2. See S. K. De, SP, 126.

bles at which poets were judged and where the prize given by the king included crowning with a fillet and riding in a special chariot. The poet's paraphernalia is given, chalk, a board, palm leaves, biren bark, pen and ink. More important is the insistence on the equal rights of all four forms of speech, Sanskrit, Prakrit elegant, sweet and smooth, Apabhranca also elegant, as loved in Marwar, Takka, and Bhadānāka, and Bhūtabhāsā current in Avanti, Pariyatra, and Dacapura, while the people of the Madhyadeca, used all equally well. The people of that land show also their admixture by their colours, brown like the easterners, dark like the southerners, white like the westerners, while the northerners are fair. When we add that he quotes extensively including the *Mahimnastotra*, gives many fine verses and anecdotes and is usually lively if pedantic, the merits of his work can be appreciated.”<sup>1</sup>

**829 Rudrata**<sup>2</sup> known as Satānanda was the son of Bhatta Vāmuka, a follower of Sāmasākhā<sup>3</sup>. His Kāvyālankāra is quoted by Rājasekhara, by Bhoja and by Praṭīharendurāja in his commentary Udbhatālankāra which was written in Sam 1122 (1066 A.D.). Ruḍrata must have therefore flourished in the latter half of the 9th century.<sup>4</sup>

Of Rudrata's works, there are two, Śṛṅgaratilaka and Kāvyālankāra, besides Ṭripuravadha of which there is a mention.

**830 ŚRNGARATILAKA**,<sup>5</sup> in three parts, delineates rasas as developed in poems as opposed to plays. It is written in very fine verse and has been quoted profusely by later writers with admiration. There

1 SL, 885 Ed with introduction, (GO) Paroda and Ed by Narayanasastri Kushe, with his own commentary and Ed with the commentary of Pandit Madhusūdanamāra.

2. Nyāyavācaspati Rudrakavi, son of Vidyavilāsa was the author of Bhāvavilāsa and panegyric of King Bhāvasimha of Jaipur, son of Wanasiṁha, contemporary of Akbar of the 17th century (Kavyamala, Part II)

3 This information is given in the Mahācakrabandha. See the diagram at the end of the book in the Kavyamala Series.

4 Buhler originally thought (BKR page 67, JBRAS XXI 67) that Rudrata belonged to the second half of the 11th century but later on saw (IA, XII, 80) that he could not be placed later than the 10th century A.D. Jacobi (VOJ, II 151) suggests that Rudrata was a Kashmirian contemporary of King Śāṅkaravarman, son of Avantivarman and that the example of Vakīokti given by him (II 15) was prompted by Raṭnakara whose work Vakrotipancasikā contains similar raillettes between Śiva and Pārvati.

5 Ed. Bombay, and by Pischell, Kiel. On the identity of authors of Śṛṅgaratilaka and Kāvyālankāra, there has been much difference of opinion. But the quotations here following make the identity clear. In Bhāvaprakāśa (Ch. IV) Śāradātanaya says

is a commentary on it called *Rasaṭarangini* by Gopala Bhatta, son of Harivamśabhatta<sup>1</sup>

**831** His KĀVYALANKĀRA is written in Āryā metre and is in 16 chapters Rudrata recognises the fame of the poet and the good of others as the only object of poetry He deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense He includes Vakrokti among the former and makes a broad classification of the latter into vāstava<sup>2</sup> aupamya, atisaya and slova

There are three commentaries on Kāvylankāra by Vallabhadeva,<sup>3</sup> Namisādhu,<sup>4</sup> and Āśudhara<sup>5</sup>

**832** *Namisādhu*<sup>6</sup> was a Svetāmbara Jain Bhikṣu and disciple of Śālibhadra He wrote his commentary in the year Sam 1125

इथं चतत्रयं तासामचीतिश्चतुर्हत्तरा ।  
सर्वेयं रुद्राटाचार्यैरुपमोगाय कल्पिता ॥  
in which the 1st half is I 88 of Śringāratilaka and saying  
शृगारामास एव स्नानं शृगारं कदाचन ।  
इति द्विष्णत्पुद्दिश्य प्राह् श्रीरुद्रट कवि ॥—Śringāratilaka

He quotes from Śringāratilaka, I 61, 68-70 In his commentary on Daśarupa, Bahurupamītra thus quotes from Rudrata रासिकसार्वभौमै रुद्रट एवोत्तरमाह and quotes some verses I 49, 68, 69

Bhattagopāla in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa says

आर्यातुरागी सर्वज्ञसत्त्वं रुद्रस्त रुद्रट ।

In Rāṭnavasuṇḍhākara, Śingabupāla quotes Śringāratilaka (I 69) as of Rudrata Bhoja quotes from Śringāratilaka and Kāvylankāra Aufrecht (*ZDMG*, XXVII 80, XXXVI 776), Weber (*ISI* XVI), Buhler (*BKR*, 67) and Pischel (*ZDMG*, XLII 296-301 125-135 and preface to *Idn*) accept the identity. Durgaprasad (Edn of Śring) Trevedi (*Notes to Bhāvālī*, 8), Jacobi (*VOJ*, II 51, IV 69, *ZDMG*, XLII 296, 425), and S K De (*SP*, I, 90-96) deny the identity Peterson (*Subh* 104-5, *PR*, I 14, II 19, *JBRAS*, XVI 14-20) and Thomas (*Kat* 92-96) doubt the identity See also *BR*, (1897) xliv and *JRAS*, (1897) 221 Durgaprasad (*l c*) notes that a verse *Sārdham Manorāṭhaśatāḥ* is quoted by Viśnusarman in *Pancāntara* and because the latter cannot be earlier than 8th century A D (as he quotes *Kuttinimāṭa*) the author of Śringāratilaka must have lived about the end of the 7th century A D In some colophons of Śringāratilaka he is called Rudrabhatta See also *IA*, XV, 287, *BKR*, 65

<sup>2</sup> If he is the author referred to by Kumāraswāmin he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century A D He wrote commentaries on Kāvyaprakāśa and *Rasamanjari* See S K De, *SP*, I 101 and *OC*, I 118, 161, 195.

<sup>3</sup> *BR*, I 14-20.

<sup>4</sup> The work is lost.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Bombay,

<sup>6</sup> *OC* I 108, 779

<sup>7</sup> He calls himself, Śvetabhiṣūṇami, Śvetāmbaranami, Panditanami Nāmīśādhu, Saṅghunami

(1069 A D),<sup>2</sup> for "men of feeble intellect, ever on the lookout for primers and abstracts His gloss is drawn up "in strict accordance with commentaries drawn up by mighty minds of old" For Rudrata's work to grow so much in importance and for it to become so popular sufficient time must have elapsed and about two centuries may be thought of as that interval"<sup>3</sup>

**833 Dhananjaya** was the son of Visnu He was a poet of the King Munja (Vākpatirāja II) of Paramāra dynasty of Malva who ruled in 9744-995 A D<sup>4</sup> Among Dhananjaya's friends were Padmagupta, Halayudha and Dhanapāla His DASARŪPA<sup>5</sup> is a succinct treatise on dramatic writing It is mainly based on the rules laid down by Bharata, which "being diffuse is bewildering to those of slow wit" and except to a little extent in the classification of heroines, and treatment as Sringara, he rarely differs from Bharata's Nātyasāstra The excellence of Dhananjaya's presentation has gained for it a popularity which has tended to replace in a great measure the usefulness of Nātyasastra and it is referred to by later writers on rhetoric mostly with approbation

There are commentaries on Dasarūpa by Dhanika,<sup>6</sup> and by Bahurūpamisra,<sup>7</sup> by Nṛsimhabhatta,<sup>8</sup> by Devapāni,<sup>9</sup> by Kṣopīdharamisra,<sup>10</sup> and by Kūrvirāma.<sup>11</sup>

1 Ed Bombay He quotes from Ajunacarṇa of Ānandvardhana, Tilakamanjari of Dhanapāla and from a work on prosody by Jayadeva

2 Peterson (PR I 17) thinks middle of 11th century probable

3 About this dynasty, see paras 515 *supra*

4 Ed by F Hall, Calcutta with preface, by K P Parab, Bombay, by Vidyasagar, Calcutta Tr into English by C C G Haas (*Col Univ Series*) with notes and introduction See also S K De, SP, I 128-185, Barnett, JRAS, (1918) 190

5 Ed along with Dasarūpa (l c)

6 TC, IV 5484, V 6180

7 TC, III 8847 There are commentaries on Kāvyaprakāśa on Sarasvatī karthābharaṇa and Śabarabhāṣya by Narasimha, but it is not known if all these Narasimhas are identical From the fact that manuscripts of commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa are found in Telugu commentary only, it may be said he was a different author but the manuscripts of the other three commentaries are found in Malabar and were discovered in the house of Payyur Paiteri, father of Vāsuḍeva, in whose family there was a scholar named Narasimha About Payyur Paiteri see para 170 *supra*

8 TC, II 1097 He is quoted by Ranganātha in his commentary on Vikramorvaśi and must therefore be earlier than 1656 A D

9 Hall's Edition, 4 notes

10 CC, II 58 His Daśarūpakaṇḍhaṭi (CC, II 1097) is in 110 verses on the characteristics of plays He also wrote a commentary on Bhāratacampu and Viśva-guṇḍarāśa and Kuvalāyananda. (See HR, I xi) He was patronised by the Zamindar of Karvetnagar, Chittoor Dist, in Madras.

**834 Dhanika** was probably Dhananjaya's brother<sup>1</sup> unless as some say Dhanika and Dhananjaya are one. In one of the manuscripts of his *Avaloka* he is described as an officer (*Mahāñdhvapūla*) of king Utpala rāja, that is Munja.<sup>2</sup> He was probably the father of Vasanṭacārya who was a donee under a grant of land by king Vākpati (Munja) in 974 A.D.<sup>3</sup> He also wrote poetry and gives his own illustrations of Dhananjaya's definitions.<sup>4</sup> In his *Avaloka* (IV 46) he quotes verse from another work of his, *Kāvyanirnaya*.

**835 BAHURUPAMISRA** is described as *Mahāmahopādhyāya* in the colophon to his work. Of the latest writers, he quotes are Bhoj and Mūrti and from the circumstance that he does not refer to Mammata or any later rhetoricians he may be assigned to the beginning of the 12th century A.D. He comments on the text and gloss of Dhananjaya and Dhanika, and thereby treats both as *Dasarūpa*. His commentary is called *Rūpadipikā*. It is probably the best commentary available and its value is enhanced by illustrations taken from author of whom many are now unknown.<sup>5</sup>

**836 Abhinavagupta** alias **Nṛsiṁhagupta**<sup>6</sup> was the son of Nṛsiṁhagupta (known as Chukhala or Mukhala) and Vimallī, and grand son of Varāhagupta. His father's maternal grandfather was Yasorāga.

1 In some works *Dasarūpa* is referred to as the work of Dhanika (see *Sāhityadarpana*, 813 and 816) and this had led to the confusion that the author of the *Dasarūpa* and the commentary are one. See Levi, VI, 17, Jacobi, *GA*, (1918) 808. The commentary has several indications of difference in authorship. See for instance II 84 III 40 and IV, 62.

2 See Wilson's, *Theatre*, I vi.-xxi., Hall, *Int to Edn* 8 notes

3 IA, VI 51-53, JASB, XXX, 195-210

4 Among works quoted or referred to are, *Uḍāttarāgħava*, *Chaliṭarāma*, *Pandarāṇa*, *Rāmābhūyuday*, *Tarangadeśī* and *Puṣpaquṣīlakna*.

5 Among rare authors and works quoted by him are

कोहल, नखकुट्ट, भट्टनारायण, शीहर्ष, छलितराम, मातुगुप्त, षट्सहस्रीकार, कुमारगर्भ, नायकानद, प्रतिष्ठामीम, पाण्डवानद, दशश्रीवत्त्वध, रामाभ्युदय, सुशीचामिषेक, नलविजय, देवी-परिणय, मेनकानहूष, भद्रेखा, स्तमितरभ, स्वप्नवासवदत्त, कुलारावण, नृसंचरक, तरगदत्त, पश्चातीपरिणय, पुष्पभूषितक, माधवी, ललितनागर, शशिकला, भगवदरूपक, तारकोद्धरण, सिंधुर, विक्रम, मीमविक्रम, अमृतमथन, शक्रानद, मालतीका, कामदत्त, नागविजय, कुमुदेश्वरविजय, ऊर्वाशीमदन, उदात्तारावद ॥

6 'Gupta' denotes a sect of Kashmir brahmins. Abhinava is the proper name. So writes Kṣemarāja in his *Netrōdyota* अभिनवबोधा. See Durgāprasāda's *Int to Sāhityadarpana* (Bombay).

Manorathagupta<sup>3</sup> was his brother. His teachers were Utpalarāja Bhattendurāja, Lakṣmanagupta, Siddhicela and Bhatta Tauta.<sup>4</sup> Kṣemendra was his pupil. He was a staunch votary of Śiva. He is held in great reverence by later writers and he is styled Ācāryapādāḥ. His Bṛhat-Pratibhīgnā-vimarsinī gives his parentage and the date of its composition as the year 90 Laukika or 1013 A.D.<sup>5</sup> He was a poet, logician and philosopher.

Abhinava's paternal uncle VAMANAGUPTA was also a writer on poetics. He is quoted thus in Abhinavabhrāti (p. 297)

तत्र हास्यामासो यथा अस्मतितुव्यस्य वामनगुप्तस्य—  
लोकोत्तराणि चरितानि न लोक एष  
समन्यते यदि किमङ्ग वदाव(म?) नाम ।  
यत्वत्र हासमुखतस्त्वममृद्ध्य तेन  
पाश्चौपर्णीडभिह को न विजाहसीति ॥

In Mādhava's Sankaravijaya (XV 158) it is said that Abhinavagupta was vanquished by Sankara.<sup>6</sup> The 48th Ācārya in Kamakotipitha, Advaitanandabodhendra is said to have vanquished by Abhinavagupta and Śriharṣa. So says Punyaslokamanjari and Gururatnīmalikā

आभिचारकगुप्तपादवादिप्रभुहर्षदिपराभवाभभूमिष् ।

His Locana is a commentary on Dhvanyāloka<sup>7</sup> of Anāndavardhana

1 The post Manoratha of the Court of king Jayapida (779-919 A.D.) was a different person (RAJ, IV 496). See Peterson's *Subh* 85

2 He was called Mahāmāheśvar, Abhinavagupta (DC, XXI 8666),

3 इह विश्वानुजिवृक्षापरं परमाश्रितं एव सकलभूमण्डलोचरं श्रीमच्छारदादिव्यक्रीडासदने श्रीकाश्मीरदण्डे श्रीनरसिंहशुसहवर्घचारिण्या श्रीमत्यां विमलायां लीलया अवतीर्णे श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तनाथ इति प्रस्त्यातामिथान

श्रीमद्दुपलदेवाचार्यमुखोदीति श्रीमदीश्वरप्रत्यमिहारात्य शास्त्र व्याचिख्यासु

4 See C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer's *Life of Sankara* (Madras) 70. On Abhinavagupta, see Jacobi JRAS, (1897,) 297, (1908), 65-9, P. V. Kane, IA, XLI 204

5 Ed. Kāvyamala, Bombay, [except chapter IV which has been edited by S. K. De in *Jl. of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta, 1923] Being edited by S. K. De for BSS, Bombay. There is a commentary on it Anjanā, anonymous. It cites Induraja as Paramaguru or teacher's teacher (*ibid* 8668). There is another commentary by Uṭṭungodaya (TC, III 9876). In the Locana the following works are referred to

Arjunacarita, Kadambarkathasara (as the work of Bhatta Jayanṭaka, father of Abhinavāṇa though the latter is the reputed author of it), Tapasavat̄sarāja, Bhallata Maṭangadīvakara, Śrīharṣa, Yaśovarman's Ramabhyudaya, Bhattanayaka, Rudrata Viśamabāṇalilā, Bhāmaha, Duṭṭangada, Patalavijaya (of Papiṇi), Venisambhara, Sūkṣmapratiṣṭi, Tilakamanjari, Svapnavasavadātti, Kavyakauṭuka, Haravijaya (prakriti)

and is a mine of rhetorical learning, Bhairavastoṭra<sup>1</sup> is a collection of verses in praise of Kālabhairava and Mahopadesavimśati is a series of sententious moral maxims. Among his other works<sup>2</sup> are also Kramastoṭra,<sup>3</sup> Ghatakarparavivṛtti, Nātyalocana and Abhinavabhāraṭī, the last two being commentaries on Bharata's Nātyasāṣṭra.<sup>4</sup>

**837 Utpaladeva** was the teacher of Abhinava's teacher Lakṣmaṇagupta. He was the son of Udayākara and lived about 930 A.D. He is quoted by Ksemendra. He was the author of Isvarapratyabhijñā-sūtra, on which Abhinava wrote a gloss (vṛtti) in 1015 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Utpala's guru was Somānanda, founder of Pratyabhijñā cult. Utpala's views on music are quoted by in Abhinavabhāraṭī. For instance

तस्मादुक्तवर्णोपजीवनमेव परमगुरुनिरूपित युक्तम् ।

यथोक्त श्रीमदुत्पलपादै—

स्थितस्थायित्वसपचात् प्रस्तुतस्थमयोजनम् ।

भ्रुवासु यथदन्येभ्यस्तद्व्यङ्गोपकल्पयेत् ॥

and in Basavarāja's Śivatattvaraṭnākara, there is this reference

उत्पलाद्य परिमळ कर्तिं शार्ङ्गधरस्य च ।

**838 Bhatta Tauta's**<sup>6</sup> work Kāvyakautuka is lost. His definition of Kavi and Kāvya is mentioned by Rāmacandra and quoted by Mātikyacandra.

यथोक्त काव्यकौतुके—

प्रश्ना नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता ।

तदनुप्राणनाजीवदर्ढणानिपुण कवि ॥

तस्य कर्म स्पृत काव्यम् ।

It appears that Rājacūḍāmanī Dīksitā had a copy of this book and he follows Tauta's definition in his Kāvyadarpaṇa.<sup>7</sup>

Tauta's estimation of a kavi (poet) is superb and is quoted by Hemacandra.

1. Composed in Laukika 69 (980 A.D.)

2. For a list of his works, see *SKC*, 365.

3. Composed in Laukika 66 (991 A.D.).

4. See chapters on *Music* and *Dancing*, post.

5. *TC*, III, 3843. For a summary of quotations, see Thomas, *Kav. 29*, also Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 12, *CC*, I, 64, *SKC*, 806.

6. For a discussion of fragments of Tauta, see V. Raghavan's article on *Writers quoted in Abhinavabhāraṭī*, *JOR*, Madras.

7. Mys. Edn. of *Kavyaprakāśa*, p. 7.

8. *Srirangam* [Edn. I, 7].

तथा चाह भट्टोते —

“नानृषि कविरित्युक्त क्रषिश किल दर्शनात् ।

बिचित्रभावधर्माशतस्वप्रस्थ्या च दर्शनम् ॥

स तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रे पठित कवि ।

दर्शनाद्वर्णनाचार्य रुढा लोके कविश्चिति ॥

तथा हि उर्ध्वं लक्ष्मे निलोऽप्यादिकवेषुने ।

नोदिता कविता लोके गावज्ञाता न वर्णना ॥—*Kāryānuśāsana*, p. 316

Abhinavagupta wrote a gloss on it Vivaraṇa and mentions it in his Locana,<sup>2</sup> and quotes his views in Abhinavabhāratī. Tauṭa refuted the theories of Lollata and Sankuka on rasa

**839. Bhattacharjuna** was the son of Śribhūṭirāja and grandson of Saucuka of Kāsyapagoṭra. His verses furnished easy illustrations for Abhinavagupta, who calls his teacher Vidyat-kavi-sahṛdaya-cakravarṭin. He is quoted by Kṣemendra in Auciṭyaviciāracarcā and Suvṛttatilaka

**840. Keira or Keiraswamin** was a pupil of Bhattacharjuna. His drama Abhinavarāghava is quoted in Nātyadarpana by Rāmacandra, a pupil of Hemacandra, where Śīhāpaka says—

आर्ये चिरस्य स्मृतय—

अस्त्वेव राघवभीनकथापवित्र

काव्य प्रबन्धघटनाप्राथितप्रथितम् ।

मट्टेदुराजचरणांजमधुवतस्य

क्षीरस्य नाटकमन्यसमानसारम् ॥

and Rāmacandra in introducing the above quotation says—

यथा क्षीरसमिविचितेऽप्यमिनकराच्चे ।

**841. Bhojadeva** of Dhārā<sup>1</sup> has a distinguished place in poetics, and with his name are associated Sarasvatīkāntabharana and Singāraprakāsa. In Sarasvatīkāntabharana,<sup>2</sup> in five long chapters, Bhoja discusses the merits and faults of poetry, the figures of speech, and the sentiments. The general precepts are profusely illustrated from the

1. Bom. Edn p. 178 मट्टैतेन काव्यकौतुके अस्मामिथ तद्विषये बहुतरकृतनिर्णय ।

2. See S. K. De, *Agnipurana and Bhoja* [J.R.A.S. (1928), 587].

3. Ed Benares. For a detailed description of the work, see Auf Bod. Cat. No. 489 and R. Mitra's Cat No. 8148, DC, XXII, 8708.

works of standard authors<sup>1</sup> and in this respect, the treatise forms a landmark in the history of Sanskrit literature.

There are commentaries on it by Rañgesvaramiṣṭa composed at the instance of Rāmasimha,<sup>2</sup> by Bhatta Narasimha,<sup>3</sup> by Lakṣmīnāṭhabhatta<sup>4</sup> and by Jagaddhara.<sup>5</sup>

**842 Bhoja's Srngaraprakasa**<sup>6</sup> is the most extensive work on Alankāra and has largely been used by Hemacandra and Śāradātanaya. It has 36 Prakāsas or Chapters. The first eight deal with grammatical technicalities and the theory of Vṛtti, the ninth and the tenth with faults and merits of expression and thought, and the eleventh with Mahākāvya and the twelfth with drama, and the next twenty-four chapters are devoted to Rasas, of which the main is held to be Śringāra.<sup>7</sup>

In the last verses of these two treatises Bhoja invokes eternity for his work thus.

यावन्मूर्ति हिमांशुकदलभृति सर्वाद्विनो धूजटे-  
र्यवद्वक्षसि कौस्तुभस्तबकिते लक्ष्मीरुद्रेष्णि ।  
यावच्चित्तमुविलोकविजयप्राप्नै धनुं कौसुम  
भूयाचावदिय कृतिं कृतवियां कणवत्सोत्पलम् ॥

1 Among rare works and authors quoted are, Kādambarikāthāśāra, Bhāravi, Kumāraḍāśa, Gāḍhāsaptasāṭī, Candīśāṭaka, Caturapandāśīkā, Daśakumāracārīra, Bhallāṭāṭaka, Bhāṣa Mahānāṭaka, Maṭavardūra, Rudrata, Bhāmaḥa, Muṇḍrārākṣasa, Lakṣmīnāṭha, Viṭakānītambā, Vijayāṭī, Rājāśekhara, Hayagrīvaṇvīha. For a fuller reference, see Jacobi, *Notes on Alankara Literature*, [JRAS (1897), 281.]

2 Ed. Benares *DC*, XXII 8505

3 *TC*, III 8515.

4 *CASB*, 215.

5 Ed by Kedarnath Sarma, Bombay

6 *TG*, IV 4881 Ed. partly by Sri Yadugirīśwāmi of Melkote

7 Among works and poets quoted are the following that are rare

अनङ्गवती, अधिकमथनम्, अभिसारिकावचितकम्, चौरपञ्चाशिका, इदुलेखा, इदुमती; उदयनोदयम्, उषाहरणम्, उदात्तराघवम्, कुदमाला, कुचलयाश्चरितम्, कृष्णचरितम्, काशमती, चित्रलेखा, छलितराघवम्, तापसवत्सराजम्, त्रैलोक्यमुदरी, चमकती, देवीचन्द्रगुप्तम्, पार्थविजयम्, फुलसंकम्, बृन्दावनम्, बृहत्कथा, भीमकुल्या, मत्स्यहसितम्, मलयवती, भद्रालसाख्यायिका, माधविका, मारीचवधम्, मालतिका, मुकुटाडितकम्, रतिविलापम्, रामचरितम्, रामाञ्चुहयेष, रावचर्णनदम्, रावचावधम्, लक्ष्मीखयवरम्, लीलावती विकान्तशूद्रकम्, विनयवतीशूद्रकम्, शकुनिका, शाखाविशाखोपयमम्, शूद्रकथा, सून्धवासवदम्, सर्पप्रका, सुभद्राहरणम्, हयप्रीविवधम्, हरिकिलासम्, हरिविष्णम्, हरिश्चन्द्रवरितम्.

**843 Ajitasena** was a Jain ascetic. He was priest of Cāmunda-darya, minister of the Ganga King Rācamalla of the 10th century A.D. He was the teacher of the Kanarese poet Nāgavarma, head of a Mutt at Bankipore. His Śringāramanjari is a small work in 128 verses meant for elementary instruction,<sup>1</sup> but Alankāracūḍāmaṇi<sup>2</sup> is more elaborate.

**844 Kṣemendra's** Aśuciṭyavicāracarcā has been noticed. It propounds the theory that *auṇya* is the mark of poetry.<sup>3</sup>

In his Kavikanthābhārana (p. 126) Kṣemendra quotes a verse of Bāna, from a source unknown—

कटु कणन्तो मलदायका. खलास्तुदृश्यल बन्धनशृङ्खला इव।

मनस्तु साधुञ्जनिमि पदे पदे हरान्ति सन्तो मणिनूपुरा इव॥

and from Lalīṭamahākāvya of his pupil Udayasimha,

**845 Kuntaka** or Kunṭala came between Rājasekhara and Mahimabhatta and was very probably a younger contemporary of Abhinavagupta. He must have lived between 10-11th century A.D. Bhāmaha had declared that vakrokti embellishes poetry. Dandin classified poetry as svabhāvokti and vakrokṭi.

भिन्न द्विषा समावेक्तिर्वक्तिरिति वाङ्मयम्।

Kuntaka laid down in his VAKROKTIVITĀ<sup>4</sup> that vakrokṭi is the life of poetry and combatted the theory of dhvani by saying that dhvani should be included in upacāravakraṭṭi, vakrokti based on resemblance or attribution.<sup>5</sup>

**846. Mahimabhatta** or Mahimā was the son of Śridhairyā. Mahimā courted renown and the means he chose was to make a destructive critique on the most famous work of his day.<sup>6</sup> Ānandavarḍhana's Dhvanyāloka was the target<sup>7</sup> and with a sagacity of thought, scarcely rivalled by any other rhetorician, Mahimā brought into his work a width of learning and a logic of argument which can only be appre-

1. Ed. by Padmarāja Pandita in Kavyāmbudhi (1898-4). CC, I, 6, III, 2  
2. CC, I 661, SR, II 88, 281, DO, XXI 8699

3. See para 69 *supra*

4. Ed. by S. K. De with a valuable introduction in COS, Calcutta.

5. K. A. Sankaran, *Kuntaka's attitude towards Dhvani*, JOR (1927), 45.

6. TC, III 3891.

7. On Mahimabhatta, see Peterson, PR, II 17, Aufrecht, CC, I, 616 (Bājāmaka Mahimācārya), M. T. Narasimha Iyengar (JRAS, 1908, 65-69), V. V. Sovani (Bh. Com. Vol. 892), P. V. Kane (IA, 41-204).

ciated by a study of it. The latest writer Mahimā quotes is Abhnivagupta and the earliest writer who reviews the work of Mahimā is Mammata. Mahimā must therefore be placed between Abhnivagupta (about 1000 A D) and Mammata (middle of 1050 A D), that is about the beginning of the 11th century A D.<sup>1</sup>

Mahimā was a dialectician par excellence. To him all the world was *anumāna* or inference. He would reduce any idea into a syllogism. In short, no knowledge there is that is not in scientific essence grounded on inference.<sup>2</sup> Bhatta Nayaka had already taken up his cudgels against the theory of Dhvani,<sup>3</sup> but Mahimā had not seen his work *Darpaṇa*, *Hṛdayadarpana*, because his aim was to achieve celebrity without delay and without being charged for not being original.

**847** His *VYAKTIVIVIKA*, (called by him *Kāvyālankāra*<sup>4</sup> of that name), literally an inquiry into Vyakti (or succession), is in three chapters.<sup>5</sup> In the first, the definition of Dhvani as given by Ānandavardhana is attacked word by word and letter by letter and is merely a destructive criticism. In the second he takes up other sundry theories such as of Vakrokti of Kuntaka and refutes his doctrine of that the merit of poetry is felicitous expression.

Mahimā's reasoning is thus epitomised. Vyakti is Dhvani. It is the manifestation of that which is desired to be manifested and it manifests itself along with its subject, that is, that which manifests it. For instance, a vessel contained in a dark room becomes visible along with the light that makes it visible.<sup>6</sup> Mahimā's object, viz., to gain celebrity, has been really attained. He cared not whether it was approbation or reprobation, for in any case his aim was not to sink into oblivion in the literary world.<sup>7</sup>

1 अनुमानेऽन्तर्मांव सर्वस्यैव ध्वने प्रकाशयितुम् ।

व्यक्तिविवेक कुरुते प्रणन्य महिमा परां वाचम् ॥

2 See P. V. Kane, (IA, 41, 904)

3 सहसा यशोभिस्तुं समृद्धताऽद्यर्दर्पणा मम धीं । See para 809 *supra*,

4 व्यक्तिविवेकाल्ये काव्यालंकारे ।

5 Ed *TSS*, Trivandrum

6 See Mahadovasastri's preface to Edn. 1. c. 2

7 अन्यैरुचितपूर्वमिद ब्रुवाणा तून स्मृतेर्विषयतां विदुषाभ्युपेयाम् ।

हृसैककारणगवेषणया नवार्थतत्वावभूष्यपरितोष्टमीहया वा ॥

The commentary that is printed in the Trivandrum edition is nameless. Jayarāha in his commentary on Alankārasaṃgraha says that Ruyyaka had written a *Vyaktivivikāvichāra*. From the fact that the commentator mentions his other works Nātaka-

**848. Mammata** was the son of Jayyata<sup>1</sup> of the Rājānaka family. He was a native of Kāsmīr but had his education at Benares. Tradition says that he was the brother of Kayyata, the grammarian and Uvvata, the Vedic glossator.<sup>2</sup> He came after Bhoja and probably had himself seen the last years of that king's reign, and he distinctly mentions his greatness and liberality in his Kāvyaprakāśa.<sup>3</sup> The earliest commentary on this work, yet known, was written by Māṇikyacandra in 1159 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and we may safely assign Mammata to the middle of the 11th century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Mammata was a staunch devotee of Siva. He was a great grammarian and followed the views of the grammarian school.<sup>6</sup> His KAVVAPRAKASA (in 10 Ullasas) is often called Ākara. It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, treats as usual of the merits and faults of poetry, the operation of words and their sources, and the figures of speech. According to him, real poetry is that which is free from faults and

---

mimāṃsa, Sāhityamimāṃsa and Hṛṣaoaritvārtika and Br̥hati, it is likely that this commentary is the work of author of Alankārasarvasva, (Mankhuka?). See Int to Alankārasarvasva, TSS.

1 Jayyata was probably the joint author with Vāmana of the Kasikāvr̥tti.

2 This account is given in Bhimasena's commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa. But Vāmanācārya (Int to Kāvyaprakāśa, Bombay) says that Uvvata calls himself in his Bhāṣya the son of Vajrata and that his Bhāṣya was composed when Bhoja was the reigning king. He therefore thinks that this tradition cannot be true. See on this JRAS (1908), 65, 66.

3 The references are given by Vāmanācārya l.c pp 5-6

4 Ibid l.c pp 26-27 where the extract from the commentary is given.

5 Peterson (Subh 85) notes that Mammata cannot be placed earlier than the commentary on it by one Jayaratha written in 1200-1294 A.D and that the earliest writer that is known to refer to Mammata is Ruyyaka, who wrote his Sanketa on Kāvyaprakāśa (PB, II p 18). Duff (Chronology, p 189) refers to the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa by Narahari dated 1242 A.D (See Vāmanācārya l.c p. 28-29) Ganapatiśāstrin (TSS, No 5 Int, p 8-9) makes him contemporary of Bhoja. Vāmanācārya (l.b.) assigns Mammata to the end of the 11th century. M. T. Narasimha Ayyangar (JRAS 1908, 65) discusses these dates and arranges the chronology thus Abhūnavagupta, the last decade of the 10th century, Mahimabhatta early part of the 11th century, and Mammata, middle of the 11th century. Buhler (BKR, 68) thought that Mammata was later than Jayaratha, the commentator of Ruyyaka, whom he assigned to the end of the 12th century, but G. A. Jacob (JRAS 1897 282) says that Jayaratha refers to Mammata by name and that Buhler's view is impossible. Buhler later on agreed (IA Jan 1884) with Peterson (JRAS, 1888-84 Extra No 1) in placing him in the beginning of the 12th century. See P. V. Kane (IA, XLII 204).

6 The commentaries Niḍarśana and Suḍhāśāgara say so. (See Vāmanācārya, Int, l.c p 9)

A collection of Mammata's grammatical views is found in Vāmanācārya's introduction (l.c. pp 10-12).

adorned with merits<sup>1</sup>. It has two parts, Sūtras or Kārikas and Vṛtti or the gloss<sup>2</sup>. Bhimacena expressly says that Mammata was the author of the Kārikas, but on this question there is a difference of opinion<sup>3</sup>. Vidyābhūṣana in his Śīhiyakaumudi calls the Kārikas Bharatasūtras and has written his own gloss on it<sup>4</sup>. Whatever it is, Kāvyaprakāsa has in fact eclipsed all earlier works by its popularity. Lucid and erudite it enchants the reader and infuses into his mind a thought of its sublime merit. Mammata begins by the invocation of Sarasvatī.

नियतकृतनियभरहिता ह्वादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।

नवरसरुचिरा निर्मितिमादधती मारती कवेर्जयति ॥

It is now almost accepted that Kāvyaprakāsa was the work of two authors Mammata and Allata.<sup>5</sup> Mammata's work ends with the Parikarālankāra and the rest was made up by Allata. The other work known

1 तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलकृती पुन लकापि ।

2 Ed by Vāmanācarya Jhalakikara w/ a long introduction and commentary, Bombay and again revised with additional extracts from several commentaries and Ed with Tr and notes by H. D. Sharma. For other editions with notes, see Cat of Or Book Agency, Poona, p 57, Tr into English by Ganganath Jha, by H D Velankare and by P P Joshi.

3 On this question, see I 1, XLII 28, ZDMG LXVI 477, LXVII 85. The commentary Vivaraṇā says that the current tradition in Bengal is that Kārikas are the work of Bharata. But in the Rasagangādhara Mammata is referred to as the author. See Vamanācarya's Int 1 c. 13-16, where he shows that Mammata refers to Bharata as an author, p 101.

4. Ed Kavyamāla (Bombay). See on this PR, II 20 and para 814 *supra*.

5. Ananda in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāsa says

कृतश्च्रीमस्माटाचार्यवै परिकराचिति ।

प्रबन्धं पूरितश्चेषो विद्यालक्ष्यस्तुरिणा ॥

Jayanṭa in his commentary calls Mammata the author of the work (See PR, II 20). It may be interesting to note (PR, II, 14) that in the colophon to that Chap I of the Kāvyaprakāsa-Sanketa, it is said that the whole work is described as of Mammata, Allata and Rucaka. इति श्रीमद्राजानकालकमस्मद्गुरुचकविरचिते निजग्रथ-काव्यप्रकाशसंकेते ।

So says Sarasammuccaya also. But were Mammata and Rucaka contemporaries?

Peterson (PR, I 21 and II 1888-84, p 18) takes Alaka to be the real name of the joint author. Some MSS give the name Bhattarājānaka. The Jammu Manuscripts (SKC, xxv) contain the word Allata Alaka who is mentioned in Raṭnakartha's Sarasammuccaya as a commentator on Buḍḍhāya's Alankārasārvasa, who was also the son of Jayānaka, the author of a commentary on Raṭnakartha's Harivijaya, says Stein, is a different person (See SKC, op. cit p xxvi). Peterson identified them (PR, II 17). See also Bühl (IA, XIV p 558) Vāmanācarya (I, c p 9) confounds one with the other and calls Allata author of the commentary on Harivijaya.

to be Mammata's is *Sabdavyāparacarca*<sup>1</sup> on the derivation and function of words like Mukula's *Abhidhāvṛtiśimāṭrkā*.

The extent to which Kāvyaprakāsa was revered is seen from the numerous commentaries that have been composed on it in all these successive centuries. Every later writer of repute considered it an edification of his own learning to expound or discuss Mammata's views so much that it was said by Mahesvara that in spite of glosses written "from house to house,"<sup>2</sup> Kāvyaprakāsa was still unfathomable and Bhāskara and Kamalākara said so too, though they saw ' thousands of commentaries' written on it.<sup>3</sup>

So far as is available the commentaries will now be noticed.

**849 Manikyacandra**<sup>4</sup> was the pupil of Nemicandra and Sāgarendu<sup>5</sup> of the Rājagaccha of which Pradyumna was the founder.<sup>6</sup> He wrote his *Pārvanāṭhacariṭa*<sup>7</sup> in ten cantic in Sam 1276 (1220 A D) at Devakūpaka (Divbandar) at the instance of Dehada, son of Vardhamāna, a councillor of kings Kumārapuṭa and Ajayapuṭa. His *Nalāyana*<sup>8</sup> or *Kuberapurāṇa* is a long poem in 100 cantic and relates the story of Nala, whom he takes to be a prior incarnation of Kubera. His merit in rhetoric is displayed in his commentary, *Saṅkeṣa* on Kāvyaprakāsa<sup>9</sup> composed in 1160 A D.

**850 Sarasvatitirtha** was born at Tribhuvanagiri (near Kalpi in Cuddapah District). He was the son of Mallinātha (nor the famous commentator of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra). His original name was Narahari but

1 Peterson, *Subh*, p 85 The book is in manuscript in Dacca Coll. Library.

2 काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे टीका, तथान्येष तथैव दुर्गम् ।

3. i टीका काव्यप्रकाशस्य काम सन्तु परश्चता ।

ii काव्यप्रकाशे टिप्पण्यस्सहस्र सन्तु यथापि ॥

4 Mānkyacandra mentioned in Meruṭunga's *Prabandhaśiniśmaṇi* as contemporary of king Jayasimha is a different person.

5 Peterson (PR, IV cxvii) identifies him with Sāgarendu who wrote the first copy of *Añīmaswāmīcariṭa* in Sam. 1252 (1196 A. D.)

6 PR IV xci Pradyumna was a great scholar in Nyāya and triumphed over Digambaras. He is reported to be the author of 84 works and was honoured by kings of Sapādālakha, Tribhuvanagiri etc PR. IV lxxxix.

7 PR III 180, 820

8 PR, III App 35

9 Ed Mysore. See S K De, SP, I, 169, CC, I 102, II. 20 , PR, III, 191 IOC, II 1104

after he became a sanyāsi he called himself Sarasvatī Tīrtha He wrote his commentary at Kāśī in 1242 A. D.<sup>1</sup>

**851 Jayantabhatta** (1277-1297 A D) was the son of Bhāradvāja, a priest at the Court of King Śārṅgadeva, Vaghela king of Guzerat He wrote his commentary Jayanṭi in 1264 A D<sup>2</sup>

**852 Srivatsalanchana** or Srivatsa was also a native of Bengal. He cites Viḍyānātha and is mentioned by Kamalākāra His commentary Sārabodhī follows in substance Cakravarṭin's work He must also be placed therefore in the 16th century He refers to the commentaries by Viḍyāsāgara and Jayarāma<sup>3</sup>

**853 Somesvara** was the son of Devana of Bhāradvājagotra He belonged probably to the 14th century A D<sup>4</sup>

**854 Visvanātha** was the author of Sāhityadārpāpa and lived in 14th century A D He refers to the other commentaries by Candīdāsa and Śridhara<sup>5</sup>

**855 Candīdāsa** was probably the granduncle of Visvanātha. He mentions a work of his called Dhvanisidhānta-granṭha and cites commentaries of Śridhara and Vācaspatīmītra who was different from the author of Bhāmatī.<sup>6</sup>

**856 Cakravartin** or more fully Parameśvara Cakravartin was a native of Bengal and a great logician He refers to Visvanātha as well as king Praṭāpa Rudra and is cited by Kamalākara and lived probably in the 15th century A D. He wrote the commentary Sāhityā-dipikā<sup>7</sup>

1. As for his other works, see Vamanacārya, I. c, pp 28-30 and PR, I 25, among which commentaries are Meghadūta and Kumārasambhava. On this author, see para 31 supra.

2. CO, I 101, II 19 BR, (1888-4) ap, 326. See Vamanacārya, I. c, 30, PR, II, 16, 20, BR, (1888-4) 17-18. Jayanṭi, author of Kādambarikāthāśāstra, was an earlier author.

3. CO, I, 102, II, 20, 128, DC, XXII 8828, SKC, 60 He wrote also Kāvyārthikā (CO, I 778, II 19), Kāvyāmrīta (CO, I 108) and Rāmodayanātāpī (CO, I, 396). See S K. De, SP, 177-8. There is a Kāvyāmrīta, poem by Kāśya (CO, II 20)

4. See Vamanacārya, I. c 30. CO, I, 102, II, 20, III, 22, PR, V. 52-3 The identification of this author with Somesvara, author of Kṛtikāmyūḍī (PR, V. LXXXIV; CO, I 102, 737) is incorrect as the latter was the son of Kumāra

5. OBSO, 299.

6. IOC, 491

v. CO, I 101, II 19, III, 22, PR II 108-9. See PR, VII 29, He also wrote a commentary on Naiṣadha (IOC, VII, 1436).

**857 Mahesvara** Nyāyālankāra, or Subuddhīmīśra wrote his commentary Ādarśa at the end of the 16th century A D<sup>1</sup>

**858 Ananda Rajanaka** was a native of Kasmir and a staunch devotee of Siva He interpreted Kāvyaprakāsa as having an inner meaning referring to Siva in his commentary Nidarsana which he wrote in 1765 A D He refers to the commentaries of Cakravarṭin and Subuddhi Misra<sup>2</sup>

**859 Kamalakara** was son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, a Mahratta brahmin of Benares His name is particularly known to us as the author of Vivādatāndava and Nirṇavasindhu which he wrote in 1612 A D<sup>3</sup> He refers to the commentaries of Ravibhatta, Padmanābha and Devanātha He wrote a big poem Rāmakauṭuka and a commentary on Gitagovinda<sup>4</sup>

**860 Narasimha Thakura** appears to have been of the same family as Govindathakura He refers to Kamalākara's views as that of moderns and must have been either a contemporary of Kamalākara or followed him immediately He was a great logician He refers to the commentaries by Yasodhara, Maṇisāra and Rucikara,<sup>5</sup>

**861 Vaidyanatha** was the son of Rāmabhātta of Tatsat family, He wrote his commentary Udaharanacandrikā on the illustrations only in 1684 A D and a commentary on Kāvyapradīpa called Prabhā<sup>6</sup>

**862 Bhimasena** was the son of Śivānanda of the Śāndilya family of Kānyakubja He was a great grammarian He wrote his commentary Suḍhāsagara in 1723 A D He says Mammata, Kaiyata and Auvata were brothers He refers to two other works of his, Alankārasroddhāra and Kuvalayānandakhandana It was his object to support the views of Mammata and to answer the faults attributed

1. Ed Calcutta, *CC*, I 193, *Tanj*, IX 400) See Vamanācārya *l c* pp 86-7, *PB*, II 19 and III Ap 894

2. *CC*, I, 102, II 20 Is he the same as Rājānanda (*DC*, XXII 822)? Buhler's statement that Nidarsana was otherwise called Śirasamuccaya (*IA*, 1884) is wrong. See *SKC*, xxvii, I 21, 74 and II 15-16 He wrote also Mādhavānalaṅgahānakam and a commentary on Naīṣaṅha See *PR*, I 114; III ap 895. IV. x, *BKR*, x, Weber, *ISI*, II, 148

3. Ed. Benares. For a list of his works etc., see Vamanācārya *l c*, 87-88 and *CC*, I, 80 where his works are given. See *PR*, IV cxix: Hall (*Int to Vas* 54) gives his name also as Mahesvara which according to *PR*, II 19 is doubtful On his pedigree, see V P Mandlik's int to *Vyavahāramayukha*, loxxvi, *BR*, (1883-4), 50.

4. *CC*, I 80 5010

5. Ed. Bombay. *CC*, I 101, II 19, *Adyār*, II 84

6. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, II 22, 108 He is different from the author of the commentary on Kuvalayānanda

to it by Govinda in his Kīvapradīpa. He refers to other commentaries by Acyutabhatta, his son Ratnapāṇibhatta, and his son Ravibhatta, by Murāri Misra and Pakṣhadhara (Jayadeva).<sup>1</sup>

Nāgojibhatta was a Maharatta Brahmin of the Kalag family of Benares. He was the son of Sivalbhatta and Saṭī and grandson of the famous Bhātloji Dīkṣit. He was attached to the Court of Rāmasimha, the ruler of Śringaverapura, of the 18th century A.D. He wrote commentaries on Kavyapradīpa, Rasagangādhara, Rasamanjari, Kuvalayānanda, Gīta-Govinda, Sudhālakshmi and Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>2</sup>

**863 Rajanaka Ratnakantha** was son of Sankarakantha of Dhaumyāyanagoṭra of Kāśmir "the land that is purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of Śāradā". Besides being an excellent scribe of Śāradā script, for in his hand are several manuscripts preserved at Śrīnagar,<sup>3</sup> he was a poet and rhetorician. His eulogy of Śūrya is contained in Rātnasatka or Citrabhānuṣatka composed in 1680-1 A.D. He wrote commentaries on Rātnakara's Haravijaya in 1681-2 A.D., on Vāṇideva's Yudhisthiravijaya in 1671-2 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> on Jagaddhara's Śūṭikusumāñjali<sup>5</sup> in 1680-1 A.D. and on Yaśaskara's Deviśoṭra. On Kāyaprakāśa, he wrote the commentary Śārasamuccaya, containing a resume of Jayantī and other earlier expositions.<sup>6</sup> His descendants still live at Śrīnagar as a respectable family of Karkuns.

1. Ed. Benares, CO, I 102, II, 90. On Bhīmasena's commentary, see PR, I 26, 94, IV lxxxvi.

2. Ed Poona. For a list of his other works on grammar, see Vaīmanācīrya, I c 43-44.

3. See Stein's *Int. to Raj*, vii.

4. Printed, Kāvyaṁśa, Bombay.

5. *Ibid.* In the colophon his other works are mentioned.

6. PR, II 16. In Stein Kashmir's catalogue, xxv, there is mention of a manuscript in which colophon to Ullīsa I reads thus इति श्रीमद्राजानकाङ्कुषभट्टस्मृद्धविरचिते निजग्रन्थकाव्यसङ्केते—

Ananda's gloss Kāvyadarśana was also called Śīṭikanthavibodhana "By Śīṭikantha is meant the god Śiva. Ananda calls his commentary the 'perception of Śiva' since it is his endeavour to interpret Mammata's text as having besides its ordinary meaning a mystical sense relating to the worship of the god. Thus he says with reference to Mammata's Mangala राजानकङ्कुलितिलको भम्भट्टनामा देशिकवरं लौकिकस्य काव्यप्रकाशने प्रवृत्तोऽपि अम्बन्तरस्य काव्यस्य शिवतत्प्रस्य मकाशिकामस्मैद्युप्रयोत्त्वापिका शुद्धविद्या दर्शयति

Ananda who composed his commentary in A.D. 1555, is still well-remembered in the tradition of the Kashmirian Pandita as the contemporary and friend of Rajanaka Ratnakantha." Seeing Kash. Cat. Int. xvii.

**863-A Other Commentaries**—Besides those referred to elsewhere, there are also commentaries<sup>1</sup> by Gopīnātha, Cāṇḍīnāsa, Janārḍana Vyāsa (SKC, 61),<sup>2</sup> Devanātha Tarkapancānana (TC, II, 2214),<sup>3</sup> Jagannātha Panditāraja, Nārāyaṇa, Baladeva, Bhānuḍandra, Bhāskaramisra (Tāṇ, X 298,<sup>4</sup> TC, III 3976), Ratnesvara, Rāvi, son of Rāthnapāni (Mys 298),<sup>5</sup> Rāmakṛṣṇa, Rāmanātha Vidyāvātspati, Lauhitya Gopālabhatta (Tāṇ, IX, 4003, DC, XXII 3629),<sup>6</sup> and by Śrī Vidyācakravarṭin (DC, XXII 3626, Tāṇ, IX 4011),<sup>7</sup> Venkatācalasūri, Vaidyānātha (Mys, 298),<sup>8</sup> Śivārāma, Sridhara Sāndhibivṛghika, Sīvanārāyaṇa and Jayarāma Pancānana (Mys 298), and by Vedāntācārya, son of Srinivāsādhwariṇ of Bhāradvājagoṭra (TC, III 3678), Yagnesvara, son of Kṛṣṇadeva (DC, XXII 3623),<sup>9</sup> Jayadraṭha, brother of Jayaraṭha,<sup>10</sup> Saḥiyacakravarṭin (Tāṇ, IX, 400, Ruciṇātha (Adyar, II 34), Harisankara (Ed Calcutta), and Sivadaṭṭa (Ed Bombay), and by Bhānuḍandra,<sup>11</sup> Gaḍḍharacakravarṭin,<sup>12</sup> Gokulanātha,<sup>13</sup> Gopīnātha,<sup>14</sup> Guṇarāṭnagāṇi,<sup>15</sup> Kalādhara,<sup>16</sup> Kalyāṇa Upadhyāya,<sup>17</sup> Kṛṣṇa

1. See CC, I 101-2, II 19-20, III 22 and 114, 108, 190, PR, II 18, 16, 17, III 594.

2. He wrote commentaries on Raghuvamśa and Vṛiṭiprāratnākara.

3. His commentary Kāvyakatimatudī answers the criticism of Viśvanātha. He also wrote Rasikaprakāśa in pāṭṭas (CC, I, 497). His son Rāmatrāṇa wrote Rasikāṇḍa gīti (TC, III, 317).

4. About the 14th century A.D.

5. Rāṭupāṇi wrote a commentary probably called Kāyaḍarpāṇi on Kāvyaprakāśa which Rāvi expanded. Rāṭupāṇi or his father Acoṇa was minister of Śivāsimha, king of Mithila. See JASB, (1826), 148, (2899), 96, grant dated Saka 1821 (1899 A.D.). See Mummuṭhan Chakravartthy, History of Mithila (JASB, 1916).

6. Ed. TSS, Trivandrum, earlier than 18th century A.D. He also wrote a commentary on Bhāratamāṇi.

7. His Bhāratamāṇi is printed in TSS, Trivandrum. He calls the King Āśvina Bhāratamāṇi's. See PR, IV, xxxi.

8. The commentary was composed at Patna in 1649 A.D. He was pupil of Bhāskadeva Thakkura.

9. PR, II, 18.

10. CC, I 401. He wrote a commentary on Daśakumāracarita.

11. Mitra, 1527; CSQ, VII, 12.

12. Ganganatha Jha's Translation of Kāvyaprakāśa, Int. IX. He wrote the play Kālīgītāyaṇa about 1666 A.D. See p. 386 n. 2.

13. CC, I 101. He also wrote a commentary on Saḥiyāḍarpāṇi, about the end of 17th century A.D.

14. CC, III, 32.

15. ĪBod. 501. It is a synopsis of the Kārikās.

16. Ganganatha Jha, I. c.

Āvivedin,<sup>1</sup> Kṛṣṇasarman,<sup>2</sup> Kṛṣṇamitrācārya,<sup>3</sup> Jagadisa Tarkālankāra,<sup>4</sup> Nāgarāja Kesava,<sup>5</sup> Narasiṁhasūri,<sup>6</sup> Nanayadikārita,<sup>7</sup> Rucaka,<sup>8</sup> Maḍhumati<sup>9</sup> ganesā,<sup>9</sup> Raghudeva,<sup>10</sup> Ratnesvara,<sup>11</sup> Rājānanda,<sup>12</sup> Rāmacandra,<sup>13</sup> Rāmakṛṣṇa,<sup>14</sup> Rāmanātha,<sup>15</sup> Vidyavācaspati, Sivanārāyanadāsa,<sup>16</sup> Vidyāśagara,<sup>17</sup> Venkata<sup>18</sup> calasūri,<sup>19</sup> Vijānanda,<sup>20</sup> Yagnesvara,<sup>21</sup> and some other anonymous commentaries.<sup>22</sup>

**864** RĀGHAVA's gloss called Avacūri is incomplete and extends only to the middle of the 7th Ullāsa.<sup>23</sup>

Mahesacandra was professor in the Calcutta Sanskrit College in 1882.<sup>24</sup>

Narasiṁha's gloss Rjuvṛtti is a commentary on the Karikās only.<sup>25</sup>

Kāvyāmṛtataranginī is an adverse criticism on Mammata's work of unknown authorship.<sup>26</sup>

1. OC, I. 101.

2. HPR, III. No. 58.

3. OC, I. 101. He was the son of Rāmanātha and a logician. For his works, see OC, I. 191.

4. OC, I. 101. He lived at Naddea in 17th century A.D.

5. OC, I. 101.

6. OC, II. 19.

7. OC, I. 101. He was son of Rangasātha who wrote commentary on Vikramorvati in 1696 A.D.

8. ED. COJ 1985. See under Ruyyaka, para 870 post.

9. OC, I. 102.

10. OC, II. 20.

11. Mentioned in his commentary on Sarasvatī Kanthaśharapa.

12. DC, XXII. 862B.

13. OC, I. 103.

14. OC, I. 103, II. 20.

15. OC, I. 103. He lived about 1625 A.D.

16. Weber, IV No 81; OC, I. 102. He lived in the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see OC, I. 649.

17. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana. Was he identical with the commentator on Bhāttakkāvya?

18. OC, I. 103.

19. CSO, 44. The manuscript was transcribed in 1665 A.D.

20. DC, XXII. 862B.

21. OC, I. 101, 778, II. 20, 198.

22. Vamanīkṛṣṇa, 7. c. 88.

23. Printed, Calcutta.

24. TO, III. 4115. He belonged to the Āndhra country.

25. Mātra, 2072.

**865 Govinda** was the son of Kesava and Sonodevi of the Ravičara race. Rucičara alias Śrī Harṣa was his younger brother. His fifth ancestor Narasimha lived in the 18th century and he was himself prior to Kamalākara who wrote Nirnadyasindhu in 1612 A.D. He may be assigned to the middle of the 16th century. His Kāvyapradīpa<sup>3</sup> though usually considered as a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa is in fact a distinct commentary on the Kārikas of the Kāvyaprakāśa. His reference to Mammata's lines are much in the way of possible criticism, though likewise explanatory. At the end of his work, he says that in the composition of his work, his brother Rucičara or Śrī Harsa was a collaborator.<sup>4</sup>

**866 Hemacandra** lived in 1088-1174 A.D. and for some time in the Court of King Jayasimha of Anhilwid. His Kāvyanusāsanam in eight chapters with his own commentary is very valuable in literary history.<sup>5</sup>

Jayamangala also flourished in the Court of King Jayasimha and wrote Kavīśikṣā,<sup>6</sup> and NAGAVARMAN wrote Kāvyaślokanam.

**867 Vagbhata** Among the contemporaries of King Hemacandra was Vagbhata I,<sup>7</sup> the son of Soma. Vāgbhata (Bahada) was the minister in the Court of the Calukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja of Anhilwid<sup>8</sup> (1094-1143 A.D.), for such is the description given by Prabhācandra in his Prabhāvakacarita.<sup>9</sup> The work on poetics known after his name Vāgbhatālankāra<sup>10</sup> describes in easy verse and in five chapters the forms and functions of poetry and refers to that king and his capital. It is likely Vāgbhata wrote also the poem Neminirvāṇa.<sup>11</sup> There are commentaries on Vāgbhatālankāra by Ādinātha or Jina-

1. Ed. Bombay

2. PB, I 27 28 also refers to another commentary on the Kārikas called Kāvya-letti at Odeypore. This may show that the Kārikas are considered as of distinct authorship.

3. See para 70 supra.

4. CG, I 88

5. His Prakrt name was Bāhada. Vāgbhata, the writer of medicine was the son of Śimhagupta and was a different author.

6. Haricand (*Kalidasa*) wrongly says this Jayasimha was King of Kasimir. According to Lassen (*IAIt*, III, 562) Jayasimha ruled 1098-1154 A.D.

7. This work gives the dates for Vāgbhata, 1128 and 1157 A.D.

8. Ed. Bombay and Calcutta. But Weber's Manuscript (1718) has a sixth chapter on Yamaka.

9. Winteritz (*IL*, II, 8886, III 649) thinks so. The work is printed in Bombay.

vardhanasuri,<sup>1</sup> Simhadevagam,<sup>2</sup> Mūrtidhara,<sup>3</sup> Kremahamsagapī,<sup>4</sup> Samaya-sundara,<sup>5</sup> Ganesa, son of Ānnatibhatta,<sup>6</sup> Rājahamsa,<sup>7</sup> and Vācanācārya,<sup>8</sup> and two anonymous.<sup>9</sup>

Ādinātha was a priest of Kharataragaccha in about 1405 or 1419 A.D.

**868 Devesvara or Devendra** was the son of Vāgbhata,<sup>10</sup> who was a Mahāmātya to the King of Malava. In one of his verses he praises Hammiramahimahendra, who, if he was the Chauhan king, ruled about 1283 A.D. His Kāvya-kalpalatā follows the Amarasiṃha's Kāvya-kalpalatā and a verse from it is quoted in Śāṅgadharapaddhaṭī. It was probably composed about the year 1300 A.D. He also mentions a work Candraśikālāpa<sup>11</sup> on poetics.

There are commentaries on Kāvya-kalpalatā by Vecārāma Sārvabhauma,<sup>12</sup> by Kāmagopāla Kavirāṭna,<sup>13</sup> by Saracandraśāstri,<sup>14</sup> by Sūrya Kavi,<sup>15</sup> and one anonymous.<sup>16</sup>

**869 Vagbhata (II)<sup>17</sup>** was the son of Nemikumāra,<sup>18</sup> and Vasun-

1. Ed. Bombay Chaitanya, VIII 1889 60 CC, I 559.

2. Ed. Bombay Klatt, Id., I 240, PR, V. 191

3. Ed. Bombay

4. SKO, 274, CC II. 182

5. PR, IV. cxlvii, CC, II 182. He was a pupil of Sakacandra, who was pupil of Jinacandra. He wrote also a commentary on Raghuvamśa.

6. CC, I 559, PR, (1888 #), 166, 279. The manuscript was copied in 1480 A.D.

7. CC, I 559, 794. He was pupil of Jinaśilakasuri who was pupil of Jinaprabhasuri of Kharataragaccha. Composed between 1350-1400 A.D. See COJ, II 812.

8. CC, I 559. It was composed in Samvat 1289 in Marwad during the reign of Gajasiṃha.

9. Ed. by Kṣemāñja, Bombay, CC, II 182, III 118 CSO, VII #45

10. It is not likely that this Vagbhata was identical with the two rhetoricians of that name. On Devesvara, see S. K. D. SP, 212, JRAS, (1922) 578.

11. मत्कृतकाव्यकलापेऽमलमतिभि तद्दुधेऽयम् ।

The reading however is different in other editions.

12. Ed. Calcutta. He was son of Rajarāma. His other work Ānandarangapī describes a tour from Candarnagore to Benares (Mitra 806).

13. Ed. Calcutta

14. Ed. Calcutta (Bibl. Ind.) and in Pratna Kramanandam, Benares, Nos. 1-81

15. CC, I 87, III 19, S. K. De, PS, II, 914.

16. CSO, VII. 8

17. Eggeling wrongly identifies this Vagbhata with Vagbhata I IOC, III. 380

18. Peterson (UR, III app. 124) notes one Nemikumāra who lived in Samvat 1295 (1239 A.D.) was probably Vagbhata father.

ḍharā, and lived at Rādhāpura. He refers to Vāgbhata (I)<sup>2</sup> and of the two kings he mentions, Mūlārāja and Vibhākara Mūlārāja was the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilwād and may have lived about the end of the 13th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> His Kāvyānusasana with a vṛtti on it is a work full of quotations of fine poetical illustrations and must have suggested itself to him after the work of Hemacandra of the same name He alludes to his Chandonusāsana, a work on metrics and Rābhadevacarita, a big poem, but they are not now available<sup>4</sup>

**870 Ruyyaka**<sup>5</sup> was the son of Tilaka<sup>6</sup> He lived in Kaśmīr and was the teacher of Mankha, the author of Śrikanthacariṭa,<sup>7</sup> who was attached to the Court of King Jayasimha (1129 to 1150 A.D.) His Alankarasarvasva is reputed to be work of Ruyyaka<sup>8</sup> But from the recent edition of the work published at Trivandrum,<sup>9</sup> with the commentary of Samudrabandha<sup>10</sup> it appears that Alankarasarvasva is only the name of the gloss, while the sūtras alone were the work of Ruyyaka<sup>11</sup>

---

१. दण्डिवामनवाभटदिप्रणीतादश गुणा , वय तु मासुरोज प्रसादलक्षणान् चीलेक मुषार्द मन्यमहे !

2 See Harichand, *Kalidasa*

3 Ed. Bombay

4 Rajñaka Ruyyaka is identical with Bai Rupaka and Rucaka (Aufrecht, *Oxf Cat* 210, *BKR*, 68) In Buhler's List 1875 6 No 247 and *PR*, II 14, 17 the manuscripts make Rucaka the author of Alankarasarvasva and Kāvyaprakāśasanketa Vidyācakravarṭin calls him Rucaka Jayaratha, refers to Kāvyaprakāśasanketa as Ruyyaka's work In a manuscript (Buhler's List, 1875 6 No 266) of the Sahṛdaya-tila, there is an explicit statement of the identity (See Pischel Gott gel Ans Nr. 19 p 767) See G. A Jacob, *JRAS*, (1897) 298 Peterson's *Suhū* and *PR*, II 14, 106 and introduction to Vyaktiviveka (*TSS*), p 8

5 Pischel (*op. cit.*) notes the name of his father as a commentator on Uḍbhata, Jayaratha calls it Uḍbhataviveka (See Bombay Edn p 205)

6 *PR*, II 17 18

7. Ed. Bombay Ruyyaka's views as expressed in the Alankarasarvasva are criticised by Mammata See Vāmanacarya's Int to Kāvyaprakāśa, p 28

8 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No XL

इति मसुको वित्तेने काश्मीरकाक्षितिपाल सान्धिविग्रहिक ।  
सुकाविसुक्तालकार तदिदमलकारसर्वस्वय ॥

9. Samudrabandha also calls it Mankuka's work This commentator was a poet of the Court of King Sangramādhīra or Rayvarma Bhupu of Kolamba (Quilon) in Travancore who was born in 1265 A.D. He was probably the father of Simhaṛāja, the father of Prakṛitapuṇḍraṭāra (See Int to Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Nos 8 and 40)

10. In the opening Stanza, Mankha says that he was beginning a gloss on Gurvalankārasutras i.e., the alankāra aphorisms of his teacher It must however be noted that at p. 15 and 17 in quoting from Śrikanthastava, it is said that Mankhiye Śrikanthastava and at p 17 madhye The latter is the reading in Bombay Edn. p. 18.

**871 ALANKARASARVASVA,**<sup>1</sup> meaning by it the gloss above, is in the nature of the Bhāṣya. It attempts to classify Alankāras, accompanied by criticisms refined in language and temper.<sup>2</sup>

Ruyyaka seems to have been the author of several other works. His SAHĀRDĀYĀI II A is "a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formulary in four chapters and deals with attributes of beauty, adornments, youth and devises for preserving and enhancing beauty".<sup>3</sup> His Alankāravimarsana is a commentary on the Jahlāṇa's Somapālavilāsa,<sup>4</sup> and a commentary on Mahimabhatta's Vyaktiviveka has been identified to be (Ruyyaka's?) work.<sup>5</sup> This latter commentary refers to his four other works Nātakamimāṃsā, Sāhityamimāṃsā, Harṣacarīṭavṛtti and Brhaṭ Śrīkanthaśāstra was probably also his work.<sup>6</sup>

**872 Jayaratha** wrote his commentary Alankāravimarsanī.<sup>7</sup> He was the son of Śringāra,<sup>8</sup> the minister of King Rājarāja who ruled at Saṭisaras.<sup>9</sup> He quotes from Pythvirājavijaya, a poem describing the

1. There is an Alankārasarvasva of unknown authorship in praise of King Gopāla-deva, *DC*, XXII, 8609.

2. For a summary of earlier views, see para 812 *supra*.

3. Ed by Pischell, Kiel Ed Bombay, with the commentary of Jayaratha.

4. Ratnakantha's Śrāsaṇuccaya yields this reference. See Peterson, *Subh* p 106; *PR*, II, 17.

5. In the introduction to Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No 5) Ruyyaka is taken to be the author of the Alankārasarvasva and from this basis the commentary on the Vyaktiviveka is traced to be Ruyyaka's work, because in his Alankārasarvasva the works Sāhityamimāṃsā and Harṣacarīṭavṛtti are mentioned in both as the author's other works. If as now opined in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No 40, Alankārasarvasva is the work of Manikha, it would follow that all these four works and the commentary on Vyaktiviveka must also be Manikha's works.

6. Pischell rightly says that this was a hymn to Śiva. But Aufrecht takes it "to be a chapter in praise of the country so called standing at the head of a poem called the Harṣacarita also by Ruppaka". See Peterson *Subh* I c 106. This mistake seems to have been due apparently to Aufrecht's referring to a passage quoted from Harṣacarita, in Alankārasarvasva (Bombay Edition p 47), Harṣacarita, Śrīkanthākhyajanaṇḍavṛtpāne. See also *JRAS*, (1897) 285.

7. Śringāra is quoted in Kavindravacanasamuccaya and Saḍuktikarṇamṛta, V 25, 114. *CO*, I 66. M Duff calls the author of the commentary Jayadratha brother of Jayadratha, author of Tanṭalokaviveka (*PR* II, 181).

8. Ed Bombay. He quotes from a romance Anangalekhā, (see para 145 *supra*), and

मावशिशुपालवधं विद्यत्कविमदवर्थं विद्यते ।

रत्नाकरस्तविजयं हृषिक्षयं वर्णयन् व्यवृणोत् ॥

9. Buhler's *KB*, 62. See also O. A. Jacob (*JRAS*, (1897) 292 3).

victory of the Chauhan King Pr̄thvirāja, who died in 1193 A.D. and must have flourished probably in the 13th century. He wrote a poem *Haracaritacintāmanī*.

There are also commentaries by Sri Vidyākārvatī<sup>1</sup> and by Alaka quoted by Rāṇakantha.

**873** **Malayaṭapandita** or Sarvesvara was the son of Trivikrama and pupil of Vāmarṣi. He was proficient in Bharataśāstra. Vāmarṣi is referred to in Belgaum inscriptions as having lived at Vanabāsi in 1168 A.D. His Sāhityasāra is a short treatise on dramaturgy.<sup>2</sup>

**874** **Rajarāja** ruled at Calicut about the beginning of the 12th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> He, or a poet of his court, wrote Rājarājīyam, a name adopted in the absence of the real one. It is a treatise on poetics, music and dancing, but only that portion dealing with the drama is now available. In his days, the works of Manorāṭha and Bhatianāyaka were probably read and there is therefore a hope that their existence may be still be traced.<sup>4</sup>

**875** **Asadhara**<sup>5</sup> was the son of Sallakṣaṇa and Raṭhi of the family of Vyaghravala. He was a Jaina teacher. His wife was Sarasvatī and his son Chabada, a favourite of King Arjunavarman of Mālva who ruled in the 1st quarter of the 13th century A.D.<sup>6</sup> He lived till Sam 1296 (1240 A.D.) He wrote about fifteen works, of which he gives a list.<sup>7</sup> His Ṭrisaṭi-smṛti-sāṣṭra was written in 1236 A.D.<sup>8</sup>

**876** **Dharmadasa** was a Buddhist ascetic. His Vidagdhamukhamandana<sup>9</sup> in 4 parts describes poetic riddles and involved composition. Jinaprabha, pupil of Jayasimha, commented on it and he

1. *DO*, XXII 8609. In this commentary he refers to a drama *Harisandracarita* not known elsewhere.

2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

3. If he is the great Ooli king Rājarāja I he ruled about 999 A.D. See *EI* V 48  
*Trav. Arch Series*, II 1

4. This verse is fine —

उद्यन्तोरथमतीं महिमानुयाताऽन्तसप्तदर्पणहृषो विमतान्विधूय ।

आनन्दवधनपराभिनवोक्तिरेषा व्यक्तोरैसस्य समया...राजराज ॥

5. Asadhara, son of Rāmāji, commentator on Kuvalayānanḍa is a different person. S. K. De, *SP*, I 199

6. He gives this account at the end of his Dharmārṇīya

7. *PR*, II 85, *BR* (1883-84), 103-4

8. *DO*, I 54

9. Ed Calcutta, Bombay and elsewhere. S. K. De, *SP*, I 927. See para 847, *supra*

lived about 1298 and 1309 A D<sup>1</sup> Dharmadāsa may therefore be assigned to about the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century A D There are other commentaries on it by Ātmārāma or Svapnārāma,<sup>2</sup> by Iārācandra Kāyaṭha,<sup>3</sup> by Narībaribhatta,<sup>4</sup> by Tṛilocana,<sup>5</sup> by Durgādāsa,<sup>6</sup> son of Vāsudeva

AMRITANANDAYOGIN'S Alankārasangraha in 10 chapters is an extensive work written at the instance of king 'Manva,'son of Bhatibhūmipati who probably lived about 1250 A D<sup>7</sup>

**877 Saradatanaya** was the son of Bhatta Gopāla of Kāsyapa-goṭra. "His great grandfather lived in a village called Mātarapūjya in Merūṭara-Janapada He performed thirty Vedic sacrifices to please the god Vishnu, and wrote a commentary entitled the Vedabhūṣaṇa on the Vedas His son Kṛṣṇa, the grandfather of Sāradātanaya, was also equally well-versed in the Vedas and in the Sāṇitas He worshipped Mahādeva in Benares and obtained a son by name Bhāttagopāla the father of Sāradātanaya through the god's favour Bhāttagopāla was likewise well-versed in eighteen sciences (Vidyas), he propitiated Sāradā the goddess of learning and obtained through her favour a son whom he named after the goddess as Sāradātanaya" He studied theatrics under Divākara,<sup>8</sup> who was proficient in the art and kept up a theatre (nātyasālā) "He was a follower of the Praṭyabhijñā School of Philosophy which had its origin in Kashmir and was elaborated by

1 Weber, 1798, PR, IV. xxxvii, Klate's *Onomasticon* His Guru Jinasimha founded Laghu Kharataragaccha in 1275 A.D.

2 CC, I. 578

3 CC, I. 574, II. 185, III. 121. For other works, see CC, I. 229

4 CC, I. 578

5 CC, II. 185, SKG, 274.

6 CC, II. 185, III. 121, PR, IV. 86

7. The rare works he quotes from are the plays Māricavandana, Vālivadha, Uḍḍāraṅghava, Nalavijaya, Dvīparinaya The first five chapters were edited at Calcutta with English translation DG, XXII. 8604, and CC, I. 29, contain only 5 chapters The copy in the Gātāmī Library of Rajamundry and TC, III. 2980 contain all the nine chapters

8 Probably he is the same as Divākara, quoted by Purpurasarasyaṭi in his commentary on Meghasaṅdeśa The teaching is this described-

प्रीतस्तोऽपि सदाशिवस शिवयौर्या मत वासुके-  
वृग्देव्या अपि नारदस च मुनेः कुम्भोद्रवव्यासयोः।  
शिष्याणां मरतस यानि च मतान्यज्ञानाव्य तान्यज्ञाना-  
सुलोरप्यथ नाम्बेशमच्छिल सन्ध्यतमज्ञापयत् ॥

the great Abhinavagupta While describing the origin of Music on page 181, our author deals with the 36 Taṭṭvas in accordance with the tenets of the Pratyabhijna system, and defines the functions of Paramātman, Jīva and Prakṛti in the beginning of Creation Following the principles of the same philosophy, he has introduced in his work a very interesting simile for the enjoyment of dramatic Rasas by the audience, and refers to a few early works of Sivāgama in this connection This enjoyment, he said, is similar to Jīva's enjoyment of worldly pleasures In the course of his arguments he also defines certain Taṭṭvas of the Praṭyabhijñā philosophy such as Rāga, Vidyā and Kalā<sup>1</sup> He has summarised chapters of Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa He is quoted by many writers of the 13th century and must have flourished in the 12-13th century A D

Sāradātanaya wrote a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa<sup>2</sup> and a work on music SARADIYA<sup>3</sup>

In his BHAVAPRAKASANAM,<sup>4</sup> a treatise of extra ordinary merit in 10 adhikāras, Sāradātanaya summarises the views of earlier writers like Saṅkāśiva, Drauhipi, Vāsuki, Vyāsa, Nārada, Śrī Harsa etc In generality he follows the plan of Bharata's Nātyāśāstra and notices the deviations of later authors from Bharata's views He reiterates Abhinavagupta's theory that rasa is the soul of poetry, but differs from him on occasions "For instance, he differs from Abhinava on the point that Rasas must always be Vyāgya in the best poetry and not Vacya Here Saradātanaya following the Dasarupaka opens a new path by suggesting that Rasas are the soul of poetry whether they are expressed or suggested by the poems. In the same way he does not want to

1 Int to Edn GOŚ, Baroda, pp 10 11 by Yadugiri Yatirājāswamin

2 भयापि शारदीयास्ये प्रबन्धे सुष्ठु दर्शितम् ॥ ( c p. 194)

3 I e. pp 14 15

कृतश्श्रीमन्मटाचार्यवै परिकरावचि ।

प्रबन्धं पूरितशेषो विशायाह्नसूरिणा ॥

4 Among rare authors and works he quotes are plays

अधिष्ठनम्, अमृतमन्थनम्, इन्दुलेखा, उदात्कुजरम्, कलिकेलि., कुमुमशेसर., कृत्यारावणम्, गगातरगिका, गगामागरथम्, गौडविजय., तरगदचा, त्रिपुरमर्दनम्, तारधोदरणम्, केलिरैवतकम्, विपुरदाह, कुदभाला, देवीपारिणयम्, देवीमहादेवम्, नलविक्रमम्, मृसिंहविजय, पद्मवतीपरिणय., मदलेखा, महानाटकम्, माणिक्यबलिका, मारीचवञ्चितम्, मेनकानहुषम्, वीणावती, कृत्रोदररणम्, शारददंत्रिका, शृगारातिलकम्, सैरनिका, स्तंभितरमकम्, वालिका., रामाराधा, स्वभावासवदत्तम्, सीमद्विका.

give altogether a separate existence to the suggestive' capacity (Vyanjana) of the words from their Tatparya Vrtti, and brings the Dhvani also under the Tatparya-sakti. He holds that if at all there must be some difference between these two-Dhvani and Tatparya—it is just like that of the Brahmana and the Brahmacarin, or in other words, that Dhvani occupies a less important position under the wider scope of Tatparya. There are two other important points where Saradatanaya differs from Abhinava. There is difference of opinion as to the exact mode in which the enjoyment of Rasa is brought about, amongst the authors Lollata, Sankuka, Bhattacharya and Abhinavannupta. Most of the later writers followed Abhinava on this point but Saradatanaya, strange as it may seem, follows the original view of Bhattacharya as developed and modified by Dhanika in his Dasarupakavaloka. He approves of the theory as formulated by them that the connection between the poetry and the Rasa, is Bhavya-Bhavaka-Bhava and not Vyayya-Vyanjaka-Bhava. The Vrttis such as the Abhidha, Laksana, and Tatparya help the audience to understand the Kavyartha or the Rasa, and the audience through the Bhavana Vrtti get the Bhoga of the Rasa, which is similar to Brahmananda. In the same way, Poetry and Rasa are also connected with each other as cause and effect. Because, when poetry is presented before the audience, the necessary Vibhava, etc create the sense of enjoyment in the mind of the audience. The second point where Saradatanaya criticises the views of other writers on Dramaturgy, especially Abhinava, is about the nature of Santa Rasa. Udbhata was the first writer to include Santa as one of the Rasas, it was approved by Anandavardhana, and Abhinava gave it a place of unique importance amongst the different Rasas. Rudrata or Rudrabhatta not only accepted Santa as an important Rasa but included Preyas also as a Rasa, and boldly declared that the Vyabhicari and the Satvik Bhavas such as Nirveda, Harsa etc. also when properly developed contribute to the pleasure in the same way as Srngara or Karuna, and therefore, they should also deserve to be admitted as additional Rasas. Saradatanaya, who follows Dhananjaya in this respect, condemns the views of all these thinkers and opines that Santa Rasa cannot be enacted on the stage, for no Vibhava, Anubhava and Satvik can be produced by the Sama, the Sthayibhava of the Santa. But unlike Dhananjaya our author thinks that it is the chief among the Rasas and it can be realized in the form of poetry except in the Dramas. Thus the scope of this work is to collect as far as possible all theories existing before and after the time of Bharata

and to examine and state them in a final form with certain modifications Being a firm believer in the theory of Rasa as promulgated by Bharata, Saradatanaya haā mainly developed the Sringara Rasa on the lines suggested by Bhoja in his Srangaraprakasa ”

Kāvyakamadhenu is on the same lines as Bhāvaprakāsa and treats of rasa, bhāva and sabdavyāpara elaborately

**878 Sobhakara** was the son of Trayisvaramisra His Alankāratnākara<sup>1</sup> is in the form of a commentary on aphorisms that had been extracted by YASAKARA of which his Devistotra is meant as an illustration He probably lived about the 13th century A D.<sup>2</sup>

**879 Singabhupala** was the son of Ananta or Anapoṭa<sup>3</sup> and Annamāmbā and was the seventh in descent from Vetalā Naidu<sup>4</sup> (Betū Reddi), the original founder of Kingdom the Rajas of Venkatagiri Vasantaṛāya was his brother Singabhūpāla had six sons and ruled over a vast extent of territory between Vindhya and Śrisaila (in the Kurnool District) about the year 1400 A D from his capital Rājācalā (Racakonda)<sup>5</sup> He was a great literate and patron of letters He bore the title of Sarvajna In his court flourished Viśvesvara and Appayācārya The latter wrote a commentary on Amarakosa

It was in his Court that Nārāyanācārya alias Kumāra Vedānta Desika, the son of the famous Vedāntadesika, vanquished Śākalyamalla, the opponent of the Vaishnava religion in disputation and then it was

1. BKR Ap XXVIII

2. For these sutras, see PR, I. 12, 77-81 OC I. 82, II. 6

3. Anapoṭa wrote a drama Abhirāma-Rāghava, quoted in Rāsarpavasudhākara There is a drama of that name written by Maṇika in Nepal in 1890 A D (Lévi, 268)

4. The Biographical Sketches of the Rajas of Venkatagiri published by the Venkatagiri State Singabhupati is given as the tenth in descent In our manuscript the name is given as Śivabhupati Venkatagiri is a flourishing Zamundari in the Nellore District

5. Singabhupala, the present author, was the son of Anapoṭa who was the son of Singabhupala I It was the latter who bore the title Sarvajna and Śrināṭha was the poet of his Court Śrināṭha refers to him by the title Sarvajna In the Velugotvari Vamsacaritram (in Telugu) the author of Rāsarpavasudhākara is given as Singabhupala I That seems to be incorrect There are inscriptions there given of Anapoṭa dated Śaka 1802 and of the wife of Mādhava, the last of Singabhupala II dated Śaka 1851 Another inscription dated Śaka 1201, also printed there, was composed by Nāganāṭha son of Paśupati Nāganāṭha wrote a bhāṣpa Mādanavilāsa mentioning Anapoṭa and was a pupil of Viśvesvara, author of Cānakāracandrikā, in which Viśvesvara eulogised Singabhupala It will be seen presently that Viśvesvara was the real author of Rāsarpavasudhākara

(See Veturi Prabhakaramastri's Sringāra Śrināṭham, 196 et seq

that a commentary on Vedāntadeśika's Subhāṣitānīvī, called Raṭṇapetikā, was composed and presented to the king

His Nāṭakapariḥhāṇī appears to be a work on dramaturgy<sup>1</sup>. His RASARNAVASUDHĀKARA<sup>2</sup> presents in three chapters a vivid and elaborate treatment of the canons of dramaturgy inclusive of the governing Rasas and is probably the most comprehensive work on the subject so far available. Its importance is enhanced in literary history by the several works and authors quoted in it, and so far it forms a landmark for historical research<sup>3</sup>.

Viśveśvara, the author of Camaṭkāracandrikā, was a poet of his Court and in this work which is a treatise on rhetoric the illustrations are in praise of Śingabhūpāla. Here and in Rasārṇavasudhākara (page 151), his work Kandarpaśambhava is quoted. In many places in Camaṭkāracandrikā the reader is referred for details to Rasārṇavasudhākara. From these references it is inferred that the real author of Rasārṇavasudhākara was Viśveśvara<sup>4</sup>.

**880** Vievanatha was the son of Candrabekhara<sup>5</sup>, a Mahāpaṭra brahmin of Kalinga. They were Sāndhibigrāhīka, that is a high official in the royal Court. Candidāsa the commentator on kāvyaprakāśa was his grand uncle. He quotes Gītagovinda and Naīnaḍha and mentions Allauddin<sup>6</sup>. Jayanṭa wrote his Prakāśadipikā in 1324 A.D. and Allauddin, the famous Khilji marauder, was assassinated in 1315 A.D.<sup>7</sup>

1. CC, I. 284 791

2. Ed T S S No 50 and Ed Venkatagiri

3. Among the works and authors quoted are

अभिरामराधवम्, अमोघराधवम्, आनन्दकोशप्रहसनम्, कलिकेलिप्रहसनम्, करणाकदलम्, पयोधिमथनम्, भगवदज्ञानम्, महेश्वरानंद, मायाकुराङ्गिका, माधवी, वीरमद्रविजूमणम्।

4. We have several instances in Rāmābhyudaya of Sālva Narasimharāya and in Mahānāṭakasudhbāṇidhi of Immadī Devarāya, where the real author was Aruṇagrinātha.

See Vetus Prabhakara Sīstī's Sugarskrinstham, 208-4

5. सन्त्वौ सर्वसहरण विग्रहे प्राणनिग्रह ।

अलावदीननुपतौ न सन्धिन च विग्रह ॥

6. His works Puspamāla and Bhāṣṭṛḍava and verses his are quoted in Sāhityadarpana.

7. S.K. De, SP, I. 238 gives the date 1800-1850 A.D. See also Kane, (Int to Edn VI) ; Cakravarthi, JASB, Ixxii, 146 and II (n. 8) 187 n.; Koith, JRAS (1911), 848.

VISVANĀTHAS, authors of (i) Śingāravāpiṇaṭīkā (ii) of Sangīta Reghunandana (iii) of Vṛṭṭakauṭuka (iv) of poem Jagatprakāśa and Śīrṣaśalyacarita (v) of poem Amṛṭalahaṛi (vii) of Śivastuti, of Śīvāṁṛṭalahaṛi (x) of Bhāgavataśārasangraha (xi) of poem Sambhuvillāsa, [mentioned in CC, I. 583-6, II. 128] are different.

Viśvanātha mentions [Saugandhikāharapa of his namesake of the Court of King Praṭaparudrendra who ceased to reign in 1323 A D It is said in Sāhityadarpaṇa that Nārāyaṇa, grand-father of Viśvanātha, vanquished a poet Dharmadatta<sup>5</sup> in the Court of King Narasimha of Kālinga Viśvanātha himself composed a poem Narasimhvijayam, apparently in praise of a king of that name of Kalinga These two Narasimhas must be different There are four Kings (Narasimhas) of the East Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, of whom Narasimha II ruled between 1268-1302 A D,<sup>6</sup> Narasimha III ruled between 1326-1350 A D and Narasimha IV began to rule in 1376 A D A manuscript of Sāhityadarpaṇa is dated Samvat 1440, (1384 A D)<sup>7</sup> Sāhityadarpana could not therefore have been composed after 1376 A D, if we allow an interval for a manuscript to pass from Kalinga to Kāśmir We may infer safely that Viśvanātha was in the Court of King Narasimha III (1326-1350 A D) and that of his son Bhānudeva (1350-1376), and Nārāyaṇa his ancestor in the Court of King Narasimha II (1268-1302 A D)

**881 SAHITYADARPANA**<sup>8</sup> is an exhaustive treatise on the plan of Kāvyaprakasa, on which also Viśvanātha wrote a commentary In ten chapters, it traverses the whole field of poetics and his treatment is lucid and impressive<sup>9</sup>

There are commentaries on it by Maṭhurānatha Sukla<sup>10</sup>, by Anantādāsa,<sup>11</sup> by Gopinātha,<sup>12</sup> and by Rāmacarana Tarkavāgīśa.<sup>13</sup>

1 Dharmadatta is cited in Prabhākara's Rasprādipta (composed 1585 A D) in which Sāhityadarpaṇa is also quoted

2 *EE*, V, app 58, VIII app 17 See JASB (1903), 29

3 SKC 64 It is therefore seen that Weber (*SL*, 281, 244-n), Eggeling (*IOC*, III 387) and Harichand (*Kālidāsa*, 115) were wrong in their assumption of 16th century A D

4 Among rare works mentioned in it are

छटकमेलकम्, हृग्रविवद्यम्, पुष्पमाला, उदात्तराघवम्, कुदमाला, रामामेनन्दम्, बालचरितम्, जानकीराघवम्, रामाम्युदयम्, यथातिविजयम्, राघवाम्युदयम्, पुष्पभूषितकम्, लीलामधुकरथ, कुसुमशेखरविजयम्, समुद्रमथनम्, धर्मिष्ठाययाति, भलितरामम्, धूर्तचरितम्, स्तम्भितरमम्, रैतमदनिका, नर्मवती, विलासवती, शृङ्गारतिलकम्, देवीमहादेवम्, मेनकाद्वितम्, यायाकापालिकम्, कीड़ारसातलम्, कनकबद्धीमाघवद्, बिंदुभती, कर्णपराक्रमम्, विश्वाटनम्, आर्याविलासम्, मुक्तावली, देशराजचरितम्, विरुद्धमणीमाला.

5 Ed Calcutta, Bombay, Calicut etc Translated into English by Ballantine and P D Mitra *B&B* Ind Calcutta See S K De, *SP*.

6 CC, I, 715 He wrote a voluminous writer, see CO, I, 472 He wrote his Jyotiṣīḍhāntam in 1289 A D He also was a commentator on Kuvalayānaḍam

7 CC, II 171 He was son of Viśvanātha A manuscript is dated 1686 A D

8 CC, I 168

9 Ed Calcutta and Pombay DC, XXII, 8710. He wrote his book in East Bengal in a Saka 1623 (1701) A D,

Alankāravñdartha discusses the views of Sāhityadarpana<sup>1</sup>

Among his other works, from which he quotes are the poems Rāghavavilāsam, Kuvalayavacaritam (in Prakrit) Nārasimhavijayam, and the plays Candrakalā and Pralbhāvatiparnayam. His Prasasti-ratnāvalī is a Kārambhaka in 16 languages, containing panegyrics.

**882 Viśvanatha**, son of Ṭrimala and grandson of Ananta of Dharasura city on the Godāvāri, wrote Sāhityāudhāśindhu in 3 tarangas<sup>2</sup> and a play Mṛgāṅkalākhā<sup>3</sup>.

**883 Rasaviveka** (called Kāvyañdartha) is an excellent treatise in three chapters on rasa probably of the 14th century AD<sup>4</sup>. The author's name is not known, but he was the brother of Saujanayabhūsanakavī and pupil of Dakṣamūrti. The illustrations are from ancient works,<sup>5</sup> of which the latest are Kremendra's Śilāsataka<sup>6</sup> till now unknown and Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacarita (I, 14).

**884 Bhanudatta**, known also as Bhānukaramisra<sup>7</sup> was the son of Gananātha or Ganeśvara of Vidha (Vidarbha?) His Gīta-Gaurīsam<sup>8</sup> is a lyric modelled on Jayadeva's Gīta-Govindam and the commentary on his Rasamanjarī by Gopāla is dated 1428 AD. Bhānudatta's father wrote Rasaraṇadipikā from which quotations are found in Rasatarangini, and his great-grandfather Sankaramisra who was the author of Upaskara and a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Khandanakhādyā lived about the year Saaka 1327 (1405 AD)<sup>9</sup>. From these references it

1. HPS, I, 12, OC, III, 7

2. SKC xxix, where the manuscript is dated 1602 AD. He cites Cāṇḍīḍāma commentator on Mammata

3. See para 710 *supra*

4. TO, I 804 Thus he begins discussion

तत्रासौ रस. किमात्मा, किमधिकरण कर्तिसङ्गवश्चेति निविधो विचार।

5. An author Kāsmīrāḍhipati is quoted Can he be Harṣa mentioned as a dramatic writer by Abhinavagupta?

6. “अलङ्कारजातस्य... अनुपादेयत्वे च काव्यस्य तदुत्पत्तिहेतो शक्तिनैपुण्याभ्यास-हृषय स्मेन्द्रग्रीतिशिलाशतस्य वैद्यर्थ्यं सात्”

7. There is a poet Bhānukara who was patronised by a king Virabhadru, who according to Haradatta Sarina (IHO, X, 478) was contemporary of Sher Shah (1540-1545 AD). For a discussion, see Chapter on *Erotics* post under Virabhadra's Kanḍarpaoudāmani. See OCJ, I 197, II 251. In Sabhyālankarā, Govindāji quote distinctly from Bhānukara and Bhānupandita (BR, 1887 91, ixii)

8. OC, I 405, 703, IOC, VII, 1442-5

9. Ananta Bhatta (17th century) commentator explains the verse तत्किं राजपथे निजामधरणीपालोऽयमालोकित. | as निजामस्यो देवगिरिराज. |

is inferred that Bhānuḍatṭa lived between 1350 to 1450 A D<sup>4</sup>. His RASAMANJARI deals with the phases of love as embodied in poetry and illustrates the conditions of lovers of different ages and experiences. In delineation of character, in appreciation of psychology in and choice of illustration, it is unsurpassed in excellence.<sup>5</sup> The reader feels himself in a land of enchantment and it is in short a book of pleasure.<sup>6</sup>

**885** HIS RĀṢĀTĀRANGINI<sup>7</sup> is a similar work in eight chapters on rasas and refers to Rasamanjari for elaboration. Among his other works are Alankāratilaka,<sup>8</sup> Śṛugūradipikā<sup>9</sup> and probably the poem Kumāra-Bhārgavīyam<sup>10</sup>.

"In the sixth chapter of the Rasātarangini, Bhanudatta excuses himself from giving details about certain points because he says they are given in the Rasamanjari. From this it is clear that the author of both was the same, but there is some question as to his native country. In Professor Aufrechti's copy of the Rasamanjari it is spoken of as 'Vidarbhabhuh' or the land of the Vidarbhas, and the manuscript before me agrees with this. But Dr Burnell in his catalogue of the

Ahmed Nizam Shah obtained possession of Deogir (Doulatabad) between 1497-1507 A D and founded Nizam Shahi dynasty in Dekkan which continued in possession till 1687 A D (Briggs, *Ferishta*, II, 200).

B N Bhattacharya (*Jl of Dep of Letters*, Calcutta, Vol IX, 169) refers to a tradition that Bhānti's father wrote Rasaratnādipikā and his grandfather Śāṅkara wrote a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Khaṇḍanakhāḍya (Pandit, XIII, 172), CC, I 125, II 149, III 180.

In Kumārabhārgavīya (IOO, VII 1540) mention is made of one Saṅcāvara, son of Raññeśvara, who was an ancestor of Bhānuḍatṭa, separated by 6 generations from him self and who wrote Śāṅkakabhaṣyavārtika.

1. S K De (SP, I 249) says he cannot be earlier than the middle of the 14th but later than the 12th century. See his paper on the date of Bhānuḍatṭa (*To of Or. Confce*, Allahabad, 1926).

2 Ed Madras, Bombay, Benares and Calcutta

3 For instance

स्नात वारिद्वारिमिवर्चितो वासो धने कानने  
शीतैश्चन्दनशीकरैर्मनसिजो देवस्समाराधित ।  
नीता जागरणत्रतेण रजनी ब्रिंडा कुता दक्षिणा  
तस किं न तपस्तथापि स कथं नाथापि नेत्रातिथिः ॥

4. Ed Granthamala and by Regnaud, Paris

5. IO, I 82, II 66, III 7, Tang IX, 4107, PR, VI, App 29

6. IO, I 661

7. CASP, 47, with com. of Gopālānanda, Bharatamallika and Navanitaranga

Tanjore manuscripts calls him Maithila Bhanudatta, i.e., Bhanudatta, the native of Mithila, and the copy of the Rasamanjari purchased by me in 1879 and another procured since the close of the year have Videhabhuh instead of Vidarbhabhuh, i.e., the land of the Videhas of which Mithila was the capital. That Vidarbhabhuh is a mislection is shown by the fact that the author represents the river of the gods or the Ganges as flowing through his country, while the country of the Vidarbhas, which corresponds to the modern Berars, is situated to the South of the Narmada."

**886** There are commentaries on Rasamanjari by Mahādeva,<sup>1</sup> by Rangasāyin,<sup>2</sup> by Anantapandita,<sup>3</sup> by Nāgoabhatta,<sup>4</sup> by Bopadeva alias Gopāla,<sup>5</sup> by Sesacintāmani,<sup>6</sup> by Gopālabhatta,<sup>7</sup> by Anantasarman,<sup>8</sup> by Vrajarāja,<sup>9</sup> by Viśveśvara<sup>10</sup> and one anonymous.<sup>11</sup>

There are commentaries on Rasatarangini by Gangarāma Jadi,<sup>12</sup> by

1 *TC*, I 986.

2 *DC*, XXII 8084 He was also called Gurijālaśayin He was son of Dharmīcārya of Chilakamarti family of Gurjala, Guntur District, Madras

3 Ed Benares *DC*, XXII 8085 He was son of Tryambaka and patronised by King Cīrabhānu of Benares Cīrabhānu was son of Virasimha and was called Sivasūkhu For particulars, see *IOC*, III, 356 His native place was Pupyaśambha on the Godāvari He wrote his commentary in 1686 A.D. at Benares

4 *CC*, I 495, II 116, 120, III 106, *Ulwar*, 1076 On Nāgoji, see para *supra*

5 *CC*, II. 116, *PR*, II 36 When the date of composition is given as Saka 1494 but *SKC*, 278 gives the date as *Saka* 1484 Bopadeva alias Gopāla Ācārya was son of Nr̥simha of Kaundinyaagotra of Jabolagrama of Mahārāstra

6 *CC*, I 495, II. 116, 220, III. 106 where his other works are given. Sesacintāmani was son of Śeṣaśāmīha of the 17th century. For Śesa family of Benares, see para 692 *supra*.

7 *Ibd* He was son of Hāliyamābhatta Dravida. He commented on Śringārātilaka and Kāvyaprakāśa For his other works, see *CC*, I. 161.

8. *CC*, I. 495, II 116. He also wrote Āryāsaptaśāti, in 1645 A.D.

9 *CNWP*, II. 120 He was son of Kāmarāja and Jīvarāja was his son and wrote a commentary on Rasatarangiṇī See para 908 *post*

10 *CC* I. 495, II 116, III 106 For Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmidhata, see para 819 *supra*.

11 *IOC*, 548.

12 *IOC*, III 854, *DO*, XXII 8080, *TC*, II 1095. He was son of Nārāyaṇa and wrote Rasamimānsā (Ed Benares). His commentary is dated 1782 A.D.

Jīvarāja,<sup>1</sup> by Mahādeva,<sup>2</sup> by Gaṇeśa,<sup>3</sup> by Ayodhyāprasāda,<sup>4</sup> by Bhagavadvā  
bhātta,<sup>5</sup> by Dīvākara,<sup>6</sup> by Nemisāha,<sup>7</sup> by Venidatta<sup>8</sup>

Jīvarāja flouts Gangārāma's commentary Nāukā and praises his  
own Seṭu thus

सेतु परिस्वयं विमूढबुद्धयो नौकादिभि लुदविसारसाधनै ।  
तर्तु समिच्छन्ति यतन्ति चापि ये चक्षुप्मदन्था इति तेऽपि मे मति ॥

इमा बत तरगीर्णै रसमर्याँ गभीरान्तराँ

दुरन्तविषयाभिधैरथ तिभिर्गलैस्सङ्कुलाम् ।

वृत्ता विविधसश्यैविषधैर्विना सेतुना

कथु तुधमतङ्गजा प्रतितरन्तु नौकाश्तै ॥

**887 Jayadeva's Candraloka**<sup>9</sup> is almost a student's hand-book in poetics. In ten Mayūkas or chapters it describes the qualities of good poetry and illustrates the figures of speech. In the introductory verses, Jayadeva calls himself Piyyavaṣa and in the concluding verses, gives the names of his parents as Māhādeva and Sumitṛā. These references are conclusive on the identity of the authors of the Candraloka and Prasannarāghava.<sup>10</sup> Besides Kuvalayānanda, there are commentaries on Candraloka, by Venkatasūri,<sup>11</sup> by Payagunda Vaidyanātha,<sup>12</sup>

1 *CC*, 494, II 229, III. 106. He was son of Vrajarāja and great grandson of Śimārāja Dikṣīta who lived in the latter half of 17th century. Of Vrajarāja, see para 908 *post*.

2 *CC*, I 494.

3 *Ibid*.

4 *Ibid*. He also wrote a commentary on *Vṛttaratnākara*.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *CC*, II 118.

7. *CC* I. 494, III 106. He was son of Bhimesāna described as Mahārājajihīrṇa.

8 *Ibid.*, *Ulwar*, 1071. He was author of *Alankāracandrodaya*. His commentary is dated 1568 A.D.

9. Printed Venkateswar Press, Bombay and everywhere. There is another Candraloka, *Ulwar*, 1058.

The identification of this author with the author of *Gitagovinda*, made in the Introduction to this Edition is wrong, likewise is the statement of Dayānanda that this Jayadeva was the same as the brother of Bopadeva, whose parents were Bhojaṭeva and Rādhī (see his *Śatyārtha-prakāśa*, 885).

10. See para 674 *supra*. Peterson, *Subh* 89, *DC*, XXII 8650, 8656, *SR*, 68.

11. Called Buḍharanjani. It embraces only the chapters on Arṭhālankāra. The author was patronised by Rāmabhūpāla. Ed. Madras *TC*, III 1598, *DC*, XXII. 8651.

12. Called Rāmā. *DC*, XXII, 8652. He is different from Vaidyanātha Tēṣat, the commentator on Kāvyaprakāśa.

by Viśvesvara alias Gāgābhata,<sup>1</sup> by Pradyotanabhattacārya,<sup>2</sup> by Virūpākṣa,<sup>3</sup> by Vājacandra,<sup>4</sup> by Sūrya Bahrama Caube,<sup>5</sup> and one anonymous<sup>6</sup>

**888 Sukhalalamisra** was son of Bāburāya and grandson of Hṛdayarāma He was pupil of Gangesamisra His sixth ancestor Damodara came to Kāśī from his native village Gharonda and having studied there became minister of Vairamaputra Sukhalāla's Alankāramanjari purports to follow Jayadeva's Kārikas His Śringāramālā was written in Sam 1801 (1745 A D)<sup>7</sup> The first verse imbeds the names of planets thus —

अशणिमरविनखचन्द्र पावकभीम बुधमणिभि ।  
सुरुचिसुमहिम कविवन्ध मन्त्रगमवतु पदपङ्कज देव्या ॥

Gangesa's son Hariprásāda wrote Kāvyārthagumphā and Kāvyāloka in Sam 1775 and 1784.<sup>8</sup>

Among Reddi Kings of Addanki, Prola Vema was a great patron of letters. Lolla Mahādeva Kāvi adorned his Court His grandson Kumāraguru or Vasanṭarāja wrote a work on dramaturgy Vasanṭarājī<sup>9</sup> From this work Kātayavema<sup>10</sup> who had married Komāraguru's sister Mallāmbikā, has quotations and so too do Mallinātha, Kumāraswāmin and Nādindla Gopamanṭrin

१ धूतातपत्रः सुमश्चक्षुवासा पुष्पार्चितश्चन्द्रनचर्चिताङ्ग ।  
विश्रियस्वावान् कृतभोजनश्च ददाति हष्ट पथि सर्वसिद्धिम् ॥

Commentary on *Vikramorvāsiyam*

1. Called Rākāgama or Sudhā He was also known as Viśveśvara alias Gāgābhata, son of Dinakara and nephew of Kamalākara of the 17th century. *DC*, XXII, 8658, *PR*, II 500

2. Called Śāradārīma *DO*, XXII, 8655 This name was apparently suggested from the last verse of the Candrāloka The author was the son of Balabhadra, and wrote at the instance of Prince Virabhadra son of King Rāmocandra and grandson of Virasimha of Vandella family (Vaghela?) Virabhadra's commentary on Kāvyasūtras is dated 1577 A D

3. Called Śāradāśārvari (*HR*, III, vii).

4. *CO*, I, 182

5. Called Dipikā *Ibid*

6. Ed Benares.

7. *Ulwar*, 1088, *SKC*, 74

मुधांशुब्दोमवलिन्दो वर्षे उयेषासिते रसे ।

शुभा शृङ्खरमालेय रविगुर्व्ये सुरुक्तिता ॥

8. *CC*, I 108, II 20, *PR*, III 856, *S K De, SP*, II 828

9. See Essay on Vasanṭarājīyam in K.B. Pathak's Com. Vol. by N. Vinkatarao  
10. See page 620 *supra*.

II मदेन मदनेनापि प्रेरिता शिथिलत्रपा ।  
योत्सुकाभिसरेत् कान्त सा भवेदभिसारिका ॥

Commentary on *Mūgha*, II 8

III यथप्यज्ञानि भूयासि पूर्वरज्ञस्य नाटके ।  
तेषामवश्य कर्तव्या नान्दी नन्दीश्वरप्रिया ॥

Commentary on *Prañaparudrīyam*

IV. तथोक्त वसन्तराजीये—

सूचने पात्रभेदाना तत्खमावार्थसूचनी ।  
या गीति सा श्रुत्वा तु ल्यसविधानविशेषणे ॥  
प्रावेशिक्याभेषिपकी च तथा प्रासादिकीति च ।  
नैष्काम्याभ्यान्तरी चेति तासा लक्षणमुच्यते ॥  
प्रवेशसूचकादौ तु श्रुत्वा प्रावेशिकी मता ।  
प्रसङ्गमध्येऽन्यार्थसाक्षेपादाभेषिपकी मता ॥  
प्रासादिकी तु पात्राणी व्याकुलानी प्रसादनात् ।  
निष्कामसूचिकायान्ते श्रुत्वा नैष्कामिकी मवेत् ॥  
विषादे विस्मृतौ क्रोधे प्रसादे सम्रमे मदे ।  
दोषप्रच्छादनादौ च गीयते या तु सान्तरी ॥ इति ॥

Commentary on *Prabodhacandrodaya*.

889 Vemabhupala<sup>1</sup> succeeded Komāragiri on the throne of Kondavidu in about 1403 A D as the nearest agnate in succession.

1 On Vemabhupala and his family, see Veturi Prabhākaraśāstri's *Sriṅgaranai* gadham, 45, also *B I* III 288, III 60

The genealogy is as follows —

Komati Prolaya (1320 A D)  
(with capital Addanki)

Māca

Prolaya Vema (1380 A.D.)

Peda Komati Vema (called Pallava, Trinetra &c., patron of Telugu poet Yerrapragada and Sanskrit poet Mahādeva the 7th ancestor of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, who lived about 1580 A D )

Rāca Vemana

Aapoja (till 1366 A.D.) (removed capital to Kondavidu, Bālasaravatī was a poet of his Court)

Anavemareddi (till 1381 A. D.)  
called Dharmā Vemana. Trilocana was  
a poet of his Court.

Komāragiri (till 1403 A.D.)

He is generally known as Pedakomati Vemareddi. He was the grandson of Māca, the elder brother of Prolayavemanī. A poet and scholar himself, he was a great patron of letters. He bore the title Viranārāyaṇa. He gave away a portion of his kingdom to his brother's son Māca and installed him at Kondapalli. He claimed the territory of Rajahmundry which had been given away by his predecessor Komāragiri<sup>1</sup> to his wife's brother Kātayavema and had to wage war against the grandson of the latter and his adherents. His wife Sūramāmbā was known for her charity and some tanks and canals are associated with her name. He passed away about the year 1420 AD. In his Court the great poets Śrinātha and Vāmanabhatta Bāna flourished. Śrinātha called him Sarvajnacakravarṭin<sup>2</sup> and Vāmana narrated his life in his romance Viranārāyaṇacarita.

Besides his commentaries on Amaruka<sup>3</sup> and Saptaśatīśāra,<sup>4</sup> he wrote Sāhityacintāmani<sup>5</sup> on poetics and Sangītacintāmani<sup>6</sup> on music. The first is a learned treatise in 13 Parichchedas on the plan of Kāvyaprakāśa and criticises Mahimibhatta's theory of inference. Among the poets he quotes is one Kusumāyudha. The illustrations are sometimes in praise of himself and this leads to a doubt if the work was only a dedication by a poet of his Court, presumably Śrinātha. Among the works quoted in these works, are his own Kūvya (or Bhāna) Viranārāyanacarita<sup>7</sup> and Kādambarīnlaka<sup>8</sup> of Narasimha, a nephew of

<sup>1</sup> Komāragiri alias Vasantharāja was found of feast and pleasure and he was free to enjoy them, while his wife's brother Kātayavema a warrior and scholar administered the kingdom with ability. Lakuma, a celebrated actress, was in his Court. He wrote a work on Nātya called Vasantharājya and this is referred to by Kātayavema in his commentary on Bākunṭala. At his instance Kātayavema wrote commentaries on the plays of Kālidāsa.

१. चूडामणिनृपाणां दुर्मदप्रिपथि शिखरिदभोळि ।  
सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्तीं पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति ॥

२ Ed. Madras.

३. The manuscript in Oriental MSS. Library

४. DC, XXII 3708.

५ Trav 50 This is a Sangītacintāmani and Sangītmṛta by Kamalolocana (CC, I, 79), and another anonymous in Tanj XVI. 7265

६ It is not known what this work was. For instance

बधा ममैव काव्ये वीरनारायणचारिते ।

७. For instance

१. शुबनाय विर्णिजीवनानां क्षितिभृद्विश्वरसोपलालितानाम् ।  
अधिक विमलश्रीयां बनानां लघुतापि प्रबभूष गौरवाय ॥

१1. क्षण कपेलै स्तनमण्डले क्षण क्षण हृदीय फलकं क्षण हृषो ।  
नितंभिन्नी न्यस्त निर्मलितेक्षणा दध्यौ विदरथेव न वेद नान्तरम् ॥

**Agastya** In learning and patronage, Vemabhūpāla and his family were vying with the contemporary kings of Racakonda, of whom Sarvajnasingha<sup>1</sup> and his grandson of that name attained fame

**890 Paundarika Ramesvara's** Rasasindhu treats of rasas and bhāvas in 14 rāṭnas (chapters) Among the works he mentions the latest is Visvanātha's Sāhityadarpana and he must therefore have lived in the first half the 13th century<sup>2</sup>

**891 Anurathamandana** or Ratnamandanaguru was the pupil of the Jain priest Ratnasekhara,<sup>3</sup> sūri of lapagaccha who died in 1861 A D His Jälpalakalpaṭā<sup>4</sup> in 3 parts is an instructor in poetic composition and Mugdhamedhākara<sup>5</sup> mainly deals with figures of speech

**892 Punjaraja** was the son of Jīvana and Maku of Śrīmāla family Jīvaṇa and his brother Megha were ministers of Khalaci Sahu Garjasa of Mālva who ruled about 1475 A D<sup>6</sup> Of his two sons, Punja, who became king, abdicated in favour of his brother Munja Punja-raja's Dhvanipradipa is a treatise on Dhvani and Sisuprabhālankāra is an introductory work on figures of speech.<sup>7</sup>

**893 Haridasa** was son of Puruṣotṭama of Karana family His Prastāvaraṇākāra deals with enigmatic composition and was composed in 1557 A D<sup>8</sup>

**894 Vitthaladeśvara** or Vitthaladiksita called also Agnikumāra was the son of Vallabhācārya the reformer and was born in 1515 A D His brother was Gopinātha He wrote Rītvijīlakṣana on literary style and Śringārarasamandāna<sup>9</sup> on the sentiment of love

**895 Kesavabhatta** was the son of Hariyamśabhatta and disciple of Vitthaladeśvara, the son of Vallabhācārya His Rasikasananjivani in three chapters deals with heroines and their relation to the amorous sentiment<sup>10</sup>

1 See para 120 *supra*

2 *CC*, III 106, *BORI*, Poona, Ms No 595, P. K. Gode, *COJ*, II 80

3 *BR*, (1888-84) 156-7, *PR*, IV on, *IA*, XI 256

4 Weber, 1722, II 278 80

5 *TR*, VI xv, 81

6 See *BR*, (1882 8), 12

7 *PR*, V xliii, 168 9, *PR*, V 169

8 *CC*, I 360, II, 212, III 77

9 *CC*, I 661, II, 158, III, 137 For other works, see *CC*, I 573 III 121.

10 *CC*, I 127, 497

**896 Appayyadiksita** has a venerable place in poetics<sup>1</sup> He composed KUVALAYĀNANDA, a treatise original in itself, but designed as a commentary on Jayadeva's Candralöka<sup>2</sup> In Āśādhara's commentary on Kuvalayānanda, we have the story of its composition

किं च “काव्य यशसेऽर्थकृते” इत्यादिकप्रामाणिकपण्डितोक्तं राजप्रसादादिकमभिहितम् ।  
दृवं हि श्रूयते । अप्यन्यदीक्षितो नाम चन्द्रालोकं नाम ग्रन्थं चिकीत्सुं पण्डितो रह्यं । जसूनुं स  
पितुराक्षया वेङ्कटादिराजसुप्तजमाम । स च राक्षाभ्यर्थितचन्द्रालोकं नाम ग्रन्थं चकार । राक्षा  
वर्णाश्चन इत्वा प्रहितोऽलङ्कारविवेचनाय प्रार्थितश्चेमा कारिका कुवलयानन्दं च कृत्वा वेङ्कटेशं  
प्रसादयामास ।

It is said that Appayya who wished to compose a work on Alankāras was sent by his father to go to the king Venkāṭādri The king induced him to compose the work and settled on him an annual allowance in consideration of his scholarship Appayyadiksita returned with the boon and wrote the kārikās on the subject under the name of Candralöka and wrote also a commentary called Kuvalayānanda

The name of the king is given at the end of the work

असु कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षित ।  
नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेनिरुपाधिकृपानिषेऽ ॥

“Appayyadiksita composed the Kuvalayānanda by the command of Vēṅkatapati who was the mine of disinterested mercy”

“From the statement of Appayyadiksita in the beginning of the work, it appears, however, that he did not compose the whole original work, but adopted the work of Jayadeva (5th chapter) and added definitions of new alankaras and their illustrations This perhaps roused the indignation of Jayadeva, the author of Candralöka and was referred to by him in his drama of the Prasannaranghava as an unworthy plagiarism In the introduction, it is said that the manager had a brother named Gunarama, that he objected to being called भरताधिराज ‘prince of players’ owing to the fact that his elder brother was living, that the title should be conferred on the latter, that he wrote a drama called Haracaparopana which was acted at the court of a king called Ratijanaka and obtained a great fame as an actor A contemptible player stealthily assumed the title of Gunarama and misappropriated

1 For his life and works see paras 142-3 *supra* In a discussion in JOR, P. S Sastry fixes his date as 1520-1598 A.D विक्रमे भूतलं प्राप्य विजये सर्वभाययौ ।

2 For commentaries on it, see *I.c.* and also by Kuravi Rāma (HB. I xi)

the fame to himself Having heard this, the real Gunarama went to the south and secured the alliance of a singer named Sukanya and began to fight against his enemy at the courts of the kings of southern India. While we can clearly see in the above statements, an allusion to the story of Ravana carrying Sita, the wife of Rama, and the latter allying himself with the monkey leader, Sugriva and fighting with Ravana to recover his wife, we cannot help thinking of the probability of a reference to Appayyadiksita's modification of the Candaloka and commenting upon the work Jayadeva might have considered this to be a plagiarism and resorted perhaps to the courts of king of Southern India where Appayyadiksita was living to expose the plagiarism before the king and the people assembled ”<sup>1</sup>

**897** His Citramimāmsa, also a treatise on alankāra is supposed to have been left unfinished, and Vaidyanātha in his commentary on Kuvalāyanāda thus supports the general tradition “Citramimamsa is not seen anywhere beyond the Utprekshalankāra” Jagannātha made a ruthless criticism of this work in Citramimamsakhandana,<sup>2</sup> and this was in its turn answered by Nilakantha<sup>3</sup> and Candamāruṭācārya<sup>4</sup>

**898** Gangananda was a protige of Mahārāja Karna of Bikaneer (1506-1527 A D ) and belonged to Mithila (Tirabhukta) His Kāvyadākini is divided into 5 dr̥̄stis and deals with poetrical blemishes (dosa) “In the last chapter there appears also a discussion whether a dosa is regarded as a guna when it does not involve any defect at all or when it is neutral, so that it cannot be treated as a guna or a dosa”<sup>5</sup> Gangananda also wrote Karnabhusana<sup>6</sup> a treatise on rasa, a poem Bhṛngadūta<sup>7</sup> and a play Mandāramanjari<sup>8</sup>

1 HR, II 68.

2 Ed. Bombay, along with Citramimamsa. For instance on the verse .

निश्चेष्यच्छुतचन्दन स्तनतट निरूषरागोऽवर  
नेत्रे दूरमनष्टने पुलकिता तन्वी तवेय तनु. ।  
भिष्यावादिनि दूरि वान्धवजनसाक्षातपीडगमे  
वार्षी लातुमितौ गतासि न पुनस्तस्याधमस्यात्तिकम् ॥

3 HR, II viii The latter manuscript is with S A T Singaracarya. Trivikram, Madras

4 Ed. Sar. Bhae Series, Benares by P. Jagannatha Sastrī

5 Ed Kāvyaṁśa, Bombay

6 CC, III. 80

7 Mentioned in Kāvyañdākini, p 44

**899 Jagannatha**<sup>1</sup> His charming lyrics have already been described His Rasagangādhara<sup>2</sup> testifies to his high culture in the appreciation of poetry It stops with Uttarakālāṅkāra, probably in imitation of Appayādīkṣita's Cītramimāmsā, whose views he criticises in his Cītramimāmsākhandana<sup>3</sup> In his disquisitions he is self-conscious and the language of his rhetorical works, particularly of Rasagangādhara is not lucid and a knowledge of dialectics will facilitate its appreciation He declares that his illustrative verses are his own<sup>4</sup>

**900 Kṛṣṇasudhi** was the son of Śivarūma and descendant of Jagannātha Panditārāja of Upadrastī family He lived in Uttaramallur on the banks of the Seyyar near Kāncī He wrote Kāvyakalāmūḍhi,<sup>5</sup> a very comprehensive work on poetics, with illustrations in praise of his patron King Rāmavarman of Kollam

In Alankāramimāmsā, Sāntalūri Kṛṣṇasūri, son of Gopalācārya of Tanuku, Krishna Dist, criticises the views expressed in Rasagangādhara He also wrote Sāhityakalpalatikā<sup>6</sup>

Bhallata was a poet of the Court of King Praṭāparudradeva, He was called Vira Bhallata and was a proficient in Nātyasāstra, He wrote Nātyasekhara, so says Śyngārasekhara, author of Abhinayabhbhusaya.<sup>7</sup>

**901. Kṛṣṇasarman** was a pupil of Vāsudeva Yogīsvara of Guṇapura, His Maṇḍāramanandacampū though so named is in fact a treatise on poetics and prosody of an encyclopedic variety. He copied his definitions from Appaya Dīkṣita and might have probably lived in the 17th century A.D.<sup>8</sup> His Rasaprakāsa is a commentary on Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa.<sup>9</sup>

1 See para 811 *supra*

2 Ed. Bombay, with a commentary on Nagesabhatta, Views here expressed are criticised by Kṛṣṇasudhi in his Alankāramimāmsā (TC, III, 8852) There is also an anonymous commentary, CC, I, 4946.

3 Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay.

4 His stray verses have been collected and printed under the name Panditārāja Satyakām in Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.

5 TO, IV 4209.

6 TO, III, 8852, 8788 His son Jayajaya Rāmānujācārya is a scholar and poet.

7. Andhrapatrika, Annual number, 1917-8, 225

8. Ed. Bombay, with a commentary Mādhuryaranjanī.

9. See para 868-A *supra*

**902 Prabhakara** was the son of Mādhavaḥhatta and grandson of Rāmesvara of Viśvāmitragoṭra<sup>1</sup>. His Rasapradipa<sup>2</sup> in which Alankārarahasya is quoted was composed in 1583 A.D. In three chapters it deals with the essentials of poetry, rasa and dhvani. He wrote an epitome of Devimāhātmyam in 1629 A.D called Laghusaṃyatikāstava, Ekāvaliprakāsa and commentaries on Kumārasambhava and on Vāsavadattā.

Rāmesvarabhatta has three sons, Nārāyaṇa, Śridhara and Mādhaba. Nārāyaṇa was born in 1513 A.D and was a favourite of Todarmal, the finance minister of Emperor Akbar. He wrote the commentary on Vṛttaratnākara. Prabhākara's son Kīṣna wrote Vāgīśvarīśamsṭava

**903 Samaraja Dīksita** son of Narahari of Bindu Purandara family composed his play Śrīdāmacariṇī in 1681 A.D. He also wrote poems Tripurasundarīmānasapūjanasotra,<sup>3</sup> Akāragumpha and Āryātrisati<sup>4</sup> and in poetics Śṛṅgarārāṁḍalahaṇi.<sup>5</sup>

Samarāja's son KAMARAJA,<sup>6</sup> (or Kāmarūpa Śastrī) wrote the poem Śṛṅgarakalikā and on poetics Kāvyenḍuprakāśa<sup>7</sup> or Rasānirṇaya

Kamarāja's son VRAJARAJA alias Haradaṭṭa wrote a commentary on Rasamanjari, and poems Śṛṅgarasatka, ṣadṝṣṭuvartana and Āryātrisañmukṭaka or Rasikaranjanakāvya<sup>8</sup>. Vrajarāja's son JIVARAJA was in

1 According to Hall (*Bbl.*, 181) Prabhākara was born in 1564 A.D. For Prabhākara's works, see *CC*, I. 858. For the story of this family, see the poem Śāṅkarabhatta's Cāḍhivamśavarnana Haraprasad Sastri, *IA*, (1912). S K De, *SP*, I. 802, Printed Mirzapur. In Kacchādātha's Bhāṭṭavamśakāvya Rāmēśvara is thus described

गुणोन्मुखी श्रीश सरसती च निसर्गमात्सर्थमपीह हित्वा ।  
त भेजतुसस्त्यगिवोपयाते गुणैर्वैर वेदविदी वारिष्ठद् ॥  
भीमासयाभाजि यतश्च श्रीशतुमुलिव्याकरण च येन ।  
आन्वीक्षिकी चक्षुरपि प्रेपदे वेदान्तविद्या जरती युवत्वम् ॥  
कृत मुदा येन च लीलैव काव्यं प्रियं रामकृत्तहलाल्यम् । *I. 10-12.*

2. Ed *Sar. Bhāv Series*, Benares by Narayana Sastri Khuste, with a long introduction

3. S K De, *SP*, II. 820.

4. *CC*, I. 708

5. Printed Bombay *Ulvar*, 1086

6. This is a post Kamarāja quoted in Śāṅga, and another who wrote a gloss on Kapuramanjari.

7. Printed, Bombay. *BB*, (1887 91) No. 601

8. Printed, Bombay.

the Court of Maḍbavasena and he wrote Gopālacampū and a commentary *Setu* on Rasaṭāranginī<sup>1</sup>

**904 Caturbhūja** wrote Rasakalpadruma to the delight of Saistakhan, who is described as son of Asakakhān, and grandson of Itamad-doula. It is an elaborate work in 1000 verses in 65 prastāvas covering the whole range of poetics and erotics. Saistakhan was himself a great Sanskrit poet and six of his verses are here quoted. The composition was in the year Sam 1745 (1689 A D). Here is a fine verse

यज्ञादत्स्त्वमलिना मलिनाशयेन कि तेम चम्पक विषादमुरीकरोषि ।  
विश्वामिराभनवनीरदनीलवेषा केशा कुशेश्यदक्षा कुशलीमवन्तु ॥

Among rare authors and works mentioned are Acalarudra, Aniruddha, Avilamba, Īśvaradāsa, Ugragraha, Kamsanārāyana, Kubjakutīra, Gaudayadāva, Jagannāthaṇīra, Dhakkārava, Īśāvadbāna, Navinakavīndra, Nāthamisra, Paucīnand, Parīsurāma, Bhāratīlkavi, Bhupātmisra, Maṭī, Maḍhuravallī, Mahāmanuṣya, Mohanamisra, Raghupati, Ranṭideva, Rāmacandra Sarasvati, Ruci, Lakhya, Vasanta, Vaṇīrasāla, Visvambhara, Vahinīpati, Sanjayakavirāja, Sarvadāsa, Svaṭṭhānamisra, Haribhatta, and Harindra.<sup>2</sup>

**905 Baladeva** Vidyābhūṣapa was a disciple of Dāmodaradāsa and a follower of Caitanya and a native of Bengal. He lived during the days of king Jayasimha of Jaipur who ruled in the 18th century. His Sāhityakaumudi<sup>3</sup> is a commentary on the Sūtras of Bharaṭa and is accompanied by a gloss of his own. These Sūtras are the Kārikas, embraced in Kāvyaprakāsa of Mammata and in the colophon, it is explicitly stated that the name of the work comprising the Kārikas is Kāvalyakṣaṇa<sup>4</sup> composed by Bharaṭa, and that his commentary thereon was following several commentaries of old, such as that of Mammata.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Ulwar*, 1070. Here it is said 'Jivaraṇa says that his grandfather Samaraṇa obtained the name Kamaraja and was the author of Kavyenduprakasa, Rasanirnaya, and of Nrīmavijaya and other natakas. Jivaraṇa says that his father Vrajaraṇa was also called Haradatta.'

2. *Ulwar*, 1067.

3. See S. K. De, *SP*, I 1845. A pun in the first verse of Sāhityakaumudi refers to Gejapati prāṭ̄parudra of Orissa. See Sterling *As Res*, XV 284, and Aufrecht *Bod. Cat.* 148 notes.

4. *Ibid. Bombay*, *PR*, II, 10.

5. There is Kavilakṣaṇa (*DO*, XXVI 9908) which describes the attainments and character of a good poet.

This reference to several commentaries on the Kārikas other than Mammata precludes the idea that Mammata himself wrote the Kārikas.<sup>1</sup>

Vidyabhūṣana is an eminent rhetorician. He illustrates his comments with verses of his own composition in praise of Kṛṣṇa of whom Caitanya was an incarnation. He adds a supplementary (last) chapter where he formulates rules on topics not touched upon by Bharata.<sup>2</sup>

An anonymous commentary on Saḥityakaumudi<sup>3</sup> is more explicit. It says that Bharata threw into concise Kārikas the science of poetry as developed in Agnipurāṇa and other works and to explain these is the object of the Saḥityakaumudi.<sup>4</sup>

Among other works of this author are Kāvyakaustubha,<sup>5</sup> Padyāvalī,<sup>6</sup> and a commentary on Utkalikāvallari.<sup>7</sup>

**906** Visvevara was the son of Lalśmīdhara of Pande family of Almoda. His descendants of the ninth generation are now there.<sup>8</sup> He lived in the beginning of the 18th century. He was a literary genius and began writing when he was ten. Such men are rarely long-lived and he died at 34. In poetics, his writings are various, Alankārakaustubha,<sup>9</sup> Alankārakarṇābharaṇa,<sup>10</sup> Alankārakulapradipā,<sup>11</sup> Alankāramukṭāvalī,<sup>12</sup> Kāvyalilā and Kāvyaṛatna,<sup>13</sup> Rasacandrikā,<sup>14</sup> and a commentary on Bhānuḍatta's Rasamanjari.<sup>15</sup> In Alankārakaustubha, he mentions his plays Rukminīparinaya and Śyngāramanjari (in prakrit).

१ व्याख्यातभिद् सपूर्णं काव्यलक्षणम् ।  
समटाद्युत्तमाश्रित्य यिर्ता सहित्यकौसुदोदार् ॥  
दृच्छ भरतसूक्ताणी श्रीविद्यापूषणोभ्यवात् ।

In all editions of Kāvyaśrākāta the words सपूर्णभिद् काव्यलक्षणम् are found.

2 For a full discussion see PR, II 10 12

3 Peterson (l.c.) suspects that Vidyābhūṣana was himself the author of it.

4. See PR, II 99.

5 SKC, 58, 268

6 PR, III App 395

7 PR, IV cxii. Aufrecht says that this work was written in 1765 A.D.

8. See para 812 *supra* S. K. De, SP, 31

9 Printed Bombay.

10 Ed. Bombay

11. OC, I 81, II 187 Printed Benares

12. DC, XXIII. 8608. Printed Benares

13. See Kāvyamāla, VII 51 52 f n

14 Printed Benares DC, XXII. 8679

15. DC, XXI. 8411.

**907 Vasudeva Paro** of Karana family was a poet and doctor in the Court of Gajapati Jagannātha Nārāyanadeva of Khimundi State, Orissa. His KAVICINTAMANI is large treatise in 24 Kuras and deals particularly on Kavismāra and Samasyāpūraṇa, and Sangīta also in the last three<sup>1</sup>

**908 Gauranarya** was son of Ayaluprabhu, brother of Mītarāya, minister of King Singaya Mādhava of Recarla family, probably of the 18th century AD. His Laksapādīpikā or Prabandhadīpikā is a general treatise on poetics probably in 10 prakāṣas<sup>2</sup>

**909 Ramadeva Ciranjiva Battacarya** or Ciranjīva was the son of Rāghavendra. His Kāvyaśāstra<sup>3</sup> in two parts deals with Rasa and Alankāra. His Sṛugjratatini<sup>4</sup> is a collection of erotic verses and Vṛttitaratnāvalī<sup>5</sup> is an illustrative work on prosody meant as a panegyric of Yasvanṭasimha who was Naib Dewan of Deccan about 1731 AD. His Vidyāmodaṭarīngī has been noticed<sup>6</sup>

**910 Tirumala Bukkapatnam Venkatacarya** wrote Alankārakaustubha<sup>7</sup>. He was son of Aṇṇayācārya, a poet of the court of the Zamindar of Surapuram in Nizam's dominions and lived about 1770 AD. His brother's son Śrinivāśacārya wrote Rasamanjari<sup>8</sup> and the celebrated work Ṭāṭvamīṭṭīndā

**911 Acyudaraya Modaka** was the pupil of Nārāyanasastri and probably son of Nārāyanā. His Sāhityasāra<sup>9</sup> in 12 chapters describes the topics as taken from the "ocean of poetics", so that the chapters are called Dhanvanṭarāṭna, Airāvaṭarāṭna etc. He wrote also a commentary on Bhāminivilāsa<sup>10</sup> and probably also Bhāgirathīcampū composed on 1815<sup>11</sup>

**912 Rajasekhara** son of Venkatesa of Kolluru family and of Goḍamagotra lived in Peruru (Somānāthapura) on the banks of the

1. *TC*, IV, 4225

2. *DC*, XXII, 8692, 8694, *Tav*, IX, 4029. He quotes from Alankārasangraha and Kavikanthapāda, Čāmatkāraṇḍīkā, Sāhityaśāṇḍīkāya etc

3. *CC*, I, 102, II, 20, III, 22

4. *CC*, I, 660

5. *ER*, III No 280

6. See para 768 *supra*

7. *DC*, XXII, 8600

8. *TC*, I, B, No 869

9. Ed. Bombay with commentary Samāśmoda.

10. Ed. Bombay.

11. *CC*, I, 770. See also S. K. De, *SP*, I, 282 &

river Kausiki in the Godavari Konasima about 1840 A D<sup>1</sup> His Sāhityakalpadruma is a work on poetics in 81 stobakas He also wrote Śivasaṅkala, Śrīśacampū and Alankāramakaranda<sup>2</sup>

**913 Ratnabhusana** belonged to a Vaidya family of East Bengal In his Kāvya kaumudi composed in 1859 A D , he deals with poetics in general, but in the first three chapters with nouns, genders and verbal suffixes<sup>3</sup>

**914 Bhaskaracarya** was a descendent of Varadaguru of Śrīvatsagotra and lived at Śriperumbudur, Chingleput District, probably in the 19th century His Sāhityakallolini embraces the whole topic of poetics and dancing<sup>4</sup>

**915 Srisaṅla Nr̥siṁhacarya** was son of Dāṇāmacārya On Lakṣaṇamālikā of unknown authorship he wrote a commentary Alankārenduselhara, dealing lucidly with all topics of poetics He also wrote a commentary on Śāntavilasa, which is a work on music by Subrahmanyasudhi or Harisābakavīndra He refers to his work Campū-Jānakāparinaya and to Gītamanjarī of Harisaba<sup>5</sup>

**916 Venkatanarayana** was the son of Lakṣmi and Kamesvara Dikṣita of Godavarī family He says he composed works in eight languages His Śṛngārasāra in 6 ullāsas treats of heros and heroines, rasas and rūpkas He refers the reader to another work of his, Śṛngārasāravali, for fuller treatment<sup>6</sup>

**917 Ramasubramanya Sastrin** was son of Rāmaśankara and grandson of Asvatthanārāyaṇa and disciple of Śivarāma He was an authority on Śāstras and lived at Tiruvasanallur, Tanjore Dt He was born in the last thirties and died in 1922 A D His works on several Śāstras are numerous and his commentaries on the Upaniṣads are very much respected.<sup>7</sup> In his Alankārāśāstravilāsa he criticises Vidyānātha's definition of poetry<sup>8</sup> His Bhaktyānandaprakāśa is a treatise on Bhakti or devotion to God<sup>9</sup>

1. *TC*, III 2895 First four Stobakas are printed. Bhāgavatacampū is partly printed.

2 Kuppusāmī Śāṅkī's I. Rep

3 *HR* II, vii and No 85.

4 *DC*, XXII 8 706

5 *DO*, XXII 8696, 8715, *SR*, I 11, 98

6 *DO*, XXII 8699

7. See *TC*, II, 2528, 2532, 2541 He was ordinarily known as Rāmasubbā Sastrin.

8 *TC*, II, 2520

9 *TC*, II, 2646.

In Sāhityakantakoddhītra in two chapters Mañhusūdana, son of Nārāyaṇa of Srīvatragoṭra, has a running criticism of works of well-known authors such as Śūra Harsa, Bilhana and Bhāravi in regard to the use of certain nouns, verbs and euphony<sup>1</sup>

**918 Suradaradeva Vaidya**, son of Govindadeva, wrote Rāmāsundara-mahākāvya to illustrate particular poetic conceptions<sup>2</sup>

Kavikantikāraṇī is a treatise on a poet's personal appearance, on the effects of the initial letters of a poem and of the time of composition etc. It is said to be based on Pingala's work<sup>3</sup>

**919 Mudumbai Narasimha Acarya** flourished in the Courts of Vijayarāma Gajapati and Ānanda Gajapati, Māhārājās of Vizianagaram (Vītagapatam District) Besides the works already mentioned (in para 356 *supra*) he wrote the poems Darvopālambha, Narasimhāttahāṇa, Jayasimhāsvamedhiya, Victoriaprasasti and Yuddha-protsāhana, and in the field of poetics, Kāvyaopoṭghāṭa, Kāvyaprayoga-vidhi, Kāvyaśūtravṛtti and Alankāramālā and the following Sūtis<sup>4</sup>

क्षमार्पणस्तव, असतत्रस्तव, अर्चाभगवद्धशानयोग, कृमनाथस्तव, कृमनाथस्तवरोमन्थ,  
केशस्तव, कुच स्तव, ज्वालानरा॑ हस्तव, नाथस्तव, मदहासस्तव, अवताररोमन्थ, ब्रह्मसमाधि-  
स्तव, पुरुषांचमस्तव प्रभादस्तव, भगवद्धशानयोग, दिव्यलीलावतारस्तव, मार्गस्तव, योगनिद्रा-  
प्रबोध, योगनिद्रास्तव, रामात्मजतुरस्सस्तति, द्विद्विनाथस्तव, राधास्तव, वासुदेवस्तवरोमन्थ,  
विजिष्टाध्यानयोग, वेङ्कटेश्वरत्रिक लक्ष्मीवेङ्कटेश्वरस्तव, वेदानन्दशक, वृत्तिशोधन, श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वर-  
प्रपत्ति, रौद्रस्तव, कृष्णस्तवरामन्थ, सूर्यस्तव, हुर्गास्तव, श्रीस्तव, प्राणोधकास्तव, गायत्रीमाला,  
नवमिधिमहालक्ष्मीस्तव, भगवद्दीदार्थस्तव, पुस्थंश्रमनिवृत्तिस्तव, निमुरोक्तिस्तव, निरहकारस्तव,  
निर्वेदस्तव, कामहरस्तव, निस्सदेहस्तव, सकीर्णचमत्कारस्तव, द्वयमत्रस्तव, प्राप्तिग्राण,  
नैच्यादुसधानस्तव, आराधनस्तव, भगवद्विग्रहयान

**920 Other Works** Kāvya-Alankārasūtra by Yaśakamuni with the commentary of Akhilāndasarmāṇi, Abhinavasṛṅgārarnamanjari by Bukkanapatnam Venkatacārya (*Mys.* C. 11, A'ankaravivicāra (*Tanj.* IX 3978), Alankāraprakāshikā (*DC*, XXII 3602), Alankārasekhara by Jīvanīṣha (*CC*, I 32), Alankārasaṃgraha by Kandalaśārya (*Mys.* 296,

1 *TC* III 919, 3711.

2 *CC*, I 725 See for his other works per 767 *supra*

3, *DC*, XXII 861, *TC*, III 8771

4 In the Introduction to Rāmacandraṭṭhāmrīṭa, an extensive poem on Rāmāyana (printed, Vizianagaram), M. Venkataramanacharya gives a long history of the poet's family and of the royal patrons of the ruling house of Vizianagaram

*Adyās*, II 33), Alankārakramamālā by Damodarabhatta (*CC*, I 32, 250), Alankārakaumudī by Vallabhabhatta (Ed, Grantharatnamala, Bombay, II 1189), Alankārasāra by Nṛsimha (*Mys* 297), Alankāramanjarī by Nirmala (?) (*CC*, I 32), Alankārakauṭubha (i) by Venkataśācārya (*Adyās*, II 33, *DC*, XXII 8599, *Mys* 295) and (ii) by Śrinivāsa (*CC*, I 103), [Alankarasūtra by Candraśānta Ṭarkālankāra (Printed, Calcutta, 19th century A D), Alankāracandrikā, Alankārakārikā, Alankārakaumudī (*DC*, XXII 8599 *Mys* 295), Alankāramayūkha, Alankāranukramanikā, Alankāraprakarana (*SR*, I No 52), Alankāraprakāshikā (*DC*, XXII 8602), Saṭālankāranulāramaṇikā (*Adyās*, II 38), Alankārasangraha (*DC*, XXII 8606, *Adyās*, II 33), Alankāragraṇṭha (*Ajyās*, II 33, *TC*, III, 3907), Alankāravādārtha<sup>1</sup>, Alankārasāra ky Bālakṛṣṇa]<sup>2</sup>

Alankārasangraha by Amṛtanandayogin (*Ibid* Calcutta, Trans into English (*DC*, XXII 8604), Alankāramuktāvalī by Rāma, son of Nṛsimha (Printed, Vizagapatam) Alankāramāṇidarpāna by Venkappayapradhāna (*CC*, I 32, *Mys*, 296) and by Sampatkumara Venkaśācārya (Gough, 189), Alankāralaksana by Śambūnātha (*CC*, III 7), Alankāracintāmaṇi by Santaraja, Alankāratilaka (i) by Śrikaramisra (*CC*, I 32), and (ii) by Bhāṇūdatta (*Tan*, IX, 4107, *Mys* 295), Alankārasarvasva by Devarakonda Aubalayya Kṛṣṇa (*TC*, VI 7186)

Alankāraprakarana (*CC*, III 7), Alankāranikā by Sudhindrayogin (*DC*, XXII 8713), Alankāravīṣaya (*Ibid* 8714), Alankāramanjarī (i) by Trīmallabhatta and (ii) by Suhkalāla (*PR*, IV 25, *CC*, II 6), [Alankāraparīḍī by Viśvanātha, Alankāramanjūṣa by Devasankara, Alankāraratoḍīkara by Sobhākaramisra, Alankararahasya by Prabhākara, Alankārvṛtti (*PR*, IV 25), Alankārasamudgaka by Sivarāma]<sup>3</sup>, Kāvyasaranī<sup>4</sup>

921. [Kāvyakalāpa, Kavikalpalatīkā and Kāvyadīpikā (*DC*, XXII 8618), Kavyakaumudī, Kāvyakaustūḥha and Kāvyalakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXII 8630), Kāvyalakṣaṇapavīcāra (*DC*, XXII, 8716, *Tan* 76), Kāvyaṁṭatarangiṇī, Kāvyaparīccheda, Kāvyaraṭha, Kāvyopadeśa]<sup>5</sup> Kāvivibhāga (*Tan*, 70), Kavikanthapāśa (*Adyās*, II 33), Kāvikalpalatī by Devesvara (Printed, Calcutta, *Tan*, IX 3985, *DC*, XXII 8612, *SR*, II 80), Kāvikuṭūhala (i) by Viṣṇudasa<sup>6</sup> and (ii) by

1 Cited in Śrinivāsa's commentary on Vāvadaṭṭī

2 *CC*, I 81-2

3 *CC* II 6

4 Quoted by Appayadīśī in Vṛttivārtika

5. *CC*, I, 101 8

6. He was probably the author of Manoḍīta, IO, 1184. See para 828 *supra*.

Kānticandramukhopādhyāya (Ed Calcutta, 19th century), Kāvyatatvavicāra by Haladhara (UPR (1895-1900), p 16), Kāvyaacandrikā (i) by Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīsa and (ii) by Kāvicandra, son of Kāvīkarnapūra<sup>1</sup>, Kāvyavṛttitratnāvalī by Nārāyana (Tanj, IX 4012), Kavisanjivinī (TC, VI 7172)

Kāvyyollāsa by Nilakantha<sup>2</sup> (TC, III 3348), Kāvyasārasangrahatrāya by Srinivāsa (Tanj IX 4014, Mys 298), Kāvikarpatikā<sup>3</sup> by Sankhadhara (CC, I 86), Kavītīvatāra by Purusottamasudhī (Tanj IX 5992, Idyā, II 34), Kāvyaalakṣanasāṅgraha by Śrinivāsa (Idyā, II 34),<sup>4</sup> Vyanjananirṇaya by Nāgeśabhatta (l'd Bombay), Kāvyakantakodhāra by Narasimhaśāstrin of the Circars (14th century), Kāvyarasāyana by Samasandarbha (l'd Calcutta)

**922** Rasabindu, Rasagrandha, Rasīmṛṭasindhu and Rasasamucaya (CC, I 494), Rasaviveka (Tanj 72), Rasikaratnāyana (Idyā, I 36), Rasakalpadruma by Jagannātha mīmāṃsa, son of Ānandamīmāṃsa (1600-1700 AD) (Idyā, II 37, TC, IV 5619), Rasārnavaśālankāra by Prakāśavaradā<sup>5</sup> (TC, IV 5366), Rasikarāṣṇayana (TC, VI 7223), Rasatutranginī by Rūmānandī (TC, III 31, Rasaratnādīpikā by Lallarīja (Tanj, IX, 4073), Rasaratnāvalī by Viśeṣvara (IO, II 359), Rasakūmuḍī (i) by Śrikantha (CC, I 494, early 17th century) and (ii) by Ghāśirāma (DC, XLII 8877), Rasamīmāṃsā by Gaṅgārāmājadīn (IC, 176, 290), Rasacandra by Ghāśirāma (IO, II 351, 1696 AD), Rasasindhu by Paundarīkarāmēśvara (CC, III 106), Rasapadmākara by Gaṅgādhara (CC, II 30), Rasikaprakāśā by Devanāṭha (CC, I 497), Rasikajīvana by Gaṅgādhara (CC, I 497, II 116), Rasikamohana by Raghusūhabhatta (1745 AD), Rasikapriyā by Indrajit (PR, VI No 379), Rasasarvasva by Bhimeśvara (Tanj IX 4078), Rasadirghikā by Vidyārāma (PR, III, No 336), Rasāṇudhījñidhi by Sonthi Mārabhattāraka (TC, IV 4769), Raśamādhava by Daṇḍī Śivājipradhbhāna, Raśāmṛṭasudhā (CC, III 106), Raśarāṇahara by Śivārāma (CC, II 116), Rasakalikā (TC, III 3055)

1. IOC, III 844 He quotes from his own poem Raunāvali, Rāmacandrācāmpu, Śāṭavāli, Sāṅcīcāndrikā and also verses of his own sons Śrikavivallabha and Śrikavibhuṣana,

2 He was the author of the play Kalyāṇasaugandhikā

3 There is a poem Kavikarpatikā by Vāḍindra (CC, I 86, Tanj VI 2711)

4 He is different from Rajasukheta. S K De's identification (SP, I, 819) is not correct.

5 He is mentioned by his disciple Vallabha in his commentary on Māgha and quoted by Mallināṭha in his commentary on Bhāravi

Sṛngārarasamandana by Viṭṭhalesvara and Sṛngārasārodadhi by Sudhākara Pundarikayavjan (CC, III 137)

Bhāratībhūṣapa by Gīridharadasa (1875 A.D.), Padmābharaṇa by Paḍmākara 1875 A.D., Nāvikānuvārnana by Rāmaśauvana (DC, XXII, 8678), Utpreksamanjari by Ṫāṇḍucārya (Mys 2971), Kankanabandha by Sudarsanācārya (Ibid), Vṛtālankāra by Chavilal Suri of Nepal (1901 A.D.), Kākatalavāṇīṭha by Sambhudāsa (Ibid), Citramanjarī by Ranganatha (Ibid 300), Lakṣmīlakṣmīdāmalikā by Niśimha (Ibid 303), Vṛttādipikā Venkatesa (Ibid, 303)

Dasarūpakapaddhati of Kuravi Rāma<sup>1</sup> and Dasarūpakavivaranam<sup>2</sup> (anonymous)

923 Sāhitīābdhi by Venidatta (Tanj IX 4105), Sāhitīavicāra by Kṛṣnatarkālankāra (CC, I 716), Sāhitīavicāra by Auṇṭa (CC, I 13), Sāhitīātarangī by Kṛṣṇa (CC, II 171) Sāhitīyakaumudi (TC, III 33) and Sāhitīvakautūhalā by Yasasvin (CC, I 715) Sāhitīyāñūṭi by Hāra dattasimha (CC, I 716), Sāhitīyakallohni by Bhāsyakarācārya of Bhūta-purī (DC, XXIII 8706), Sāhitīyasāra (i) by Suiesvarajati (TC, III 33C8, Trav 72) (ii) by Mānasimha (CC, I 715), and by (iii) Acyutaśrīmadodak (Ed. Bombay, Mys 304, composed in Saka 1753-(1831 A.D.), Sāhitīyāmīmamsā (Tanj IX 4104), [Sāhitīyasaraṭī, (Mys 304), Sāhitīyasūkṣmasa-ranī by Śrinivāsa, Sāhitīyacūḍāmanī and Sāhitīyabodha by Ḍīganara Seturāma (TC, III 3593), Sāhitīyasārṅgadharma by Sārṅgdhara, Sāhitīyasan-graha (i) by Kāla and (ii) by Śūmbhudāsa] (CC, I 716)

Sāhitīacandrikā, Sāhitīamuktāmaṇi, and Sāhitīaratnamāla (CC, I, 7156), Sarojakalikā by Kavirāṭha (CC, I 87), Upamāsudhānndhi (CC, I, 68), Ekaṇṭyālankāraprakāśā (CC, I 74), Kīraṇāvalī by Saṃdhara (Opp II 4531), Karpūrarasamanjari by Bālakāvi (Rue, 282), Kāvyarthacūḍāmanī (TC, I 792), Nālakāvāṭāra (CBod 142), Bhāva-viveka (TC, VI 7151),

[Sṛngāracandrodaya,<sup>3</sup> Sṛngārakauṣṭubha, Sṛngāramanjarī (SR, II 23), Sṛngārapavana, Sṛngāratarangī, Sṛngārarasa, Sṛngāravidhi]<sup>4</sup>, Sṛngāradivīṣaya (DC, XXII 8701), Sṛngārarasavilāsa by Deva-datta (CC, I 258), Sṛngārahāra by Baladeva (BKR, 1880-12, 71),

1 TC II 1097

2 DC, XXII 8664 It is conjectured to be the nāṭaka chapter of bigger treatise.

3 Cited in Prastavaconḍīmaṇi, Weber, I. 229.

4 CC, I 660-1

Śṛngārasarasī by Bhāvamisra (CC, I 681, II 158, 230), Śṛngārasāra by Venkatanārājana Dīkṣita (DC, XXII 8899) Śṛngāralatā by Sukha-devamisra (PR, IV app 29), Śṛngārasārodadhi by Sudbhākara Pundarīkayajvan (CC, III 131), Śṛngārāmṛtakātā by Samarṇadīkṣita (DC, XXII 8702),

Kāvyaopadeśa,<sup>1</sup> Raṅkara,<sup>2</sup> Raśmatnākara,<sup>3</sup> Raśasāgara,<sup>4</sup> Raśasudhākara,<sup>5</sup> Kājakundalipa,<sup>6</sup> Raśikāśaravasa,<sup>7</sup> Raśikal kū<sup>8</sup> Angādhārala-kāna (Tāv 75), Saṭvikangikabhbāvaraśaviveka (Ibid 172., Tṛiṇyapuruṣārtha-saṇanī<sup>9</sup>

**924 HALĀUDHA'S KAVIRAHASYA** is really a guide to poets. It is called Kaviguhya or Āpasabdābhāṣahavya by the commentator Ravidharma<sup>10</sup>

कविगुद्य प्रसक्तादिभावगम्यम्-कवा ।  
यस्य येनोपसर्ण धातो कविपदं च यत् ॥  
अर्थतशब्दते वापि समान् धातृचिब्धनता ।  
तथा हलामुखनेदं छत कविरहस्यकाण् ॥  
आभास्त्वं निष्ठान्वत्र प्रचुराण्यपश्यन्दवत् ।  
तद्विषयं समावेन निवृधनमपेक्षते ॥

\* \* \* \*

अपशब्दाभास्त्वं काव्ये ईकाशतानि चतुर्दशानि ।  
रचितानि कविरहस्य नाम काव्य समाप्तिः ॥

"According to a Gujarati copy of the work its hero was one of the Krishnas of the Rashtrakuta line, possibly the first of that name (A.D 760-80)"<sup>11</sup>

1 Cited by Hemādri on Raghu (CC, I 109)

2 „ by Mallinātha in commentary on Moghaḍa

3 „ „ „ on Kirāta IX 71

4 „ „ „ on Māgha, XV. 89.

5 „ „ „ on Baghu, VI 12.

6 „ „ „ on Kum, VI 40

7 „ by Nārāyaṇa in commentary on Gītagovinda, V. 2

8 „ by Vāṇīḍava in commentary on Harpuramanjari (TC, III 8055)

9 It is about 400 years old and quotes several medieval poets of 900-1800 A.D

10 See Int to Kāvyaśāmāsa (GOS), 1984 Edn, ix x Ed with commentary, Bombay

11 Bhandarkar inclines to identify the author of the Kavirahasya with the Halāyudha who wrote the Abhīdhānarāṭnamālā, but Weber places the latter about the end of the eleventh century. PR, 1888-9, p. 9.

SECTION 2  
Yasobhusana

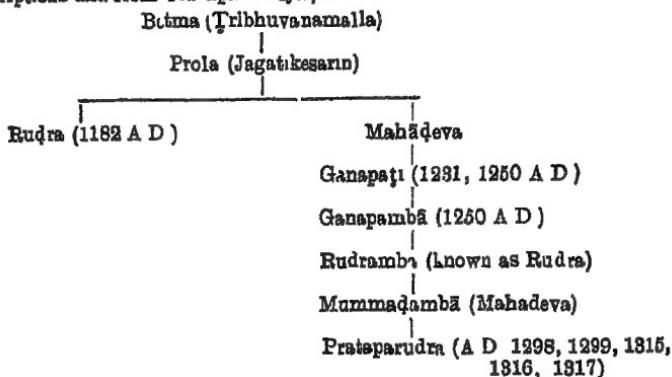
**925** A mode of composition, which may be styled Yasobhūṣana, was directly designed by Vidyānātha, in which was attained a double purpose of a treatise on poetics and a eulogy of the poet's patron or deity of devotion. Udbhata inaugurated it in a way, when he imbedded the story of Pārvatī's wedding in illustration of his tenets of Alankara.

But it was Vidyānātha that developed the idea and called his work **PRAṬAPARUDRA-YASOBHUSANA**.

**926** **Vidyānātha** was a poet of the Court of King Pratāparudradeva of Ekasilānagara of the Kākaṭiya dynasty (Warrangal),<sup>1</sup> who ruled between 1268 and (1319?) 1328 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The term Vidyānātha appears now to be a mere appellation granted or assumed for proficiency in arts and behind that appellation is the name of AGASTYA.<sup>3</sup>

1 For this word see Sewell's *Sketches of the Dynasties of Southern India*, 82.

2 Pratāparudra also called Virarudra or Rudra was the son of Mahādeva and Mummadambā. He had a boar as a sign in his flag and he bore the title of Chalamartiganda. He was a patron of letters and it is said there were 200 poets in his Court. Among them was Mallikārjunabhātta who wrote Nirosthya Rāmāyaṇa. Sewell (*l.c.*) gives dates 1295 to 1323 A.D. Seshagiri Sastrin (*SE*, II, 82) gives dates 1268 to 1319 A.D. For inscriptions referring to him and Kakatiyas, see *II*, III, 84, 94, V, 148, VII, 128 82, VIII, 166 7, 14, XI, 9 10, XXI, 197. Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, II, 114, 172. K P Trivedi gives the following genealogy as made up from these inscriptions and from Pratāparudriya.—



For the later history of the dynasty, see Sewell (*l.c.* 82). W W Hunter, *Imp Gaz* XIII 521 and new edition XXIV 858. For a general account of Kākaṭiyas by Seshadri and Ramana, see Andhra Patrika Annual No (1921-22) 168 & and JI of Andhra Eistory Society.

3 This is inferred from the following verse in the *Pratāparudriyam* (Bombay Edn p 91).

अौषत्य एतोऽपि विषयम् विषयम् विषयम् विषयम् विषयम्

who is known as the author of several works and as having been honoured by the Kings of Vijayanagar.

**927** His PRATAPARUDRAYASOBHUSANAM shortly called Prataparudriyam is an elaborate treatise on poetics with illustrations in praise of his patron. This mode of panegyric imbedded in a work of instruction is a new device of Vidyānātha's creation. In dealing with the canons of dramaturgy he has ingeniously interposed a model play known as Pratiparudrikalyānam, which performs at once the functions of apt illustration of the technique of the Sanskrit play and of giving a description of the goodnesses and exploits of Pratiparudradeva. The object of the work is avowedly to show how the importance of composition depends on the apt characterisation of the merits of the hero. Accordingly the first Prakarana classifies heroes and heroines and describes their qualities. The second Prakarana propounds the nature of poetry and the several species of poetic composition. The third Prakarana contains the model drama, describing the coronation of Prataparudra and his glorious rule and conquests. The fourth Prakarana deals with Rāgas, the next two with the faults and merits of composition and the last three with figures of speech.

This treatise has been very popular among later writers and is specially in Southern India never missed as a text book in rhetorical study. It is profusely quoted by Mallinātha and it was apparently that appreciation by Mallinātha that made his son Kumāraswāmin write a commentary on it. Appaya Dīkṣita criticised some of these views in his Cīrmīmānsā, but these criticisms were answered by Visvesvara in his Alankārakauṭubha.

There are two commentaries<sup>1</sup> on it now extant, Ratnasāra and Ratnāpana. Ratnasāra<sup>2</sup> is the work of Tīrumalīcārya of Sukavāta (Cilakamarṭi) family. He was the son of Rāmānujācārya and lived at Rāmatīrtha near Kotipalli in Godavari District in the 18th century A.D. He mentions another work of his Hemantātilakabhāṇa<sup>3</sup> and he

1 Ed BSS, by K. P. Trivedi at Madras

2 The first two prakarapams have been published in BSS, (1 c). The rest is in Ms TC, II 8660

3. The following verse is quoted at page 521 l. 2

गुद्धमर्थमर्थचित्रं तु मदीये हेमन्ततिलकभाणे ।—

आहृतवसु प्रतीच्या भानु क्षिसोऽपराजितजलमध्ये ।

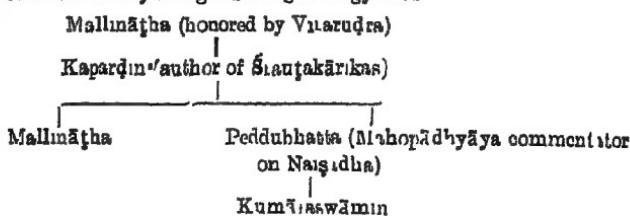
कथुमपि पूर्वादिगतो त्वं . . . मदो मुवनानाम् ॥

wrote a commentary on the Kuvalayānanda also<sup>1</sup> Rathāpana of Kumāraswāmi, son of Mallinātha,<sup>2</sup> is replete with illustrative quotations

**928** Vidyadhara wrote Ekavali<sup>3</sup> on the lines of the Kāvya-prakāsa, with Kārikas followed by an explanation in eight parts called Unmeśas. Vidyādhara mentions Harihara and the prince Arjuna, from whom he got amazing wealth, who must have been the King of Malwa of that name who ruled early in 13th century A D. Harihara, a Jaina poet named Madanakirīṭi, and Somesvara the author of the Kīrtikau-mudi and Vastupāla were contemporaries and Vastupāla died in 1242 A D. The illustrative verses are in praise of Narasimha, a king of Utkala and Kalinga, which means the modern Orissa and the province bordering on it to the south called Kalinga.<sup>4</sup>

1 TC, II 2695 Is उमा उमामहेश्वरा ? (Vy, 297)

2 Printed Madras On Mallinātha, see para 31 supra. In a commentary on the Campurāmāyana titled Padayojuṇa (DO, XXI 8212) by Venkatanārāyaṇa, Kumāraswāmin is described as the son of Peddubhatta, brother of Mallinātha. Venkatanārāyaṇa was a descendant of the family and gives the genealogy thus



For further information see K P Trivedi, (I : ) xxii v. While Kumāraswāmi says in his preface to Rathāpana that he was son of Mallinātha, his word must be preferred to that of Venkatanārāyaṇa, a descendant of several generations from Kumāraswāmi.

3 Ed by K V Trivedi, BSS, Bombay with a valuable introduction

4 Beginning

प्रालेयाचलक्यकाकुचतटीपञ्चावलगिलिना प्रेष्टफालनिलोचनानलशिखानिर्पातितेतोभव ।  
देवसेन्दुविभूषणस्य सदिर पादा गिन्दहय गम्भान् पातु सुगसे श्रवणिरत्नाशुभिङ्गिस्तथ ॥

End प्रतिमटटङ्गाभ्युजतटमर्गीह पट्टाप्रचापटङ्गार ।

वीरनृमिह इवाजो वारनृहित्रेर जगति ॥

अत लाटानुप्रभेन सहानन्दयस्य एकवचनानुप्रवेशन सङ्कर ॥

Colophon इति श्रीमनो महासहेश्वरस्य कवविद्याधरस्य कृतो एकावलीनाम्यलङ्कार-शास्त्रीलङ्कारनिरूपण नामाष्टमोन्मेष ॥

Sri Vaidya Vidyādhara, author of Kelirabasya (CC, I 125) is a different author. There are poets Vidyādhara, son of Lulla and Vidyādhara, son of Śūskatasukhavarman quoted in Subhāṣitāvali.

**929** Vidyādhara calls Narasimha Hammira-mada-mardana i.e., to have humbled the pride of Hammira "Of Hammiras, three are known. The first belonged to the Harauti branch of the Chohan family and appears not to have been a person of note. He was a dependant of Prithviraja and was killed in 1193 A.D. As the terminus ad quo for Vidyādhara who must have been a protege of Narasimha, as no poet bestows such fulsome praise on a deceased prince, is, as shown above, the early decades of the 13th century, this Hammira cannot have been Narasimha's contemporary. Besides, Orissa was not ruled over by a king of that name from 1024 to 1237 A.D. Another Hammira was the prince who belonged to the Gehloti family and was, as stated in the introduction to the Rasikapriya, an ancestor of Kumbhakarna, king of Medapata or Mewar and reigned from 1301 A.D. to 1365 A.D. A third was the king of Sakambari of the race of Chahuvana mentioned by Sarngadhara in the beginning of his anthology and represented by him to have been famous for his bravery which equalled that of Arjuna. He is the hero of the Hammira Mahakavya of Nayachandrasuri and is represented to have begun to reign in 1339 of Vikrama Samvat, i.e., 1283 A.D. It was this Hammira who defended the fortress of Ranthambhor (Ranastambhapura) with bravery against Allauddin Khilji for more than a year and fell at last when it was taken in the year 1301 A.D. Both these princes bearing the name of Hammira were famous. But as the Chohan prince is represented by Nayachandra as having attempted the conquest of southern countries, he was probably the Hammira alluded to by Vidyādhara.

From the list of the kings of Orissa given by Sir W.W. Hunter and copied by Mr. Sewell in his Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, it appears that there was a Narasimha who ruled over the country from 1282 A.D. to 1307 A.D.<sup>1</sup> If the Hammira alluded to was the Mewar prince of that name, our Narasimha may have been the one who reigned from 1307 to 1327. There were two more Narasimhas after 1327, but they reigned for only 2 years and 1 year respectively, and therefore neither can have been the hero panegyrised by Vidyādhara. There was another still, who reigned from 1257 to 1282. But he has been excluded by the whole trend of our argument. Thus then the Ekavali was written about the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era."

1 On Narasimha-deva, see *JASB*, LXIV 182, LXV 282. There were according to Sewell (i) Kesari Narasimha, 1282-1307 A.D. (ii) Pratīpa Narasimha, 1307-1327 A.D. and Nrsmha II of the inscriptions 1280-1314 A.D.

**930** Ekāvalī is quoted by Appayya Dikṣita by Jagannātha and Singabhbūpāla

'The commentary called Tarala, or central gem, of Ekavālī, or one-stringed necklace, is by Mallinātha, the celebrated commentator on the Kāvyas. In the sixth of the verses given below, which has a double sense, the commentator says that 'this Ekavālī, though a work of merit and an ornament, was because it had not a commentary, (this Tarala), kept or secreted in treasure-houses as a necklace is, because it has not the central gem. Now that Ekāvalī necklace has a bright central gem in the shape of an elucidatory commentary (Tarala), may blessed persons wear it round the neck and on the bosom, that is, get the work by heart and commit it to memory! It would thus appear that the Ekavālī was not for some time studied and the work was neglected because it had no commentary, from which it is to be concluded that Mallinātha wrote the Tarala after a certain period had elapsed since the composition of the original."

Vidyādhara was therefore almost a contemporary of Vidyānātha and not improbably a rival on the field. It looks as if the name Vidyādhara was assumed to vie with the name Vidyānātha. It is noteworthy that while Mallinātha commented on Ekavālī, his son Kumāraswāmin commented on Pratāparudrayāśobhūsana.

**931** This mode of composition of rhetorical panegyrics has been fruitful in later imitations. The idea of flattering patrons was by some rhetoricians considered too vulgar and temporal and while adopting this mode of composition they used it in praise of deities of their particular devotion.<sup>1</sup>

**932** **Dharma** or **Dharmasudhi** or Dharmabhatta was born at Pedapulivarru on the Krṣṇa.<sup>2</sup> He was a Telugu Brahmin of Velanāṭi sect of Hantagoṭra and son of Parvatānātha and Yellamūmbā. He lived at Benares and his descendants are known as of Vāranāsi family. In his later days he became an ascetic and took the name of Rāmānanda or Govindānandasarasvati. He was a devotee of Rāma and in his

1. In Rupa's Ujjvalanīlamāṇi and Bhaktiśāmr̥tiśinidhi (TC, IV 4484) and in Lakṣmipati's Krṣṇālankārāndarpāpa and in the anonymous Bhaktirasarāt (TC, IV 4829) (Mys. 639) the illustrations are in praise of Śrīkrṣṇa, in Raghupatiśāhasryadipikā (Adyav., II 87), the verses adore Rāma.

2. See article by Srirangam Somesvarasastri in *Andhrapaitrika*, Annual Number (1926-7) and by V. Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati* (1931), 192 Aufeicht (OC, I, 203) mentions another work Paucanjānakāvya.

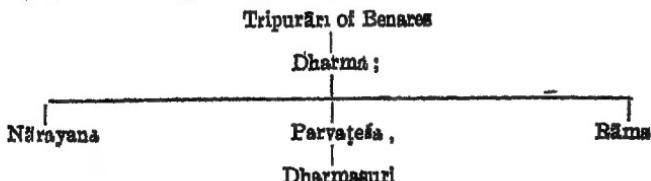
philosophical writings understands Rāma as the Supreme Being. His brother Nārāyaṇa was a vedic scholar and his grandfather of all-round literary merit.<sup>1</sup> He lived in the 16th century A.D. He was particularly great in nyāya, but the attraction of nyāya did not affect his love of poetry and rhetoric. In his Sāhityaratnākara, an extensive treatise on rhetoric, he expressed his devotion by illustrations in praise of Rāma. He blamed poets like Vidyānatha and Vidyādhara who for mercenary motives extolled kings in their writings on poetics and himself illustrated his precepts by the story of Rāma. He wrote a gloss on Sankarabhāṣya, Raṭṇaprabhā. His Kṛṣṇāṣṭuti eulogises the river Kṛṣṇā. His Hamsasandesa is a prakrit poem. His vyāyoga, Narakāsuravadha, describes the heroic story of the slaying of Narakāsura. His Bālabhāgavata is a poem on the early life of Kṛṣṇa. There are commentaries on Sāhityaratnākara,<sup>2</sup> Naukā by Carla Venkatasāstrin,<sup>3</sup> Mandara by Malladi Lakṣmanasūri,<sup>4</sup> and Naukā by Madhusūdanamisra Śarmā.<sup>5</sup>

**933** In Alankāramāṇihāra, Śrī Kṛṣṇa (Parakālaswāmi) has illustrations in praise of God Śrinivāsa of Tirupati. So is his Locanollāsa.<sup>6</sup>

Sathakopālankāraparicaryā<sup>7</sup> is anonymous and describes various figures of speech with illustrations in praise of Sathakopa known as Nammālwar, the Vaishnava Saint.<sup>8</sup> So is Śathavairivaibhavadivikaram by Maranganti Narasimhācārya.<sup>9</sup>

**934** Sudhindrayogin's Alankāranikāṣa is a short work on Arthālankaras with examples in praise of Sudhindrayogin, a Maṭhwa

1. In *HJL*, I, No. 297 the genealogy thus given.



2. See paper by E. Veeraraghavaoharyulu in *JASSP*, VI, 291.

3. Printed, Ellore, *DC*, XXII, 8712.

4. Printed, Benares, Orissa. He was patronised by Balabhadradeva (Ganga) Chief of Orissa. He also wrote poems Māyāśabarivilāsa and Hanumat-saṅdeśa ātāvali.

5. Printed, Madras and Nollore. He died just before 1900 in Godavari District. He also wrote a commentaries on Campubhārata and Kāvya-prakāśa (Printed, Madras).

6. See para 211 *supra*. His Locanollāsa is printed *Jl. Mys. Sans College*, 1985.

7. *TC*, II, 2810.

8. See para 211, *supra*.

9. *Mys.*, 803. He lived in Visagapatam district, probably at Simhācalam.

asetic, disciple of Vijayindrayati<sup>2</sup> Sudhindra wrote also the play Subhadrāparinayam while his master wrote the play Subhadrādhānamjayam<sup>3</sup> He lived in 17th century in Tanjore and was honored by king Raghunātha Naik

VISVESVARA's ĀMĀIĀKĀRĀCANDRIKA is a similar work in which the illustrations are in praise of Singabhūpāla who ruled at Rājācala about 1330 A D<sup>4</sup> Nāganātha was pupil of Visvesvara He wrote the play Madanavilāsa in honour of Māca, son of Sarvagna Singa of Recarla family<sup>5</sup> He was the author of an inscription dated Saka 1291 (1369) during the reign of Anapota

In his Kavitāvatāra<sup>6</sup> composed about 1425 A D Puruṣottamasudhi has illustrations in praise of Nāgabhūpāla Nāga was the grandson of Māca, the ruler of Gangāpura of about 1400 A D

**935** *Sahityacudamani* is ascribed to Viranārāyana but was in fact composed by some poet of his Court in 7 chapters and the illustrations are addressed to Viranārāyana Viranārāyapa or Peda Komati Vema lived in the beginning of the 15th century A D<sup>7</sup>

**936.** *Bhairavosahanavarasaraṇa* contains 41 verses depicting the nine Rasas, The hero is a prince named Bhairavasāha, son of Pratāpa of the Rastraudha or Rāthor race, whose capital was Mayūradri<sup>8</sup>

**937** KRSNAYAJVAN's Raghunāthabhūpāliyam as a similar work illustrating the greatness of Raghunātha Naik who ruled at Tanjore at

1 DC XXII 8718 There is Alankāramanjari by Sudhindrayati, (*Tan*, IX 8971)

2 DC XXI 8560 8561 Vijayendra commented on Trimalabhatta's Alankāramanjari, (*Tan*, IX 8978)

3 TC III 8818 Eggeling, *Cat* VII 1507-8 He was the disciple of Kāśīvaraṇamīśa, the author of Rasamimānsa See para 906 *supra*.

4 TC II 2619 See para 889 *supra*

5 TC III 8087, *Tan*, IX 8992

6 OC. I. 715 See para 482 *supra* It is called Sāhityadintāmāpi in DC, XXII 8708, *Mys* 304

7 "In the Kirtikau mudī, a Pratapamalla of the Rashtrakuta race is mentioned as a dependent of the Chaulukyas of Anhilapattana Rashtrakuta is the sanskrit form of Rastraudha or Rāthor, but whether thus Pratapamalla was the same as the father of our hero cannot be determined with certainty Bhairavasaha is in some of the verses called Bahirammasa which looks like a thoroughly Mahomedan name But it is not impossible that a Rajput may have adopted it "

the end of the 17th century. There is commentary by Sudhindra.<sup>2</sup> Likewise are Sāhityaratnākara and Alankāraratnākara of Yagnārāyana,<sup>3</sup>

Yajnesvara<sup>4</sup> was the son of Kondubhatta and nephew of Lakṣmīlha of Cerukūri family. He wrote Alankārarāghava, Alankārasūryodaya<sup>5</sup> and a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa<sup>6</sup> and lived about 1600 A D.

Kāsilakṣmīna's Sāhīrajiyam<sup>7</sup> illustrates the merits of King Shahji of Tanjore (1684-1711). So is Gunaratnakara of Narasimha in praise of King Sārabhoji of Tanjore (1712-1727).<sup>8</sup>

Devasankara Purohita's Alankāramanjuṣa illustrates Alankāras with the glories of Peshwas Madhava Rao I and his uncle Raghunātha Rao (17<sup>9</sup> - 1768 A D).<sup>10</sup> He was the son of Natanaabhai and lived at Jratpattana near Surat.

**938** In Kṛṣṇarājayaśodindima, Anantārya, son of Singayārya, illustrates the greatness of Kṛṣṇarāja of Mysore (1714-1731 A D). It is quoted in his work on poetic conventions, Kavisamayakallola.<sup>11</sup>

Mangalesa's Vibhaktivilāsam<sup>12</sup> with a commentary on it Darppa, a small poem in 31 verses eulogising a Vijayaramanpāla of the usapati race, Zamindar of Vizianagaram. The verses illustrate the rules of poetics as well as the grammatical sūtras of Pāṇini.

In his NANJARAJAYASOBHUSANAM<sup>13</sup> in seven Ullāsas Nṛsimhakavi illustrates the greatness of Nanjarāja,<sup>14</sup> son of Virabhūpa of the family of Kaluve.

Nṛsimha was the son of Divarama and ~~friend of Alut~~ Irumalaiyer.<sup>15</sup> He bore the title of Abhinandanesa while his friend

1. *TC*, I 896. *Mys Sup* 14. There is a commentary on it by Sudhindrayati paras 146 and 150 *supra* *TC*, III 4097.

2. See para 150 *supra*. It is a poem in 16 stanzas Ed. Madras, *Tanj IX*/8974.

3. *Tanj IX* 8975, *Mys.* 296, *CG*, I 82,

4. *Tanj IX* 8981, *SR*, II 65. He commented on his son Yajnesvara's prabandharāyana *Tanj*, VI 2728 81. See para 150 *supra*.

5. *DC*, XXII, 8628. Lekṣmidhara commented on Gatagovinda and lived about 70 A D.

6. *Tanj. IX* 4094, *Mys* 804

7. *Tanj. IX* 4028. See para 164 *supra*

8. *CG*, II 6, *BR*, (1887-91), lxiii (b)

9. There is his Kṛṣṇarājakaicodaya, *Mys* 299; *DC*, XXII 8615

10. *TO*, IV 4324. He belonged to Nidrminti family of Vizagapatam District.

11. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda *DC*, XXII 8668, *Tan*, 71; *CG*, I 275; *TC*, I 80,

12. He wrote Hālasyamāhātyam in Telugu prose

13. *SR*, I, 5, 82

Tirumalakavi was called Abhinava-Bhavabhuṭi. He also wrote a drama *Candralāparinaya*. Nanjarāja was minister and commander of the Mysore forces and was practically the king-maker of Mysore from 1734 to 1770 A D.<sup>1</sup>

**939** In Alankārasūtrasangati, a pupil of Mankha, the illustrations are in praise of King Ravivarman, who wrote Pradyumnābhāudaya.

In Rāmavarmayasobhūsanam<sup>2</sup> Sadāśivamakhin describes the greatness of Rāmavarma Kulasekhara Vancipāla (Karṇika Tirunal) who ruled in Travancore in 1758-1798 A D.<sup>3</sup> The author was the son of Cokkanātha<sup>4</sup> and Minākhi of Bhāradvājagotra. In the chapter on drama a model drama Vāsulaksmikalyanam is imbedded describing the

1 On Nanjarāja, see Sewel's *FE*, 286-267, S Krishnaswami Ayyangar's *Ancient India*, 305-308

2 See *Trav Arch Series*, V 18 Called Bālārāmavarmayasobhuṣapa in *Trav* 71

3 He was the nephew of king Mārtandavarman and author of the dramatic treatise Bālārāmabharatam. See *Trav, Arch Series*, IV III, V 18 It was his nephew and successor Rāmavarma who wrote Rukminiparinayam

4 "We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanatha at the end of the 17th century, viz.,

(i) the author of *Sevantikaparmayam* who was the son of Tippādhvarin and who mentions a certain Basavahsiṇdra, in his drama

(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhiṣṭhīravivayam* of Vāsudeva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sundarsana-Bhatṭa of the Bhāradvājagotra and a native of Sattanur, and

(iii) the father-in law of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita (1698)

Of these No i refers to Nilakantha-Makhin and was the author of काण्ठिमतीपरिषद् composed at the instance of Śāhjīrāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa Nāyaka of Ikken (1697-1714) and a chief named Basavarajendra (c 1700 A D) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author (JMy X. p. 257), but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvāja gotra to identify him with Sadāśiva's father.

No ii is of that gotra and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama month Nabhas (Sravana), Revati, Monday ba tritiya, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 986 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadāśiva's father. Sadāśiva must have composed his Yasobhushanam in the early part of his patron's reign " See para 161 supra.

marriage of Rāmavarma with Vasulakṣmi, the daughter of the king of Sindhu<sup>1</sup> Sadāśiva also wrote a drama Lakṣmikālāñam

In praise of the same king Sadāśiva wrote thus,

यद्यच्छासन्नपै समधिगतष्टुतन्विभवै  
चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सपदि रसमावप्रकटनै ।  
कवीन् धिन्वन् गानकमविवरणादायकवराद्  
परिपूर्वन् विज्ञाप्तिपतिलोऽज्य विजयते ॥

In the Court of the same king Balarāma Varman, Maharaja

1 This is the plot

"The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmi and had set heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore Ramavarma-Kulasekhara, whose accomplishment were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhala, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in jurisdiction of the frontier captain (*anadar-durgapala*) Vasumadraja, the brother of king's consort, Vasumati. The ship-wrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of King Ramavarma, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāndya king. But the scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidiushaka, who in the guise of the Pāndya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, King Sindhuраja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nilasagara the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of King Ramavarma with Vasulakshmi which happy couple coincides with his own inclinations.

३ अरित सलु मारद्वाजकुलकलशजलधिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रवतन्त्रस्य चोकनाथयज्वलं तन्त्रजस्य मीनाक्षीर्गम्शुक्तिषुक्तामणे सदाशिवयज्वन् कृति अभिनव लक्ष्मीकल्याण ना नाटकम् ।

सती भार्गे द्यित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगती  
विपक्षक्षोणीभृत्तिभिरहरतेजसिनि विषे ।  
गतेऽस्ति सार्पण्डे विद्युरिव जनानन्दजनक  
कलासिन्धु राजा शुद्धयमधिरूढो विजयते ॥

This describes the late king Martandavarman

<sup>2</sup> See on this author chapter on SANGITA post,

Travancore (1758-1798 AD)<sup>1</sup> flourished KALYANA or KAIVANA SUBRAHMANYA. He was the son of Subrahmanya and grandson of Gopala. "He was a Smartha Brahmin of Paritalam in Central Travancore and was popularly known as Paritalam Subrahmanya Sastri. After education under the Rajas of Paritalam, went over to Irivandrum and composed ALANKĀRAKAUSTUBHA,<sup>2</sup> on the model of the great Appayya Dikshita's Kuvalayananda and Visvesvara's Alankarasarvasva and deals, like them, with Arthalankaras alone. He illustrates the figures of speech by verses in praise of the sovereign or his family deity, Sri Padmanabha. In the troublous times that followed the death of the illustrious patron, Kalyana Subrahmanya went over to Cranganore to teach Sanskrit to the young princes there and lived under the patronage of the Cranganore Rajas till peace returned to Travancore with the accession of Rani Lakshmi to the magnad. He was then invited to Trivandrum and passed his remaining years as the court pandit of Travancore. In 1814 he was directed by the Darbar to translate Vyavaharamala, a well-known Sanskrit work on law into Malayalam." He passed away somewhere about 1820.

Kalyāna also wrote Padmanābhavijaya. Here is a verse from Alankārakaustubha

राराजन्मधुराधरीं प्रविलसच्चोला कनकुन्तलां  
काश्मीरागविष्वणातिललिता काशीगृणालकुताम् ।  
श्लोणीं श्रीरघुरामविश्वरूपमा रत्नाकरोरुभिर्कां  
जाला तामानुरक्तगत्वसुदिन श्रीरामवर्मप्रभु ॥

His King Rāmavarman was thus praised by the youngest brother of Edavettikatto Nambūdri in his poem Rukmini-parinaya

राजा किमिन्दुरपि नार्यमिमानहारीं राजा पर विजयते भुवि रामवर्मा ।  
नालीकमङ्गकृदतीव नदीनवन्धुनक्षत्रयो नवसुधाविसैकहेतु ॥

Among his friends and poets at the same court were Devarāja and Rāmāpaniada. Their works have been noticed.<sup>3</sup> They were

1 BALA is ordinarily added to the name of every ruler of Travancore and that the two predecessors of the sovereign referred to by the author were known as Būla Mārtanda Varma (Vide Travancore Archeological Series, Vol I, pages 27 and 40) and Bālārama Varma (Vide the Kakur grant). See Travancore State Manusl, I 417.

2 SR, I 80, 221, DC, XXII 8601, Trav 70. There are other works of this name by Visvēsvara (CC, I 81) and by Śrīsaila Venkata (Mys 298) by Śrinivāsa and by Kavikarpura (OC, I 81) and Alankārakaustubha (Ricc, 280).

3 He was of Mārār caste and not of Warior caste as stated in para 177 *supra*.

also patronised by King Mārtānda Varman (1729-1758 A D) of Travancore. Besides a treatise on drama, Rāmapāṇivāda wrote the plays Candrikā, Līlāvati, Lalītarāghaviya, Sītarāghava and Pāḍukapāṭṭabhi-  
peka

**940** Kṛṣnasudhi was son of Śivarāma and grandson of Upadrastṛ Pandita Nārāyaṇa Sāstriṇi, probably a descendant of Jagannātha Panditāraśja He lived at Uttaramerur near Conjeevaram He wrote Kāvyakalāndhi in Kali 4957 (1855 A D.) with illustrations in praise of king Rāmavarman of Kollam<sup>1</sup>

ARŪNAGIRI KAVI wrote Goḍāvarmayasobhūṣapam with verses in praise of king Godāvarman of Travancore.<sup>2</sup>

**941** Alankāramanjarī of unknown authorship contains illustrations in praise of Rāmacandra, a Zamindar of Kākarlapūdi family, Vizagapatam District, of the 18th century A.D<sup>3</sup>

In RAMACANDRAYASOBHUSANA, Kachapeśvara Dīkṣiṭa eulogises Bommarāja, Zamindar of Karvetnagar, Madras, who lived in the first part of the 19th century A D In three chapters he deals with Śṛngāra, rasa and bhāva He was the son of Vāsuđeva and lived at Brahmadesa, a village in the N Arcot District<sup>4</sup>

In ALANKARAMAKARANDA, Kolluri Rājasekhara treats of poetics (called a Kāvya) with illustrations in praise of Rāmesvara, ruler of Manna and son of Kāmākṣi and Viśvesa of Anapindi family, Guntur District<sup>5</sup>

RAMAKRSHA'S Yaśavanṭayaśobhūṣaṇa is an eulogy of Yaśvanṭa, a prince of Kājaputāna<sup>6</sup>

Alankārasarvasva of unknown authorship as available is incomplete and refers to a rhetorical work by the author's teacher in praise of king Gopālađeva<sup>7</sup>

1 TG, IV, 4209

2 Trav 24

3 TO, III 2985.

4. DC, XXII, 8690 In that court was the poet Kunavi Rāma.

5. TO, III 3130. The author quotes from Čāmuñikācāndrikā. He is also the author of Sañjīyakalpađra, see Ibid, III 2895

6. In praise of the Rājās of Ulwar, Mārlikyāmañjili wrote Vākhiteśvarakāvya and Gargadina wrote Vinayasimhakirgitraṇa.

7 Ulwar, 964, 970

Cavali RAMASASTRIN'S KUVALAYAMODA is a similar work with illustrations in favour of the poet's patron Raja Simhādri Jagapaṭi Rao of Peddapur, who lived in 1853-1911 A D.

**942 Venkata Sastrin** was the son of Ānivilla Vajnanārāyaṇa of Kākaraparti agraḥāram,<sup>1</sup> in West Godavari District Proficient in all sāstras he was honoured by valuable gifts by the Jagapaṭi Mahā rāja of Peddāpuram and Nilādri Mahārāja of Dārlapūdi Besides Māhesvaramahākāyam, Saṭīsaṭakam, Bhāskaraprasasti and Rukmini-pariṣayam (poems) and Alankārasudhāśindhu and Rasaprapanca, he wrote APPARAYAYASASCANDRODAYAM with illustrations in praise of Meka Venkata Narasimha Apparao, Zamindar of Nuzvid,<sup>2</sup> and was presented with the agraḥāram of Vallurūmalli in 1745 A D There he performed Somayāga and wrote glosses on Srauṭasūtra His son NARAYANA wrote a similar work Sāhityakalpadrumam and dedicated it to the Zamindar Jagannātha Appārao of Nuzvid<sup>3</sup> Nārāyaṇa's son VENKATA known as Bālakālidāsa dedicated his Cīracamatkāramanjanī to Sri Vaṭsavāyi Ṭimma Jagapaṭi Mahārāja of Peddapur and wrote also Sūryastava, full of citra Ānivilla Venkatasāstrin's pupil, Carla Venkatasāstrin, son of Lakṣmana, wrote a similar work, Venkaṭādriyam, as also Naukā, the commentary as Sāhityaraṭnakara

**943. Carla Bhasyakara Sastrin** of Lohityagotra also lives at Kākaraparti Agrahāram in West Godavari, Madras He is a unique relic of old-day Sanskrit scholarship and in the mastery of grammar, lexicons and poetics he is probably without an equal Venkatasāstrin who was the donee of the agraḥāram aforesaid was his maternal ancestor In grateful recollection of that munificent gift, Bhāsyakāra has now composed a similar work on Alankāra, Mekādhīśa-sabdārthaṭhakalpaṭaru

His Mekādīśa-Rāmāyaṇa is a hemistich of 16 letters (sloka) which is interpreted by the separation and combination of the letters, so as to

1 To the same place belonged another Venkata Śāstri, who lived about 80 years ago and wrote a commentary on Lakṣmisahasram, and also another Venkata Śāstri (1860-1918 A D) who wrote Siṭārāmacampu on Rāmāyaṇa and Budhamānasollasa on Bhāgavata.

2 See V Krishnarao's *History of Nuzvid* (Andhra Patrika Annual number, 1914, p 208) Narasimha Apparao lived about 1700 A D He was son of Venkataṭī and Venkataṭī's father built Nuzvid Fort in 1675 A D Among the friends of Venkataṭī was Mādabhūsi Vādimatṭebhakanthirava Rāmānuṭacārya who wrote a poem Śrinivāsakāvya.

3 Printed, Nuzvid,

cover the whole story of Rāmāyana His Kankābandha-Rāmāyana, has been noticed<sup>1</sup> His Vināyakacarītra narrates the story of Syamanṭopākhyāna on the birth of Vināyaka, which is read ceremoniously on Vināyakacaturthi day

By an ingenious and intricate splitting up of the letters, consonants and vowels, that are embraced in the term मेकाधीशा (Me-kā-dhi-sā), thousands of meanings are made out, so as to illustrate various topics of poetics as dealt with in Pratāparudra-Yasobhūvana and this 14 Mekādbisasūbdārthakalpataru The commentary rightly describes his versatile learning in these words —

ये शब्दार्थविचारतत्परधियो ये वा गुणालकिया  
 दोषासक्तहृदो विचित्रकवने ये वा ध्वनावृतसुक्ता ।  
 ये वा भावरसादरास्मुमनसो ये नाटके रागिण  
 मेकाधीशपदे तर्मर्थविषय पश्यन्तु नन्दन्तु च ॥  
 ये साहित्यविचारदास्मुमनसो ये शाब्दिकास्ताकिंका  
 ये वा चित्रकवित्पाटविद् कार्तातिकास्तात्रिका ।  
 ये इलङ्गारविचक्षणास्मुमनसो ये वैद्यका गायका  
 मेकाधीशपदे स्वशास्त्रविषयान् पश्यन्तु नन्दन्तु च ॥

अथ शृङ्खारमस्याकुरितत्पचपङ्कवितत्वकुमुभितत्वफलितत्वहेतवो द्वादशवस्था कथन्ते ।  
 ताश्च परिगणिता विद्यानाथेन —

चक्षु प्रीतिर्मनस्सङ्गस्सङ्गत्योऽथ प्रलापिता ।  
 जागर काश्यमरतिर्लज्जा ल्यगोऽथ सज्जर ॥  
 उन्मादो मूर्खनं चैव मरण चरमं विदु ।  
 अवस्था द्वाठश मता कामक्षाक्षानुसारत ॥  
 केचित्प्रतापञ्चरौ लत्तवा दशावस्था इति वदन्ति ।  
 तत्र चक्षु प्रीतिर्येषा—  
 आदरादीक्षण चक्षु-प्रीतिमाहूर्मनीषिण ।  
 मू ॥ मेकाधीशमेकाधीशा  
 पद ॥ मा-ह-का-आधीशा-मै-काधीशा

1. See para 97 supra.

व्या ॥ इहति सबोधने सेव मा रमासमाना काचिकायिका कर्त्री आधीशा आरद्धा  
आधीशा मेकाधीशा यथा सा आधीशा भेकाधीशदर्शनवतीलयर्थ मे ममका भाग्यवत्ता केलवै  
इहति इतेस्सामर्थ्यलभ्यत्वादप्रयोग काधीशा कस्य आनन्दस्य आधीशा काधीशा आनन्दवती-  
लयर्थे रमासमाना काचिकायिका चित्रादौ मेकाधीशान्दश्वा मदीया भाग्यवत्ता महतीति  
आनन्दपरवत्ता बभूवेत्तनेन चक्षु प्रीति ।

मनस्सङ्गो यथा

प्रियैकप्रवणत्वं यन्मनस्सङ्गं प्रकीर्त्यते ।

मू ॥ मेकाधीशामेकाधीशा

पद ॥ मा-ह का-धीशा-मेकाधीशा

व्या इहति सबोधने मेकाधीशा भेकाधीशाविषयकमनोव्यथावती व्याख्यातमेतत् मेव  
रमासमाना का काचिकायिका धीशा अियि मनसि धीशब्देन धीद्रिय मनो लक्ष्यते ईशा  
मेकाधीशा यस्यास्ता तथोत्ता, भेकाधीशाविषयकमनोव्यथाप्रस्ता, रमासमाना काचिकायिका  
मनसाध्यात्मेकाधीशेत्तनेन मनस्सङ्ग ।

**944 Sri Yatirajaswami**, more fully known as **Śrī Yaduguri-Yatirāja-Sampatkumāra-Rāmānuja**, is the present head of the **Yatirāja Mutt** at Melkote, Mysore. Before he became a Sanyāsin his name was **Anantācārya** and he was an official of the Mysore Archaeological Department. He is a great rhetorician and his dissertations on **Bhāmaha** etc., are very original. He discovered the first copy of **Svapnavāsavadatṭa** and to him likewise is due the credit of the printed edition of a few chapters on **Śṛṅgaraprakāsa** prefixed with a learned introduction.

[In **KALIDASA ET L'ART POETIQUE DE L'INDE (ALANKARA SASTRA)** [pp XIV 360. (Paris 1917)], P HARI CHAND, Sastri accomplished the colossal task of tracing the verses of **Kālidāsa** in works attributed to him to quotations in several works on **Alankāra** and has expressed an opinion on their comparative authenticity thus .

"Six works are by universal consent considered the authentic productions of the great poet: the three dramas **Śakuntalā**, **Vikramorvāsi** and **Malavikagnimitra**, the two epics **Raghuvamśa** and **Kumarasambhava**, and the lyric **Meghadūta**. All these are frequently quoted in Alankara works. The **Ritusamhara** is also commonly attributed to **Kālidāsa**, but a strong argument adduced by our author against this attribution is the fact that the treatises on Alankara ignore this poem.



## CHAPTER XXV

### Bharata.

**945** Bharata's *Natyasastra* is probably the earliest extant work in music and dancing. The name of Bharata appears in two forms Vṛddha Bharata<sup>2</sup> or Ādibharata and Bharaṭa merely. There are two works Nātyavedāgama and Nātyasāṣṭra. The former is called Dvādasasāhasrī<sup>3</sup> and the latter Satsāhasrī,<sup>4</sup> about half the former in volume. Dvādasasāhasrī is likely the work of Vṛddhabharata and as only sixty-three chapters of it are available now, it is not possible to verify quotations as from Vṛddhabharata from the manuscript.

"Satsahasri and Dvadasasahasri" says Śāradātanaya "were simultaneous compositions, the former being meant as an epitome of the latter"

एक द्वादशसाहस्रैश्चोकरेकं तदर्थतः ।  
षहमिश्लोकसहस्रैयौ नाट्यवेदस्य सग्रहः ॥ (Bhan 287)

1. Bharata Vṛddha is quoted by Śāradātanaya thus

एव हि नाट्यवेदस्मिन् भरतेनोच्यते रम ।  
तथा भरतवृद्धेन कथितं गद्यभीष्टशम् ॥

"गदा नानाप्रकारैर्ब्यञ्जनौषधै पाकविशेषैश्च सस्फुतानि व्यञ्जनानि मधुरादिरसानामन्य तमेनात्मना परिणमन्ति तद्वाकुण्ठां मनोभिस्तादशात्मतया साधन्ते तथा नानाप्रकारैर्विमावादादि-गदैरमिनवैस्सह यथार्हमभिविधिं त्र्यायिनो मावा सामाजिकाना मनसिरुसात्मना परिणमन्त स्तेषां तादत्तिकमनोवृत्तमेदभिज्ञास्तत्प्रपून तैरसन्ते (Bhan 86)

Says Bahurupamītra in his commentary on Dasarupa (I, 62)

समाप्यमानमेकस्मिन्नज्ञ्यार्थत्वसुचनम् ।  
समाप्यति हि नाट्यवैरक्तावतारं इष्यते ॥

इति द्वादशसाहस्रीकारः—

2. Trav. VI 12, Tang. XVI. 7228. The book called Bharaṭasaprakāśanam published in Madras with Telugu meaning deals with Rasa and Bhāva and it is attributed to Bharata. While Nātyasāṣṭra deals with eight rasas, that book refers to nine rasas including Śānta. This portion may have formed part of Dvādasasāhasrī.

3. Bahurupamītra (Das. I, 61) has सूक्ष्माणां सकलाङ्गाणां ज्ञेयमङ्गमुखं बुधैः । इति षट्साहस्रीकारः ।

Dhanika (IV, 2) has: षट्साहस्रीकृताप्युक्तम् ।

Abinavagupta (Baroda Edn p 8) has. आपि तु यथावसरं भवत्वाक्षात्मना षट्साहस्रेण प्रधानतया . . . . निरुप्यते ॥

Even as it is extant, the Nātyasastra, is a very ancient work. It quotes from Aindravyākaraṇa and Yāska and not Pāṇini. It frequently quotes from earlier literature verses and sūtras prefaced thus

अथानुवर्तये आर्ये भवत | तत्र स्मोक्त | etc

In language and in its treatment of the subject it has the archaic tenor and it is natural that Bharāta has come to be mentioned as Bharaṭamuni with divine veneration.

The extant work has itself been called sūtra, meaning by it a terse and authoritative composition.

Nānyadeva has कलानामानि सूत्रकृदक्तानि यथा—

Abhinavagupta says

षट्क्रियक भरतसूत्रमिदं विवृण्वन् वन्दे शिवं तितद्दर्थविवेकं धाम ।

According to the chronology of the Purāṇas, therefore, the antiquity of Bharāta would be very great. Fearing that the tendency of modern scholarship is towards a distrust in anything traditional, it may be sufficient to state that barring the epics it is the earliest available literature in Sanskrit of the period when the sciences came to be restated in the garb of poetry, explanatory of sūtra literature that preceded it.<sup>1</sup>

1 Ed M R Kavi, GOS, Baroda, with Abhinavabhāṣṭi by Sivadatta and in parts by J Grosset, with a foreface by P Regnaud, Paris, and by Hall, Calcutta and by Regnaud, Paris "The words printed in the end समाप्तश्चाय नन्दिभरतसङ्गीतपुस्तकम् (See S. K. De, SP, 24) which have led to much misapprehension are not found in any of the manuscripts I have examined and on the face of it was written by some scribe who knew no grammar."

On this work generally, see S K De SP 80, 2844, H H Dhruva, *Nātyasastra or Indian Dramatics*, As Quar II 849-59, H A Popley, *The Music of India*, 12, Pischel, Gg A, (1885) 768, P B Bhandarkar, JA, XLI, 157, H P Sastri, JASB, V 352, Sten Konow, *Indian Drama*, 2, Rapson, *Essay of Religion and Ethics*, tut-*Indian Drama*, V 886, T Ganapati Sastri (Int to Pratimanataks xxi-ii (says Nāyaśāstra was posterior to Bhāṣa). These scholars assign this work variously to the period, 2nd century B C. to 2nd century A D S K De (l c 26) says that the work assumed its present shape after several modifications by the end of the 8th century A D and this extraordinary conclusion is reached in spite of the admission that before Abhinavagupta there were several commentators whose works are now known only from quotations In another place (l c 82) he places the chapter on music and the rest too in the 4th century A D. (See also IA XII, 158) Pischel's (l c.) argument based on reference in the text to Pahlavas comes to be of no value On Bharāta's Rāgādhyāya see Andhrakārikā, Annual Number, VII, 155.

"The present work consists of 37 according to the northern or later recension but only 36 according to the southern or earlier texts. The difference lies in the numbering of the chapters, as the southern or older texts combined the 37th with the 36th. Abhinava, the commentator, appears to be the author of this numerical extension of the text, though he himself states that the work consists of 36 chapters. He actually comments upon the 37th chapter also. Should one be tempted to call the excess a copyist's error, it would be an error for the commentator begins each chapter with a verse in praise of Siva as incorporate of one of the 86 *tattvas* of the *Saiva Siddhanta* in some order while the 37th chapter is headed with a verse indicating *anuttarash* (nothing beyond) a doctrine in Kashmirian Saivism propounded by Utpaladeva, the commentator's *paramaguru* (teacher's teacher). The reason for this extension of the text is not a mere fanciful device for introducing his Saiva *tattvas*. The subject-matter thus separated from the rest was probably composed by one of the *Vartikakaras*, either Rahulaka, Sini, or Sriharsa. But he himself says in two places that Bharata's work consists of 36 chapters and hence the 37th must be according to him an interpolation by one of the *Vartikakaras*.

Bharata divides the work broadly into four sections based on *abhinayas* or modes of conveyance of the theatrical pleasure to the audience, which pleasure, called *rasa*, is pure and differs from the pleasure we derive from the actual contact with the objects of the world which is always mingled with pain. These modes or *abhinayas* are four, viz. *Sattvika* (conveyed) by the effort of the mind, *Angika* or the natural movement of the organs when any thought is expressed or conveyed, *Vacika*, the delivery through expression and *Aharya*, the dress, deportment, and *Mise-en-scene*. The sage attaches great importance to the first of these modes and deals with it in chapters 6 and 7. Expression of feeling is conveyed to a stranger only by gestures or through the organs of speech. Hence *Angika-abhinaya* comes next and is dealt with in chapters 8th to 13th. Then delivery of *Vacika* is taken up which extends over chapters 14 to 20. Then comes *Aharya*, i.e. dress and scenic appliances and mutual conduct or movements on the stage along with the musical auxiliaries behind the stage to intensify the emotional effect produced on the stage. To this four-fold division of the subject are added chapters on the origin and greatness of the theatics, the forms of the stage and rules for their construction, and the auspicious ceremonial of the foundation and the opening days. The fourth and fifth chapters treat of *purvavargas*, preliminaries

before the commencement of the actual drama. These include music and dancing in praise of Gods and in averting the evil influence of the demons. The postures recommended in dancing to please the *deities* are numberless and a selected list of 108 of them called *Karanas*<sup>1</sup> or single postures and 32 selected *Angaharas*, (combinations of two or more of the these *Karanas*) are fully described in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter gives details about the preliminaries. Chapters 35 and 36 are supplementary and deal with the qualifications and behaviour of the actors and actresses on the stage and how the theatre descended from Heaven to the earth. Thus excluding the preliminary and supplementary chapters the subject proper is dealt with in 29 sections (6 to 84).

"From time immemorial Bharata's work is considered authoritative on the science of Natya. In spite of the fact that Bharata treated dramaturgy in extenso, he had to summarise the general principles of gita and nritya in order to add an element of grace in dhruvagana and purvarangavidhi. Though the two latter subjects are only auxiliaries to Natya, Bharata gave them such a comprehensive shape that the writers on those sister sciences had looked upon him as their authority. Bharata has not dealt with ragas. For, in his exhaustive enumeration of jatis where any of the 63 svaras can be chosen as *amsa svara* he has made the field of ragas so wide that it covers almost every raga in the world —

यत्किञ्चित् गीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषु स्थितम् ।

He left the choice of a particular raga to the sutradharā himself as befits the occasion. The case is similar in nritya also. For he has enumerated the general and natural movements of the hand, eye, etc., but their combinations which produce endless variety in each sort are left to the actors to frame new poses without detriment to *svara* and which have possibility of use in actual life. Bharata has condemned

1. M. R. Kavi says, *l. c.*,

"In the compartments of the east and west gopuras in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram in South India *karanas* were cut on rocks with appropriate verses from the *Natyasastra* underneath each of the postures. But unhappily only 98 of the postures were recovered, the remaining fifteen were either damaged or the compartments altered during the repairs. These postures are found in Bharata's order for about 60 numbers and then owing to masons' or supervisors' ignorance or on account of some subsequent alteration in the construction the remaining 48 are not in the order followed by Bharata. Koppesunjiingadeva (Kajastimadeva, the Great?) who set up an independent kingdom against the Cholas between 1243 and 1278 A.D. was the patron of the above decorative sculptures."

the use of angikabhinaya for actors of *uttiama* or great *satvic* type Angika is intended for *adhamma* characters and to some extent it is tolerated in the *madhyama* also So the stand point of Bharata makes him reject much of the technical side of sangita and nṛtya ”<sup>2</sup>

“There are two main recensions with greater difference purely on exegetic principles The older recension, so called because the older commentators have used it, was followed by Udbhata and Lollata The later recension seems to have been adopted by Sankuka, Kirtidhara and was actually used by Abhinavagupta Undoubtedly, the merit decides the question in favour of the later version For Abhinavagupta’s sole aim is to make the work of Bharata completely based upon the principle of *rasa*, while Nandin and Kohala have imported greater conventions from gita and nṛtya into natya i.e., in ordinary parlance they have made the science of stage rather unnatural or more conventional Both of these recensions have on the other hand longer and shorter versions Udbhata seems to have followed a shorter version, while Lollata appears to have used the longer or the older recension Similarly Kirtidhara appears to have followed the longest of the later recension, while Ghantaka seems to have used the shortest These are only tentative theories based upon certain remarks made in the Abhinavabharati, other commentaries and various works on sangita and natya.

Abhinava’s text ends with Chapter XXXVII while most of the others end in XXXVI The apparent reason for extension of the number, seems to be the introduction of the 36 *tattvas* one for each Chapter by Abhinava and the commentary of the 37th is headed by the verse indicating *anuttaram dhama* of the Pratyabhijna school

आकाश्चक्षाणां प्रशमनविधे पूर्वमावधीनां  
धारप्रापस्तुतिगुणगिरां गुह्यतच्चप्रतिष्ठा ।  
ऊर्ध्वादन्यं परमुचिन वा यत्समान चकाति  
प्रौढानन्त तदहमधुनानुचर वाम वन्दे ॥

It may be added that Bharata looks upon the science of Natya as an anga to vedic rites allowing all its aesthetic profundity. His treatment of purvaranga (Chs 4, 5, 29, 31, 32, 34) and of saptagitas (Ch. 31) amply illustrates his conception Nandin sees an agamic vein in nṛtya, gita and natya. Abhinava maintains in a high degree the vedic and aesthetic aspects of natya viewing it from a psychological

perspective, while others mix them up to produce only the pictorial effect ”<sup>1</sup>

Abhinavagupta represents the three *matas* or schools of Sadāśiva, Brahma and Bharata and answers an objection that the Bharata-Nātyasāstra was the work of some pupil of Bharata embodying the views of Bharata

यतु पयोगप्रश्ने प्रलक्षणे प्रयोगप्रकटनमुत्तर स्यादित्याशङ्का परिहृत् कथाग्रहणमिति,  
तत्त्वसत् । वक्तुमहसीत्युक्ते तसा कोऽवसर ? एव भरतमुनि परवदात्मान प्रकल्पयन्त ग्रन्थ-  
ममिहितवान् ।

अन्ये त्रियन्त ग्रन्थे कथित्यो व्यरीरचत् । तत्र ब्रह्मणेति भरतमुनि प्रथमस्तेके  
निर्देष्ट, कथ ब्रह्मन्तपञ्च इत्येतदेवमेकवाक्यत्वेन निर्वहति । तदनन्तरन्तु भवद्व शुचिभि-  
रित्यादिभिर्भरतमुनिर्वितो ग्रन्थो, मध्येऽप्त षट्प्रिंशद्व्याख्याम्या यानि प्रश्नप्रतिवचनप्रयोजनवचनानि  
तानि तच्छिष्यवचनान्येवेत्याहु । तत्त्वासत् । एकस्य ग्रन्थस्यानेकवक्तुवचनसन्दर्भमयत्वे प्रमाणा-  
मावात्, सपरव्यवहारेण पूर्वपक्षोत्तरपक्षादीना श्रुतिस्मृतिव्याकरणं तक्तादिशाखेष्वक्विरचितेष्वपि  
दर्शनात् । एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमत्त्वयविवेचनेन ब्रह्ममत्सारतप्रतिपादनाय मतत्वयीसारा-  
सारविवेचनं तद्ग्रन्थखण्टप्रक्षेपेण विहितमिद शास्त्रम्, न तु मुनिरचितमिति यदाहुर्नास्तिकध्ययो-  
पाध्यायास्तप्रत्यक्तम्, सर्वोपक्षबनीयाचाधितशब्दलोकप्रसिद्धिविरोधाच ॥

946 In the Gopura of the temple of Sivakāmī at Chidambaram inside the prākara there are the sculptured figures of various dancing postures as mentioned in Bharata's Nātyasāstra. This Gopura was built by the Cola king, Kuloṭṭunga III (1178-1216 A.D.) These sculptures are of exquisite beauty and photographs have been printed in Epigraphica Indica and in the Baroda Edn of Bharata's Nātyasāstra Vol I<sup>2</sup>

1 M R Kavi, *l c*

“Even in the commentary Abhinava is strictly scrupulous in offering additional explanations from the practical side to many of the definitions of Bharata which do not place a practitioner in possession of all details required. The sage like commentator draws his extra material from *vartikas* and not from the current practice of his day. For it is possible that time may bring upon alterations though imperceptibly in certain movements. Bharata's *purvvaraṅga* bestows upon the audience both *dr̥ṣṭa* and *adṛṣṭa* phala (pleasure and religious merit). In the latter case injunction (*vidhi*) should be strictly followed. This applies to *karanas* and *angaharas* which find prominent place in the various *angas* of *purvvaraṅga*.”

2. The pedigree of Cola kings is thus —

Rājendra I (1018-1045 A.D.), (son) Rājāḍhirāja I (1018-1054), (brother) Rājendra II (1058-1062), (brother) Virarājendra (1062-1070), (son) Adhūrājendra. He was murdered by Eastern Chalukya, Kuloṭṭunga I (1070-1118) or Rājendra Cola (who was the daughter's son of Rājendra I, Vikrama (1116-1135), Kuloṭṭunga II (1138-1149),

**947 Bharatatika** appears to be the earliest commentary. The author's name is unknown, but he was a pupil of Śrīpāda<sup>2</sup>. Abhinavagupta quotes the criticisms of Bharataśikā, mostly in the chapters on music, on Bharata's views and Abhinavagupta attempts a justification and at times his language is scathing.

“अत उपदेशातिदेश्यो उपमानस्य च साहित्यविषये तार्किकमीभासकविषये विशेष-पतिपादन यत् टीकाकारै कृतम्, तत्सुक्लमारमनोमोहन वृथाब्रह्मणिकामात्रम्, प्रकृतानुप-योगादिह उपेक्ष्यमेव ।” Vol III, p 48

**948 Harsa** is another glossator. His gloss is in the form of verses and is known by the name of Harsa-vārtika. He is frequently quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary and mentioned by Bhoja and Śāradātanaya as an authority. The following quotations from Abhinavabharati will elucidate some of his views.

वार्तिककृतान्युक्तम्—

“वाच्यासुगतेऽस्मिनये प्रतिपादेऽर्थे च गात्रविक्षपे ।  
उभयोरपि हि गगाने को मेंदो इच्छनाश्रगता ॥”

“रगमा \* \* \* \* यथैऽपूर्ण वा अपूर्ण वा इति एत एत नान्यनृत्यामेद्  
गुत्यानुकारवै इति हर्षवार्तिकम् ।”

“पदादृशोहर्षे, ‘अत एव हासा नाम (कवि) कस्मिभिरिचारक ‘देव यानधितज्जरण  
कलिरित पुत्रमिर्वते । अशक्यमस्य पुरोऽत्रस्यातुम्’ इत्यादि ।”

From these references, and others we can infer that he differed in his interpretation of Bharata's work from other commentators in the description of Pūrvavaranga and the species of dramas. Bahurupamisra calls him Śriharsadeva and probably therefore considers him the author of the dramas, Raṭṇavali, Nāgānanda and Priyadarśikā.

**949 Rahulaka's** (Rāhula or Rāhala) commentary is in verse. He was a very early writer, and he is mentioned in the Tamil epic Maṇimekalai which is now generally assigned to a date not later than 4th century B C, though it was probably a much earlier composition. Abhinavagupta calls him Sākyācārya Rāhulaka, implying thereby that he was a Buddhist and does not accept his criticism of Bharata, for instance on Alankaras of damsels.

<sup>2</sup>Rajarāja II (1146-1164), Ājñānlalitāja Kārikālī (1172-1178), Kulottunga III (1178-1216) Rājarāja III (1216-1257), Rājendrā III (1246-1268). The Pāṇḍyas overcame the Chola kings.

‘तेन मौग्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनामपि गला(शक्या<sup>१</sup>)चार्यराहुलादिभिरभिधान  
विशद्भिस्त्वल बहुना ।’

This is also mentioned by Hemacandra in his Kāvyañusāsana (p 316)

“ शक्याचार्यराहुलादथस्तु भौग्यमदसाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलङ्घारनाचक्षते ।  
तेऽस्माभि भरतमतानुसारिभिरुपेक्षिता ।

Sāringadhara quotes this verse as Rahulaka's <sup>1</sup>

उच्चिद्रकन्दलदलान्तरलीयमानगुञ्जन्मदान्धमयुपाचितमेवकाले ।

स्त्रोऽपि य प्रवसति प्रविहाय कान्ता तस्मै विषाणरहिताय नमो वृषाय ॥

There is a manuscript of a Vāktika, got by M R Kavi from the Central Provinces. The beginning and end are missing, but as it is it extends to 2000 granthas and the author's name is not known. It is expected to be published as an appendix to Natyasastra Edn of Baroda

**950 Nakhakutta** was an ancient author Bahurūpamisra writes  
तथा तोटकस्यापि नखकुद्दादिभिर्नीणकान्तर्मीवेनैव लक्षणमुक्तम्,  
दिव्यमानुषसर्यागस्तोटक नाटकाद्युगम् ॥ इति नखकुद्द ॥

But Śāradāṭṭunaya attributes this to Harṣa

दिव्यमानुषस्यागो यत्राक्षैरविदूषकै ।

तरेव तोटक मेदो नाटकवति हृष्वाक् ॥

Are Harṣa and Nakhakutta identical?

**951 Matrgupta** was a very early writer, probably of about the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier. In Rājaśarangī (III 129-229) Kalhana gives a long account of the poet Mātṛgupta and his relations with king Vikramāditya Harṣavardhana of Kāsmīr

Harṣavardhana, alias Vikramāditya, had in his court a poet by name Mātṛgupta. He was very conservative and consequently was not prepared to push himself up to royal favour of his own accord. The king was not unaware of the high poetic talents and deep culture of his protege, but he intentionally ignored him. In absolute poverty, without proper food, decent clothing, and timely sleep, the poet continued to serve his master with diligence. He knew no comfort

At last the time came when his stars began to exert their influence, being in the ascendant. On a particular night it happened by chance

1. So does Vallabhadeva, Subh., 2900.

that all the guards were asleep, the lamp which was dimly burning in the apartments of the king was put out by a strong wind, the king wanted the lamp to be re-lit, but there was no servant to do it. He shouted at the top of his voice, but there was no response from any of the guards. Māṭgupta who was waiting at the gate entered and did the needful. While he was about to retire, the king wanted to know his exact position in life and asked him how he alone was awake at that dead hour of night. The poet composed the following verse on the spur of the moment.

षटैनोद्दितस्य भाष्यमिवचिन्ताणिके मञ्चत  
शान्तार्थं स्फुटिताधरस्य धमत शृङ्खामकण्ठस्य मे ।  
निद्रा काप्यवमानितेव दयिता सल्लज्य दूर गता  
सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव बसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

Rājatarangīni III.—181

On hearing this verse, the king realised the sin he had committed by neglecting his duty in not having recognised the merits of the poor, needy and eminent poet and began to contemplate as to how best he could expiate the sin.

At dawn he rose, having already come to a conclusion with regard to Māṭgupta. The kingdom of Kāsmīr was then without a ruler. That kingdom was his vassalage and the responsibility of finding a suitable ruler to that country devolved upon him. Now he called upon Māṭgupta and handed over to him a note in which there was an order to his ministers at Kāsmīr that Māṭgupta should be anointed their king, and bade Māṭgupta deliver it unto the hands of his ministers at Kāsmīr and do as they required. The poet was unaware of what the king had written and did as ordered. He marched along to Kāsmīr with many auspicious omens at every step. And as soon as he delivered the Royal message, he was anointed king of that country.

We also learn from Kalhaṇa that he was not of the same place to which Harṣavardhana belonged. Probably he was a southerner.

Mentha displayed his Hayagrīvavadha before Māṭgupta and received appreciation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See para 87 *supra*. Hemacandra calls it a kāvya, but Vamanācārya (p. 249) says it was a Nāṭaka on the authority of Cāṇḍrikā of Varṣayāñṭha etc. There is a quotation from it by Mammata (*KP*, I. 5).

विनिर्गतं मानदमात्मनिदराङ्गवस्तुपशुल यद्यच्छयापि किम् ।  
सप्तम्भमेन्दुद्वतपतितार्गल निमीलिताशीव मिगामरावती ॥

Māṭrgupta very probably wrote a commentary on Nātyasāṣṭra. This appears from a reference to Sundaramisra's Nātyapradīpa on Nāndī.

अत्र च भरत

आशीर्वचनसंयुक्ता

प्यलकृता.

अस्य व्याख्याने मातृशासनार्थै षोडशांतिपदान्विता इय उदाहृता ।

His opinions on Nātya, Alankāra and Sangīta have been quoted profusely<sup>1</sup> by Abhinavagupta,<sup>2</sup> Kunṭaka,<sup>3</sup> Bahurūpamisra, Sāradāṭanaya and in the commentaries by Vāsudeva (on Karpūramanjanī), by Rangānātha (on Vikramorvāsiya), by Sarvānanda (on Nāmalingānusasana) and his verses by Kṛemendra<sup>4</sup> and Vallabhadeva.

**952 Kirtidhara** is mentioned by Śārngadeva as a commentator on Bharaṭa. There are references to Kirtidhara's views in Abhinavabhbārati.

(i) एतदुक्तम्—‘प्राह्मेककल साम द्विकल वह्निं तथा ।

चन्तन्तु (?) विकल शुष्क पूर्वयो सार्थक \* \* ॥’

इति कीर्तिधराचार्य ।

(ii) ‘ननु चत्वारि यथा कीर्तिधरोऽभ्यधातु इति ।’

The reading of the last quotation is doubtful. Is it possible that the original work of Nandikeśvara was not available to Abhinavagupta? The latter quotes Nandimāṭa largely in Chapter XXVIII, or instance

यत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिके श्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) दर्शित तदन्यामि (तदस्मामि.) न एष, तत्प्रत्ययात् लिख्यते ।

1 See T. R. Chintamani, FRAGMENTS OF MĀΤRGUPTACĀRITA, JOR, II 118

2 यथोक्त मट्टमातृशुसेन—

पुष्प च जनयत्वे को भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वित ।

3 अनुसरणदिक्प्रदर्शन पुन कियते । यथा मातृशः—मञ्चीरप्रकृतीनां सौकुमार्यविभ्यसवलितपरिस्पन्दस्यान्वेति काव्यानि सम्प्रबन्ति ।

4 नाय निशापूर्वसरोवहराजहंस कीरीक्योलतलकान्ततनुशश्शाङ्कः ।

आमाति नाथ तदिद दिवि दुर्गमित्युद्दिष्टपिण्डपिण्डपाण्ड यशस्त्वदीषम् ॥

**953. Udbhata** is mentioned by Śārngadeva as a commentator on *Natyasastra*, next to *Lollata* and *Aghinavagupta* contrasts the views of Udbhata and Lollata. These commentaries are not available.

**954 Sakaligarbha** came after Udbhata and before Lollata. Unlike Udbhata who rejected four *vṛttis* of *Bharata* and substituted two of his own, Śakaligarbha added one to *Bharata*'s four. *Abhinavagupta* thus criticises it.

एकलींगम् मतानुसारिणो मूर्खादौ आत्मसविचिलक्षणं पञ्चमी वृत्तिपू .  
आत्मव्यापाररूपी मन्यन्ते । तन्मत भावानां बाधप्रहणसमावस्थपादयद्वि महालोक्यप्रभृतिमि.  
पराकृतमिति न फलवृत्तिर्वा(आत्मसविचिलिंगं)काचिदिति चतुर्थं एव वृत्तय ।

**955 Abhinavagupta's Abhinavabharati** is a commentary on *Bharata's Natyasastra* of *Bharata*, and an extensive and erudite treatise on dancing and histrionics. The manuscripts now available cover the first thirty-two chapters except the seventh and the eighth. *Abhinava* recites and criticises the views of Śrihara (the *Vartikakara* of *Bharatasūtra*), Rābulaka, Śankuka, Bhatta Nāyaka, Lollata, Ghantaka etc. He refers to the following rare authors and works in the course of the commentary —In Chapter I to Bhatta Tota (his preceptor) Kāvyakauṭuka, *Svapnavāsavadaṭṭa* (by Bhāsa), in Ch IV to Cūḍāmaṇi Dombika (a lyrical play), Rāghavavijaya, Guṇamāla (a lyrical play), Māricavadha (a lyrical poem), Rāṭaka (a poet, probably the author of the Maricavadha), Visākhila (a writer on music), Ḟatīla (music), Paramesvara-carita (Paramesvara), Battayantra and Lollata (commentators on *Natyasastra*), Kirūḍhara (a writer on music), Śankuka, in Ch V to Hejjala (author of Kēdāhvipralambha), Kāsyapa (a writer on music), in Ch. VI to Tāpasavaṭsarāja (of Māyuraja), Draupadīsvayamvara (probably a drama), Bhāsa, Rāmāyana-nāṭaka, in Ch IX to Udbhata (as a writer on *Nātya*), Bhīma (author of Praṭīpnācāḍakya), in Ch XIII to Māyāpuṣpaka (a drama), in Ch XIV to Jayadeva (as a writer on music, also on metrics), Bhatta Nāyaka, Pādaṭādiṭaka, in Ch XVIII to Kṛtyārāvāṇa, Vāśavadaṭṭanāṭyadhāra by Subandhu, Samudradattaṭaceṣṭīta, Puṣpabhūsiṭaka, Mudrārāksasa, Devicandra-gupta (a drama), in Ch. XIX to Pāndavānanda (a drama), Rāmābhuyuda (a drama), Ḟariḍracarudattaṭa, Praṭīmāniruddha by Bhīma, Udāṭṭarāgīhava (by Mayurāja), Candraṭaka (a playwright), and in Ch XXI to Abhusārikāvancīṭaka (a drama).<sup>1</sup>

"Abhinavagupta under the sublime teachings of his master, Bhatta Tota, has fixed the limits of *Natyā* and rejected such matter as strictly

1. Ed. GOS, Baroda by M. R. Kavi with introduction [Vol. III is in press]

belongs to the province of music and dancing arts. He criticises his previous commentators in the light of his own theory whenever they had overstepped the boundaries of natya and fallen into the allied grounds. His conception of natya is very liberal and aesthetic, but it rejects all musical dramas for Bharata in his opinion has recognised only ten kinds of dramatic compositions. In accordance with his theory such passages which were said to possess wider significance to include graces and flourishes in gita and nrtya by authors like Matanga and earlier commentators, are explained by Abhinava to apply only to Natya. Thus his text slightly differs from that of the others which he points out or criticises. It is the difference in interpretation that gave rise to various recensions. Variants in the text are also created by various other causes, viz., wrong deciphering, scholars filling up the omissions if letters are lost, scholars correcting the clerical errors, etc. Though every copy of Bharata's text abounds in errors of this description, interpretative differences alone constitute the difference in recension. Besides the two above influences the readers or commentators have added a number of slokas from Kohala and other writers wherever they are explanatory to Bharata's cryptic and terse expression. Such additions are plenty in the Taladhyaya (Ch, 31) and Avanaddha (Ch 34).<sup>1</sup>

**956** About Bhattacharyas, Bhatta Vṛddhi, Bhattacharya and Bhatta Gopāla who are quoted in Abhinavabharati, nothing more is known except that they were writers on music. Vṛddhi's verses are quoted profusely in Subhāṣīṭāvali. For instance

अथिरमनेकराग गुणरहितं नित्यवक्रदुषप्राप्तम् ।  
 प्रावृष्टि सुरेन्द्रचापं विमान्यते युवतिचित्रभित्व ॥—1734  
 उपलक्ष्यवर्णसकरमपगतगुणयोगमुज्जितस्यैर्यम् ।  
 पथिकास्तमुद्दिजनन्ते कुदेशसिवं वीक्ष्य शक्रधनुः ॥  
 आविरलबारानिकरं जलदैर्जलमुत्सूजद्विरातिमात्रम् ।  
 मालिवधूदयेभ्यः कालुष्यमशेषतो मृष्टम् ॥  
 दधितमुजगेन सम्प्रति नृसच्चलचारचन्द्रकिरणेन ।  
 वष्टमशुहेन कामं प्रदीपितो नलिकण्ठेन ॥  
 अपगतरजोविकारा घनपटलाक्रान्ततारकालोका ।  
 लम्बपयोधरमारा प्रावृष्टियं त्रुद्धविनितेव ॥—1734-8

1. M B Kavi, Int. to AB.

Bhattayantra is quoted by Abhinavagupta for his definition of Nr̥īta (p 208)

शिक्षार्हसे च्छान्यनृतकतिपयनाव्याख्यकृत नृचमभ्यासपलम्, इति मद्यन्तं

Bhattagopāla wrote Tāladipikā and was different from the author of the same name of a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa and from the father of Śāradātanaya of the same name. This is the reference.

अत एवैतदनुसारेण मट्टलोळटगोपालादिसंक्षिप्तमङ्ग . तालदीपिकादौ चिरन्तन-  
मतो श्रुताक्षाना विनियोगः प्रपञ्चतो दूषित ।

**957 Dattila** Among the immediate disciples of Bharata, of whom hundred are mentioned in the Nātyasāstra, Dattila<sup>1</sup> and Kohala have written separate treatises. Dattila was a devout follower of Bharata and never differed from him in his expositions, so that, when later writers wanted anything to support Bharata, they invariably invoked Dattila. Dattila's work embraced music and dancing,<sup>2</sup> and its merit is seen from the existence of a commentary on it called Prayogaśabaka.<sup>3</sup>

**958 Kohala** was the immediate disciple of Bharata and comes next to Bharata himself in merit of composition. While the Nātyasāstra of Bharata comprised 11 subjects, Kohala enlarged them into 13. Even according to Nātyasāstra, Kohala was to write a treatise on Prastāraṭanṭram.<sup>4</sup> He is frequently cited by later writers, and largely by Abhinavagupta and commentators on Śārngadeva. But Kohala's work is lost, but for a fragment that is available, Tālādhyāya.<sup>5</sup> A study of the citations<sup>6</sup> there indicates that Kohala, though he followed Bharata in the main, improved upon Nātyasāstra in details of classification.<sup>7</sup>

1. The name appears also in the form of Daṭṭila.

2. Ed. TSS, Trivandrum

3. Sumharāja quotes from Prayogaśabaka in his commentary on Śārngadeva.—

विवृत चैतत् प्रयोगस्तवकार्यायां दत्तिलटीकायाम् ।

4. आत्मोपदधासिद्धं हि नाव्य प्रोक्त स्थम्भुवा ।

चेष्टं प्रस्तारतन्त्रेण कोहल. कथयिष्यते || XXVIII 18

5. OC, I 180, 100, 3025, 3089; DC, XXII 8785 (with Telugu commentary)

6. For quotations from Kohala, see PR, IV 48 and Cat. Bod., 199, 201

7. For instance in the case of Cārī (dance). See Kallinātha's commentary on Śārngadeva, pages 770-3.

Abhinayasāstram attributed to Kohala may be a part of Kohala's work or any later abridgment of it<sup>1</sup>. Dat̄ila-Kohalīyam purports to be a narration by Kohala to Dat̄ila<sup>2</sup> and Kohalarahasya by Kohala to Matanga<sup>3</sup> and there are epitomes of Kohala's work.

Kohala's work appears also to have been a narration by Kohala to Śārdūla, and this is seen from Kallinātha's long quotation<sup>4</sup>:

**959 Matanga** wrote Br̄haddeśī<sup>5</sup>. Though apparently meant to deal primarily with Desī music, the extant portion in six chapters embraces Śruti-s and Svara-s. He mentions Bharaṭa<sup>6</sup> but differs from him in several places, and particularly in the introduction of 12 Svara-s in Mūrchanā. Maṭanga is referred to by later writers as the originator of a new school and Maṭangamaṭa is quoted profusely, for instance, by Abhinavagupta and Śārngadharā. Among Prabandhas he is said to have introduced the form Harivilābha<sup>7</sup> and among dances, a species called Zakkunī, and when speaking of the latter Kālī is described as

1 DC, XXII 8724, 8725 (with Telugu commentary), IOC, 890

2 BTC, 60 I am informed that the book is now missing from the library

3 TC, I 1089 This manuscript contains only 18th chapter, but I am told the whole book is available in Vadakkunthrumaligum in Alvantrunagari, Tinnevelly District.

4 In commentary on Śārngadeva, pp, 676-89 A similar mention is made by Raghunātha in his Sangītasudhā.

5 Ed TSS, Trivandrum. The manuscript so far available and printed contains chapters on Nāḍotpatti, Śruti-mūrṇaya, Svara-mūrṇaya, Mūrchanā, Tāna, Varpa, 88 Alankāras, Jāṭi, Rāgālakṣana, Bhāskarākṣana, Prabandha and ends with the line,

इदानीं कथयिष्यामि वाचस्य निर्णयो यथा ।

The name Br̄haddeśī suggests the existence of a smaller work called Laghu-deśī. S. K. De (SP, 246) speaks of a work called Maṭangabharata by Lakṣmaṇa-Bhāskara but does not give any reference. In a manuscript (BTC, No 11526), the manuscript though labelled Maṭangabharatam, is really Lakṣmaṇabharatam by Bhāskara Lakṣmaṇa of which there is a good copy there No 11546. Lakṣmaṇabharatam, consisting of Abhinaya only, was composed by some later writer and had nothing to do with Maṭanga.

6 यथा हू मतकः , नन्देते रागा , प्राथविशेषसम्बन्धात् , छूतोयं विशेषलभः ? उच्यते , मरतवधनादेव । तथा चाह भरतः , जातिसम्मवत्वाद्वागाणामिति । यत्किञ्चिद्दीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषुश्चित्तमितिवचनात् , हस्ति ।

(Kallinātha's commentary on Sangītarāṇakara, p 860),

7 It is so stated in Yāstikamajam, Manuscript No 12 of 745 Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

मदहृष्टमिना प्रोत्तो नाम्ना हरिविलासकः ।

having requested her Maṭangamuni to create the new device<sup>1</sup>. In the Tamil epic *Silappadikaram*<sup>2</sup> now generally assigned not later than 4th century B C, Matanga as a writer on music and dancing is mentioned and the commentary frequently quotes from his work. Considering that Matanga was thus mentioned as a Muni and father of Kali (and so called Matangi) and that his views are quoted with reverence, we may say that his work could not have been composed far later than Bharata's *Nātyasāstra*<sup>3</sup>. Matanga quotes passages from Kohala and Śārdūla.

**960** There is a noteworthy tradition that Matanga's sons were Dattila and Kohala, that they married Sukiā and Kṛṣṇā, daughters of Jhūlikā and that these damsels transformed themselves into rivers so as to be of incessant service to Yajnavarāha of Śrimusnam. In the Śthalapurāna of Śrimusnam (in South Arcot District), a shrine where Śrī Viṣṇu is worshipped in his Varāhāvatāra, there is this passage (VIII 17-20)

शुक्ला कुष्णोति नदौ द्वे विमानादुत्तरे शुभे ।  
शिष्ठिकातनये पुण्ये मतङ्गस्य सुवे उमे ॥  
तयो पती च विस्थ्यातौ दरिल कोहलोऽपि च ।  
मतङ्गस्य सुने पुत्रौ गीतशास्त्रविशारदौ ॥  
तयो पत्न्यौ च तौ नदौ शिष्ठिकातनये उमे ।  
कोलदेवस्य पूर्जार्थं नदीस्तप्मवापतु ॥

**961** *Brahmabharatam*<sup>4</sup> represents the work of Brahma of Piṭāmaha. The small portion that is now available in six chapters deals with Abhinaya. It embraces Mārga, Nātya and makes no reference to Desī at all. There is no mention in it of any earlier work and

१ पुरा देवी महाकाली लासितु स्फुना सह  
जनक प्रेश्य प्रपञ्च मतङ्ग दीसतेजसम् ।

\* \* \* \* \*  
कालिकाया. कृता पूर्वं मतङ्गनैव शक्तिणी ॥—B.T.O No 11596.

2 Chapter V, line 184.

3. In Kallinātha's commentary on *Sangitaratnākara* (p. 82) there is the following passage यथा यात्पद्मेवतारात्मतिर्यगसाम्यन्त वादित्वादनाधित्वाच्च तारगती कदेन कृता मध्यमस्येति न दोष इति मतङ्गोत्तम्. This might mean that Maṭanga was later than Rudraśa. It is presumed that there is some error here in the reading and that the sentence ends at न दोष and a quotation from Maṭanga has then been missed.

4. The manuscript is with M. RamaKrishna Kavi, Madras.

from the scantiness of the details, the book forms probably the earliest record of the science. In his *Kutinimata* Dāmodaragupta describes a character Bhattaputra as proficient in Brahma-Nāyasastra.

ब्रह्मोक्तनाव्यशाक्ते गीते मुरजादिवादने चैव ।

अभिभवति नारदादीन् प्रावीण्यं भट्टपुत्रस्य ॥

Padmabhū's (Brahma) view is mentioned by Sāradātanaya (*Bhav.* 47)

परिणेतु न शक्नोति तस्माच्छान्तस्य नोद्धव ।

तस्माच्चाव्यरसा अष्टाविंशि पञ्चमुद्दो भृतय ॥

**962 Sadasiवabharatam**,<sup>1</sup> ascribed to Sadasiवa, deals, so far as it is now available, with Nāyasa. It may be placed on a line with Brahmabharata for its merit and antiquity.

Sadasiवa's views are quoted by Saradātanaya thus

प्रोक्तस्सदादित्वेनास्य सरूपाश्रयनिर्णय ।

“ रसस्स एव साधत्वाद्रसिकस्यैव वर्तनात् ॥

नाहुकार्यस्य वृत्तत्वात्काव्यस्यात्परत्वतः ।

द्रष्टुं प्रमोदवीडेष्यारागद्वेषप्रसङ्गतः ॥

लौकिकस्य सरमणीसयुक्तस्यैव दर्घनात् ।”

**963 Nandikesvara**, or Nandin shortly, was the first to receive initiation into the science of music from Śiva. With his name are associated works on Kāmasāstra<sup>2</sup> and Sangīta, and his views have been referred to by later writers as a school of musical thought alongside of Bharata. While Bharata confined himself to music in relation to drama, Nandikesvara interested himself in the music requisite for ceremonies and festivals.

**BHARATARNAVĀ**,<sup>3</sup> in 4000 verses, purports to be a narration of the principles by Nandin to Sumati, an actor of Indra's stage at Indra's recommendation. It is avowedly the work of Nandikesvara. The manuscript in Tanjore Library has 5 to 14 chapters, that on Abhinaya only and is entitled *Guheśabharatālakṣaṇa*. The colophon reads thus:

1 Mys 309, also Ms No 1298 noted at page 303 though catalogue as *Ādībhara-*  
*ṭam*

2 So says Vātsyāyana — महादेवान्नपूरव नन्दी सहस्रेणाव्यायानां पृथक्कामसुत्रं प्रोक्ताच ।

3 *DO*, XXII, 8785, *TC*, III, No. 2485, II, 1860. The Tāladhyāyam is with M Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras. On Nandikesvara, see S K De, *SP*, 24–26 (He is referred to Dāmodaramiśra in his *Kuttanimata* (8th century A D) along with Bharata as an ancient writer).

हेति श्रीनन्दिकेश्वरीवरचिते भरतार्णवे नाट्यार्णवे सुमतिशोधके सप्तलासप्रकरणं नाम  
चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः ॥

It is likely that the part of which this is a chapter is called Nātyārnava<sup>1</sup>

BHARATARTHACANDRIKA<sup>2</sup> is an epitome of Bharaṭarnavam and is in the form of a dialogue between Nandin and Pārvatī and deals so far as it is available with Abhinaya

ABHINAYADARPANAM<sup>3</sup> in 13 sections deals with gesticulation, and the colophon says it is a part of Nandikesvarabharataṁ Its commencement presumes that there was a prior portion of which it is but a continuation.<sup>4</sup> It is also a narration by Nandin to Sumati at Indra's instance , it is probable that it is a chapter in Bharaṭārnavam and Nandibharatam is another name for Bharaṭārnavam

But later writers have expressed that Nandikesvara differed widely from Bharaṭa not only in his theories but also in the nomenclature Abhinavagupta for instance quotes a verse as Nandimata in connection with Mṛḍanga<sup>5</sup> Raghunātha is more explicit in that he says he referred to Nandisvarasamhitā and that Aumāpatam does differ from Bharata's Nātyasāṣṭra Kallinātha contrasts the views of Bharata with those of Nandin and Maṭanga<sup>6</sup>

1 DC, XXII 8785, Tanj XVI. 7224 The manuscript of Tālalakṣaṇam (Ibid 7312) begins with नन्दिकेश्वराय नम

2 DC, XXII 8787

3 Ibid 8717 Ed Madras. Ed Cambridge by A K Kumarasami.

4 अदेवानीं तु हस्तानीं लक्षणं प्रोच्यते मया ।

असमुताससयुतात्र हस्ता द्रेष्ठा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

5 यथोक्त नन्दीश्वरमते —

बोडशसपि वर्णेतु भेदा पञ्चदशोदिता ।

ताडने प्रहसन्वानमोक्षे मुखचतुष्पद् ॥ (Chap 84).

"The school of Nandikesvara seems to be older than Bharata's and from the available works bearing on Nandin, one is tempted to say that he has developed conventional side of natya, sangita and nritya to a remarkable degree. Bharata seems to have rejected much of Nandin's technique and accepted only such forms as are really found in actual life or just to suit the theatrical conventions which he calls natya dharmi. Kohala and Matanga seem to follow Bharata at the same time bringing in extraneous forms that are in vogue on the conventional side, of course basing their authority on Bharata himself as having given sanction by his expression" M R Kavi, Int to 1B See V Raghavan, Nātyādharmi and Lokadharmi, JOR. VII. 859,

6 Poems Edn. p. 47.

We have now therefore two sets of works, both going under the name of Nandin, the one agreeing with and the other differing from Bharata. Until the Samhitā mentioned by Raghunātha is discovered, for which there is yet hope, we cannot say whether Bharatārnavam is really the composition of Nandikesvara.

964. Among Purānas, some have chapters on dancing and music, Vāyu (chap. 24-5), Mārkandeya (chap. 21) and Viṣṇuḍharmaśāra (chap. 16-14).

There are several names of the Hindu Pantheon of gods and demi-gods that are quoted for their views on music and dancing, Mādhava (Viṣṇu), Gaṇesa, Sanmukha, Vāyu, Durgāsakti by Maṭanga, Viṣvāvasu, Ājaneya and Vyāsa by Śāradātanaya Rāvana Rambhā, Kāmaṭeva, Dakṣa Prajāpaṭi.

Nārada mentions Hari, Kamalāsyā, Brahma, Candi, Sanmukha, Bhṛngin, Sarasvatī, Kubera, Bali, Viṣvakarman, Kusika, Angada, Guna, Samuḍra and Vikrama.

#### KAMADEVA

चरणन्दूललक्षण तु कामदेवे—

उद्धता वाचवक्नेत्रुं \* \* \* |

सरसान्दोलनाभानाप्रसादपद्मुक्तवात् ।

\* \* \* \* \* ||

करतालैरुगत पादन्यासैस्समृष्टतम् ।

अभैरपि लौहित्य शून्य तुल वितन्यते ॥

—Tālalakṣaṇa (DC, XXII, 8726)

#### VASUKI

नानाद्रव्यौषधैः पाकैर्धर्जन माव्यते यथा ।

एव मावा मावयति रसानभिनयैस्सदा ॥

इति वासुकिनाप्युक्तो मावेभ्यो रससम्बवः ।

—Śāradātanaya (Bhav 37)

[The verse is quoted in Nātyasāstra, but omitted in GOS Edn.]

#### DAKSA PRAJAPATI

दक्षप्रजापतिरपि—

अवधानानि गान्धर्वं पर्णात्सरपदादेवं ।

अवधानातिरेकेण त्रिविदं नोपयते ॥

स्वाह—Simhabhūpāla's commentary on Sangītarāṇikara,

## DHENUKA

कीद्धो नयमार्गे देशुकरचिते च तालके कीद्धू ।  
प्रेष्णणकादावेव पृष्ठति नुलोपदेशक यत्नात् ॥

—Kuttinimata, 82.

## DRAUVINI

सात्वती वृचिरदसादिति द्रौहिणिरत्वीत् ।  
(on Prasāntanātaka)—Saradāstanaya (*Bhāv* 239)

**965 KAMBALA AND ASVATARA.** According to Mārkandeyapurāṇa (Chap 21) Kambala and Asvatara propitiated Sarasvatī and learnt music and sang Śiva's praise .

नादविधीं परा लङ्घ्वा सरसव्याः प्रसादत् ।  
कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ शम्मो कुण्डलतां गतौ ॥

—Dāmodara's Sangītadarpana

Swati played Bhāndavādyā in the first drama in Indradhvaja festival enacted by Bharata, while Nārada did the music. So says Bharata

सातिर्भाण्डनियुक्तस्तु सह शिष्यस्त्वयनुवा ।  
नारदाद्याश्व गन्वर्वा गानयोगे नियोजिता ॥  
सातिनारदसयुक्तो वेदवेदाङ्गकारणम् ।  
उपस्थितोऽहं लोकेणं प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलि ॥

—Nātyasāstra I

and Abhinavagupta's commentary thus summarises Swāti's discovery of Puṣkara :

साती ऋषिविशेषः येन जलवरसमयनिपत्तस्तिलिलधारावैचिन्ध्याभिहृन्यमानपुष्करदल-  
विलसितरचितविचित्ववर्णानुहरणयोजनया यथास वृचिनियमेन पुष्करवाद्यनिर्माण कृतभिल्लर्थं ।  
as set out by Bharata in Nātyasāstra (XXXIII, 5-12)

## VYASA

असाङ्कमेकं भरतः द्वावङ्काविति कोहलः ।  
व्यासाञ्जनेयगुरवः प्राहुरङ्गवय यथा ॥  
(on Uṣritisikānka) Sāradāstanaya (*Bhāv*, 251)

**966. KASYAPA,** sage, is quoted by Abhinavagupta (and other writers) as an authority on Sangīta and he gives a long extract, on the tunes appropriate (viniyoga) to each rasa and bhāva. He says

‘तत् उक्तप्रबन्धगाने प्रायोगिककश्यपादुदिष्टं (कश्यपादुदिष्ट)विनियोगजात् कथ्यते ।’  
इत्येव कश्यपादुको विनियोगो निरूपितः ।

And Hṛdayangama, commentary on Dandin's Kāvyādarsa (Madras Edn p 3), mentions Kāsyapa and Vararuci as ancient writers on Alankāra.

पूर्वेषा काश्यपवरस्त्रिनामाचार्योणा लक्षणशास्त्राणि सहत्य...

Nanyadeva often quotes from Kāsyapa, as also from a Bṛhaṭ-Kāsyapa

**967 Narada<sup>2</sup>** is according to Hindu mythology the divine bard and he is represented as playing on the Vīnā. So is Sarasvatī. Nārada was the son of Brahma and was naturally the first to be initiated into the musical art. Besides being cited as an authority in the Tantras, Nātyasāstra mentions that Bharata took Nārada and Śwāti with him when he got leave of Brahma for his first performance at Dhvajamaha.<sup>3</sup> Nārada was indebted for his views on music to Nāradopaniṣat<sup>4</sup> and the principles therein enunciated were developed by him in his Sīkṣā. Among the works that go under the name of Nārada is Nāradiyāśikṣā.

**968 Naradasikṣā<sup>5</sup>** deals with the music of the Sāma Veda. In the Sīkṣas of Saunaka, Āpisali, Vyāsa, Vyādi etc., Nārada is referred to as an authority. Bharata follows the views of Nārada on Sāmasvara and elsewhere quotes a verse from it.<sup>6</sup> Abhinavagupta refers to it in several places.<sup>7</sup> The whole of Sīkṣā was reproduced in Nāradiyā-

1 Nāradasātakā by Vālmīki, Nāradasattoṭra, Nāradapancarāṭra and Nāradavilāsa-kāvya by Trībhuvanālīla are noted in CO, I, 287

2 सातिनारदसंयुक्तो वेदवेदाङ्गकारणम् ।

उपस्थितोऽयं ब्रह्मण प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलि. || I, 49-50,

शुक्वासंक्षानि तानि स्युर्नारदप्रमुखैर्दिन्द्वै ।

गीतान्नानीहृ सर्वाणि विनियुक्तान्यभेदकश. || XXXII 1.

3 Ed. Bombay.

4 Ed. by S. Samasrami, Bombay.

5 आचार्योस्समिष्टनिं पद्मच्छेदन्तु पण्डिताः ।

किंयो मधुरमिष्टनिं विकृष्टमितरे जना. || XXXIV 119.

6 For instance

अत नारदाद्या नामनिर्वचनमकारु. । नासी कण्ठमुरस्ताञ्जिह्वां दन्ताध्य य . . . त. । वहन्यस्तज्जयते वहजः—इत्यादि . . . XXVIII 18

अत पृथ सामवेदे ग्रामविमागामावात् तदुपयोगिन्या नारदीशिक्षायां तदमिधान-मौत्तरार्थ्यमालमेवत्कृष्ट. ।— XXVIII, 25,

purānam These references are sufficient to show that Śikṣā is an ancient work entitled to priority over the extant Nātyasāstra. As a special feature of Śikṣā we may mention the recognition of Gāndhāra-grāma, a stage that cannot be reached by the human voice, and this therefore was ignored by Bharata and his school.<sup>1</sup> Though the definitions and particulars of Śrutiś agree in Bharata and Nārada, they differ in terminology. The opinions of Nārada were gradually departed from, and while Bharata's differences were only limited, Maṭanga reached a very wide divergence.

Nāradāśikṣā is in two parts, each consisting of Khandas or chapters. It deals with the music of Sāman, generally and particularly as chanted at sacrifices. It furnishes the link between vedic and post-vedic music and is the earliest extant record of musical divisions and terminology. There is a commentary on it by Śubhankara,<sup>2</sup> who was the author of Sangīta-Dāmodara and lived before the 17th century A.D.

**969** The other two works attributed to Nārada are Rāganirūpā<sup>3</sup> and Pancamasārasamhūṭa.<sup>4</sup> Daṭṭila-Nāradasamvāda<sup>5</sup> in three chapters deals with Rāgas, Śrutiś and Svaras. Because there is a reference in it to the name of Sārngadeva, it must be said that it is a later compilation of Nārada's views, as expressed in earlier books, and many of the verses in it are quoted under Nārada's name by writers earlier than Sārngadeva.

**970** Sangitamakaranda of Nārada is a later work. In two parts Sangīta and Nṛtya, of four chapters each, the views of Nārada Rsi

1. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that Śikṣā is a late work of the 10th or 12th century A.D. In Poppley's *Music of India*, 14, it is said "It shows considerable development on the Natyasastra in its svara system and in a number of matters agrees with the Kudimiyamalai inscription where that disagrees with the next important treatise, the Sangitaratnakara". The imaginary development in the rāgas is due to difference in views between Nārada and Bharata. The Kudimiyāmala inscription has not yet been rightly interpreted.

Aufrecht (CC, I, 287) gives the name as Bhatta Śobhākara.

2. The full manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kāvi, Madras and an incomplete copy in Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

3. Ed. by D. K. Joshi, Poona. It is a metrical description of 140 ragas. Quotations are given in Sangītanārāyaṇa of Nārāyaṇadeva e.g., नारदसहस्रायां चत्वारि-  
वर्षात्पूरणातिस्पृष्टः . . . . .

4. CC, I, 287

5. The manuscript is in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

are followed here and there is a reference to him in the prefatory benediction. It mentions two divisions of rāgas, principals and their wives, and classifies musical sounds into five kinds according to the source of percussion.<sup>1</sup> It mentions Mahāmāhesvara,<sup>2</sup> that is, Abhinavagupta, in dealing with the faults of the singer and its definition of Gāndhāra is almost repeated by Śārngadeva. It may therefore be assigned to 11th century A D.

**971 Veda's Sangitamakaranda**<sup>3</sup> is a large treatise on music and dancing and in it are mentioned the later forms of modern dancing as influenced by European and Mohamadan art. Veda was a poet of the Court of Shahji, father of famous Śivājī, who was known as Makarandabhūpa and was tutor to the king's son Śambhu, elder brother of Śivājī, early in 17th century A D.

**972, Ānjaneyabharatam**<sup>4</sup> is a revelation of the science of music by Ānjaneya to Yāstika. So says Raghuṇātha Yāstikamaṭam,<sup>5</sup> as is now available, deals only with music and seems to be only an epitome of it. Later writers speak of Yāstikamaṭam synonymously with Ānjaneyamaṭam. According to Kallinātha, Yāstika adopts the view of Maṭanga on rasas but with altered terminology.<sup>6</sup> Śāradāṭanaya and Kallinātha quote Ānjaneya's (Māruti) views

i ये मावा रागचिह्नानि स्त्रीणामुत्ता पृथक् पृथक् ।  
साधाराणास्ते सर्वांसि स्त्रीणामिलाह मारुति. ॥

—Śāradāṭanaya (*Bhar* 251)

ii तथा चाह आन्जनेय.—

येषा श्रुतिस्त्रभास्त्रादिलियमो न हि ।  
नानादेशगतिष्ठाया देशीरागास्तु ते स्पृता. ॥

—Kallinātha

1. Ed. M. R. Telang (*GOŚ*) Baroda with a preface and an appendix of works on music.

2. So does he call himself in the colophons to his works, particularly a commentary on Nātyaśāstra and Śāradāṭanaya says that Bhoja and Abhinavagupta were the only two writers who well dealt with Gīḍadēṣa.

3. *Tanq.*, XVI, 7268. The manuscript is dated 1650 A D.

4. *Mys.*, 809

5. Ms. 12 of 745 Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. Some verses attributed to Maṭanga and Kohala are also found in this book.

6. Poona Edition, page 858. Ānjaneya is quoted in *Sangitadarpana* (*OG*, I, 41).

CHAPTER XXVI.

**Sangita**

(MUSIC AND DANCING)

973 Sangita comprehends Giṭa, Nāṭya and Nartaka So says  
Caṭura-Dāmodara

गीतं वाद्य नर्तनं च त्रयं सङ्गीतमुच्यते ।  
मार्गदेशीविमागेन सङ्गीतं द्विविधं स्मृतम् ।  
यत्पुरा ब्रह्मणोद्दिष्टं प्रयुक्तं मरतादिभि ।  
महादेवस्य पुरतस्तन्मार्गाख्यं विदुर्बुधा ।  
तत्तदेशस्थ्या रीत्या यत्स्याल्लोकानुरूजनम् ।  
देहे देशे तु सङ्गीतं यत्तदेशीति गीयते ॥

Śṛṅgārāsekhaṛa thus explains<sup>1</sup> भरत

भक्तारो भावनैर्युक्तारेफो रागेण मिश्रित ।  
तकारन्तालमित्याहुमरतार्थविचक्षणा ॥

The divine origin of Sangita is often referred to with veneration by several authors. In Bharatalakṣaṇa of unknown authorship, it is said<sup>2</sup> :

आकृतिकं मुवनं यस्य वाचिकं सर्ववाङ्मयम् ।  
आहार्यं चन्द्रतारादि तन्मुमः सात्त्विकं शिवम् ॥  
वागीशो भरताय नात्यनिगमं सदिष्टवान्येमतो  
गन्धर्वैः समसीक्षरस्य पुरतो नात्य ततानाशु स ।  
स्मृत्वा तण्डुमजिग्रहतदविलं शम्भुर्मुनिभ्य पुनः  
सन्दिष्टं भरताय तेन भुवने प्रख्यापित तैरिदम् ॥

Kohala in Tālalakṣaṇa says<sup>3</sup> :

तकारशशङ्करः प्रोत्तो लकारशक्तिरुच्यते ।  
शिवशक्तिसमायोगात्तालनामामिथीयते ॥

1 Tanj, XVI. 7247.

2 Tanj, XVI. 7245

3 DC, XXII. 8726.

In dealing with different kinds of Rāgas, forms and attributes, Rāgasagara records a discourse between Ḫatīla and Nāraḍa giving Ṛṣi, Chandas and Dhyāna of each rāga and predicating that Sangītasāstra conduces to bliss temporal and eternal.<sup>1</sup>

एतानि सर्वरागाणां भ्यानानि मुनिमि पुरा ।  
 कथ्यन्ते सर्वशास्त्रेषु निश्चितानीति सर्वदा ।  
 एतत् सहीतशास्त्रन्तु सर्वकामफलप्रदम् ॥  
 अनन्तहरिल्परात्या रागमासिताम् ।  
 तदाख्या(रूपा)यनमात्रेण भुक्तिप्रक्षिफलं लभेत् ॥  
 पुत्रपौत्रकरं नृणा राजा राज्यप्रदायकम् ।  
 एतच्छास्त्रं सदा विष्णुहरयो ग्रीतिदं भवेत् ॥

974 SARNGADEVA commences his work thus

ब्रह्मप्रनिधिजमारतानुगतिना चित्तेन हृत्पङ्कजे  
 सूरीणामनुराजकं श्रुतिपदं योऽयं स्थ राजते ।  
 यस्माद्ग्रामविभागर्वचनालकारजातिकमो  
 वन्दे नादतनुं तमुद्धरजगद्गीतं मुदे शकरम् ॥

In his commentary on Sangītarāṇākara Gangārāma thus describes Śīva

जीयाद्राघवसुन्दरी कुलपतियां नादमूर्मीश्वरी  
 या सादिस्वरनुपुरारथितयुक्ता नोभ्रवालापकी (१) ।  
 ग्रामादित्रिकसकावधिभयी मूर्छांसमुच्छ्रायगा  
 सा श्रीचक्रभयीषितु श्रुतिशुणीभूता विदेहात्मजा ॥

975 God Śīva in his well-known aspect of Natarāja is pre-eminently the Lord of Dances. Tradition attributes Nātyasāstra in its earliest form to his divine authorship. It was the rattle of the drum (Dhakkā) played at the end of Śīva's dance that once gave out 9 plus 5 sounds, which constituted the Māhesvarasūtras forming the basis of Pāṇini's grammatical aphorisms.<sup>2</sup>

1 DC, XXII 8748

2 Definitions and particulars of varieties of Śīva's dances are given in T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

The Aphorisms<sup>1</sup> are

I अङ्ग प्	VIII शम व्
II अङ्ग क्	IX घटव ष्
III एओ ङ्	X जबगडद श्
IV देशो च्	XI खफछउथचटत ब्
V हयवर ट्	XII कप य्
VI ल प्	XIII शषस इ्
VII अमडणन म्	XIV हल्

नृतावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढका नवपन्चवारम् ।

उद्धर्तुकामस्सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसुत्रजालम् ॥

Thus Nandikeshvara begins his Kārikas of 27 Ślokas on Māhesvara-sūtras, and expounds their mystical significance. Nāgesa extracts this first verse in his Śabdendusekhara as from *Nandikeshvarakārikā*. There are some commentaries on the Kārikas, one of which is by Abhimanyu<sup>2</sup>.

Thus Śiva is the father of all that relates to *nāda* or sound, and so of the sciences of grammar and music. In *Rudra-damarūdbhava sūtravivarana*,<sup>3</sup> there is an elaboration of this tradition that those sounds are the origin of music. The Nepal Library has another work *Bharaṭanāma-dīpanāda-sāṣṭra*.<sup>4</sup>

"The dance represents Siva's five activities (*Panchakriya*), namely, *Sṛushti* (creation), *sthiti* (preservation), *Samhara* (destruction), *Tirobhava* (illusion) and *Anugraha* (salvation), symbolised in the iconographic equivalents of the sounding drum, the hand of hope, the hand holding fire, the foot trampling on the demon Muyalaga, and the uplifted left foot. Its deepest significance is felt when it is realised that this dance takes place within the heart and the self. Everywhere is God and Everywhere is the heart. The essential significance of Siva's Dance is threefold: first, it is the image of Rhythmic Activity as the Source of all movement within the Cosmos which is represented by the Arch (or the *prabhāmandala*); secondly, the purpose of his dance is to release the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion; thirdly, the place of the Dance, Chidambaram, the centre of the Universe, is within the

1 On the linguistic aspect of these aphorisms see Introduction.

1 CO, I 277, BTC, 41, Oudh, XIX 54

1 B&B 519.

2 Nepal, 281

heart<sup>1</sup> Of all the impressions which the pilgrims to the sacred shrines along the Western Ghats carried home with them, the most vivid must have been the gorgeous spectacle of the sun in its descent towards the ocean, illuminating tier after tier of the rocky precipices and the forest-clad ravines with its slanting rays of crimson and burnished gold, until at the time of evening prayer (*sundhya*) it touched the far off sea horizon and began the sacred Dance in response to the ceaseless time-beat of the waves—the Dance of the Cosmic Rhythm which all the Rishis and all the Devas knew In fair weather, it was only a gentle swaying moment like the fluttering of the falling leaves in the forest on a still autumn evening, for Siva then only manifested his benign aspect But even the setting sun flashed fierce red rays through banks of purple cloud and Siva's mighty drum began its thundering beat along the shore, while the long snake-like rollers sowed their glittering teeth, the Great God revealed himself in his tremendous world-shaking dance, the *Tandavam* which summed up the threefold processes of Nature, creation, preservation and destruction, and woe betide the unhappy mariner who was whirled within the ambit of that awful Dance. The corpses strewn along the shore next day increased the unrelenting toll, which the Lord of Death always demands from his worshippers Such was the constant mental stimulus which the brahman at his evening meditation on the Western Ghats received from the wonderful nature he saw around him, until the Sacred Dance of the Cedic ritual with which he responded to the prompting of his spiritual self became interwoven with his philosophy and took a permanent place among the temple icons of the Deccan and Southern India, the natural imagery being translated into metaphysical concepts, for the brahman like the Platonic philosopher, used the beaties of earth as steps by which he climbed upwards to the higher planes of thought<sup>2</sup>

976. MRDANGAI AKSANA, an anonymous work in Purānic style, thus gives a legendary origin to the musical drum, *maraya*,

पुरा मुरासुरो नाम देवानामन्तकौ बली ।  
 वृश्चमुरस्तु बलवानिताशु (भायु) तंबलौ तथा ॥  
 सत्रयग्प्रवृत्ते त गङ्कातीरे मनोहरे ।  
 हिमवत्प्रान्तकान्तारे मुनिमि. कलैते पैले ॥

1 A K Coomaraswami's article in *Sādhanāśāstra* quoted by T A Gopinathia 'Kao, I 'c. II 281.

2 E Havell's Monograph on *The Himalayas in Indian Art*

पुरोडाशनिमित्ते देवैस्साकं नियोध्यत ।  
 तत्काले तु महाविष्णुस्वर्वोक्तैकरक्षक ॥  
 मुरासुरं प्रगृष्ठाश्च द्रुत्वसादौ (हत्वा पादौ) (तथा शिर ) ॥  
 चर्मणा तच्छरस्येन बाधपार्श्वद्वय मिथ ॥  
 तत्पादचर्मणो बध्य चतुर्विंशतिसङ्गवया ।  
 तत्कुक्षिस्थेन पिण्डेन

\* \* \* \*

मुरस्य देह हे नन्दिन् द्विसुखे कण्ठविष्टे ।  
 मुख्यनिर्महानासात् पृष्ठे विभिषिमा इति ॥  
 एव कृत मया चाष्ट तकाहत महारवम् ।

\* \* \* \*

तन्यता भरतोत्तेन शास्त्रमार्गेण सद्ध्वनिः ।  
 महाप्रलयकालस्य ताण्डवस्य च सञ्जिधौ ।  
 मृदङ्ग वादयामास महानन्दी लयालुगम् ॥

977. *Vedas* are eternal and at the beginning of every cycle of creation after a deluge are only revealed. Such is the belief of the Hindu. *Vedas* are self-contained in any branch of knowledge and to *Vedas* therefore the Hindu looks to the original source of any science or art.<sup>1</sup>

"The first public use of music by every nation has been in religious rites and ceremonies. The ancient Egyptians celebrated their festival with hymns. The classic Greeks used music in rhapsodising the Iliad. The Chinese, the Tartars and even the Negroes solemnised their worship with songs and dances. The reason is obvious. By music alone such rites and ceremonies and such worship could be amplified and prolonged and by music alone some state of feeling could be raised and sustained in a great crowd of people. Even in Italy, music —when it revived in 33 A.D.—was used only in connection with the

<sup>1</sup> "MUSIC IS ETERNAL In Greece, Pythagoras is said to have brought music under arithmetical rule and found that the seven planets were ever related to one another as the seven notes and as such, produced in their movements 'the Music of the Spheres' which in India, the Siva's Dance or rather the mystic dance of Nataraja was perhaps intended to symbolise. One thing is certain that in both, Greece and India, music has come down from the beginning of the world and is deemed to be as eternal as God. Indeed in India music is ever associated with Saraswati." Extract from *Hindu* (19—9—1922) of lecture by M. S. Ramaswamia Aiyar.

church The Aryans of India did not form an exception to the rule but chanted Vedas—Rik, Yajur and Sama, on all occasions of festivals”

**978** The literature of the Vedas reveals a good knowledge of music and musical instruments. Besides Sāmaveda, of which the mode of expression is musical chant, we have in the rituals of the Yajus and Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras following Vedas mention of occasions in all sacrifices and many household ceremonies (such as Seemanṭonnayanam)<sup>1</sup> when Vīṭāgānam, and particular tunes too, are prescribed. Passages in Yajus indicate the existence of professional singers and it is stated in one place that women are enamoured of musicians —

1. तैत्तिरीयाक्षणे, III-9.

अपवा एतस्मच्छ्रीराष्ट्रं कामति ।  
योश्वरेभ्येन यजते ब्राह्मणौ वीणागाधिनौ गायत ।  
श्रिया वा एतद्दूनम् । यद्वीणा ।  
श्रियमेवास्मिन् तद्दृत ।  
यदा सुलु वै पुरुष श्रियमश्नुते ।  
वीणास्मै वाचते ।  
तदाहु , यदुमौ ब्राह्मणौ गायेताम् ।  
प्रभ्रग् शुकास्माच्छ्रीस्तथात् ।  
न वै ब्राह्मणे श्रीरमत इति । ब्राह्मणोन्यो गायेत् । राजन्योऽन्य ।  
ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मण क्षत्रज्ञराजन्य ॥

II. यजुस्सहितायाः, VII-5.

उदकुभानधिनिधाय दास्यो भार्जालीय परिकृत्यन्ति पशो निष्ठतीरिद मधु गायन्त्योमधु वै देवाना परममधाय परममेवाक्षायमवरुद्धे पशोनिष्ठान्ति महोयमेवैषु दधति ॥

III. यजुस्सहितायाः, VI-1.

अगायन्देवास्स देवाग् गायत उपावतेत तस्माद्गायन्तग् ज्ञिय. कामयन्ते काष्ठुका धूनग्-  
क्षियो भवन्ति ॥

**979.** “The Vedic Index shows a very wide variety of musical instruments in use in Vedic times. Instruments of percussion are represented by the *dundubhi*, an ordinary drum, the *adambara*, another kind of drum, *Bhumi-dundubhi*, an earthdrum made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with hide, *vanaśpalī*, a wooden drum, *aghati*, a

1 Āpastamba prescribes in the ceremony of *Srimantem* शासतमिति वीणागाधिनै सर्वात्मि—*Gṛhyasūtra*, 14-4

cymbal used to accompany dancing Stringed instruments are represented by the *kanda-vina*, a kind of lute, *vana*, a lute of 100 strings, and the *vina*, the present instrument of that name in India. This one instrument alone is sufficient evidence of the development to which the art had attained even in those early days. There are also a number of wind instruments of the flute variety, such as the *tunava*, a wooden flute, the *nadi*, a reed flute, *bakurt*, whose exact shape is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

**980** "The SAMAN CHANT pivoted on two notes called *udatta*—'raised'—the higher one and the *anudatta*—'not raised'—the lower tone. In course of time the interval between these was established as a fourth. Then, later, the notes of this tetrachord received distinct names. The highest was *prathama*—'first'—then *dvitiya*, *tritiya*, *chaturtha*, down the scale. These names are found first in the *Rikpratisakhyā*. Later, a note called *svarita* is also mentioned, this seems to be graded *udatta*, thus indicating a note higher than the *prathama*. Later still we find this note definitely established and called *krushta*—'high' (*Taitriya-pratisakhyā*, 400). About the same time two other notes lower than *chaturtha* appear. These are called *mandra*—'low,' and *atishvara*—'extremity.' This last was an extra note and was usually sung only in the cadence of the Saman chant. So we find the whole series of the seven notes, or *svaras* as they were called, of the octave."<sup>2</sup>

**981** Naradīyāśikā thus connects the seven svaras of Sāmagāna with the seven svaras of classical music.

यसामगाना प्रथमस्त वणोर्मयमस्मृत् ।  
योऽसौ द्वितीयो गान्धारस्तुतीयस्त्ववमस्मृत् ।  
चतुर्थव्याहृत इत्याहुः पञ्चमो षेवतो मवेत् ।  
षष्ठो निषादो विशेयसप्तम पञ्चमस्मृत ॥

1 Popley, *Indian Music*, 8

2 'Sama was the really musical portion of the Vedas and was indeed a mere melody for which words were found in the Rik or Yajur. It was mainly vocal and its scale—like its Greek prototype—was conceived downwards as a descending series, namely, G R S N. Indeed this scale was a primal tetrachord<sup>3</sup> of Samagamanam to the notes whereof the following names were respectively appended in those days, viz., Prathama, Dwithiya, Thirthiya and Chathurthi. Later on, a higher note M was added to which name of Krushta was given and two lower notes D and P called Mandra and Atishvara completed the scale of Samagamanam. Rikpratisakhyā however makes mention of three voice Registers or Sthayees as we call them, the Ramayana, of Jathis and the Mahabharata of Gandharagrama.'

<sup>3</sup> Tetrachord means group of four notes

<i>Saman.</i>	<i>Classical</i>
Swara 1	Madhyama (म)
„ 2	Gāndhāra (ग)
„ 3	Rājabha (रि)
„ 4	Sadja (स)
„ 5	Dhārvata (ध)
„ 6	Niṣāda (नि)
„ 7	Pancama (प)

Thus the first hymn of Sāmasambitā may be sung thus  
 ओग्न इ । आया हि इतो इतो या आयि । तोया आ इ ।  
 सासास । गागागरिमाममामागाग । मामागाग ॥

Nāradīyasikṣa thus describes the svaras

वहूज मयूरो वदति गावो रम्भन्ति चर्षभम् ।  
 अजाविके तु गान्धार कौञ्चो वदति मध्यभम् ॥  
 पुष्पसाधारणे काले कोकिलो वक्ति पञ्चभम् ।  
 अश्वस्तु धैवतं वक्ति निषाद वक्ति कुञ्जर ॥

Pāninīyasikṣā thus describes the sources of svaras

उदातश्चानुदातश्च सरितश्च सराज्ञय ।  
 हस्तो दीर्घं प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ।  
 उद्धाचे निषादगान्धारावनुदात ऋषमदैवतौ ।  
 सरितप्रभवा शेते वहूजमध्यमपञ्चमा ॥

982 "The velocity of slowness of sound" observed Sir W Jones, "must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarefaction and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn and much quicker than in winter. Hence the primary Ragas of the Hindus were arranged according to the number of Indian seasons. This restriction of the six Ragas to the six seasons, added on to the fact that the subject-matter of the songs sung therein were nothing else than that of the Vedas, kept the running water of music crystal and pure. It was however, when the Raginis and Puthras were introduced, that foreign elements, for the first time, mixed themselves into the original system and the strict discipline of the Indian music became not a little relaxed, just as the Italian music deteriorated immediately after the introduction of Madrigals into it. Thenceforward the Indian music carried with

and to this ritual must be referred the institution of Devadāsis, that is, unmarried damsels devoted to the service of God. During these worships the gods are invoked, particularly the guardians of the quarters, the Dikpālas, and during such invocation the times and tunes adopted are those dedicated to or liked by the particular God. Among the instruments used in these festivals are the pipes and drums and all available genius is displayed at the closing ceremonial of the day, when the deity retires to rest. It is in these Tantras that much of the old musical literature is preserved. Among them Yāmalā, Śakaṭantra is valuable for the purpose of literary history. It is as it were an elaborate index of contents of Sanskrit works on all branches of knowledge.

Of the 32 Yāmalatantras, some treat of music and the passages are worth quotation. Among the Śākṭeyatantras, Uddisāmahodayam is valuable and in it we find a succinct description of 16 musical instruments. These tantras mention the names of various early views of Umāmahesvara, Bharaṭa, Nandi, Viśvā, Nārada, Vyāsa, Durgā, Yāṣṭika, Daṭṭila and this mention conclusively determines the age of those writers as of a very remote antiquity.

Yāmalāśīlakāṭantra says

गान्धववेद. पट्टिशत्सहस्रग्रन्थसम्पित् ।  
 यत्र सप्तस्वरोत्पतिकथनं परिकीर्तये ।  
 वीणातन्त्रं कलातन्त्रं रागतन्त्रं महुत्तमम् ।  
 मिश्रतन्त्रं तालतन्त्रं गीतिकातन्त्रमेव च ।  
 लासिकोल्लासिकातन्त्रं मेळतन्त्रं महचरम् ।  
 जातिप्रद्वयस्थानं मार्गाङ्ग्रकिया किया ।  
 कालकानं वाष्पवङ्गीशिभिकाण्याय एव च ।  
 तुरङ्गतिसारङ्गसिद्धलीलाविजृम्मणम् ।  
 अङ्गहारप्रविक्षेपाण्यायस्सङ्घोभणाक्रिया ।  
 एवमादीनि गान्धववेदे सन्ति सहस्रश ॥

Of the 32 Yāmalatantras, the 9th, Kalāṭantra, treats of Rasa, Bhāva, Nātya and Kāmasāstra, and the 19th, Viṇāṭantra, embraces the whole field of music.

एकोनविंश्च वीणारूप्यतन्त्रं लक्ष्मप्रजाणकम् ।  
 नाल्लासामन्त्रसिद्धिसेवं सिद्धमति, तै तुषाम् ।  
 लिष्टादिद्यस्वरोत्पतिकातिरूपरूपहर्षं लक्षणम् ।  
 रागाणां भेदकथनं रागकालांकुर्तमम् ।

ध्वनिप्रसेदकथन मिश्रामिश्रावर्हणम् ।  
 ताळशुतिलयादीनामुद्भवशोपवर्णनम् ।  
 चतुर्विंधानां वीणानां लक्षण तान्त्रिलक्षणम् ।  
 किञ्चरस्वरथन्नादिलक्षण मेललक्षणम् ।  
 षष्ठगीतादिग्रकथनमुत्पत्तिस्थानवर्णनम् ।  
 एवमादीनि कीर्तने यस्मिन् तन्त्रे सहस्रश ॥

Trotālaṭanṭra, the 28th, deals with Tāla

तोताळनामक तत्त्रभट्टाविंश सलक्षकम् ।  
 यस्मिन् भरतसर्वस्व साक्षाच्छिवमुद्भोदतम् ।  
 लक्षण ताळमेदानामङ्गलोन्मानलक्षणम् ।  
 मार्गकियाङ्गजातीनां कलाप्रहलयोद्भव ।  
 वादिसप्तताळानां तद्देदाना च लक्षणम् ।  
 वैनायिकानामैशानां वाभवाना च लक्षणम् ।  
 अन्येषां ताळकोटीनां शिवागममुवांतथा ।  
 विधात्रिभिश्चलीलानां यस्मिन् तन्त्रे प्रकीर्तते ॥

**985. Uddisamahamantrodaya\*** appears to have been a work devoted to the rituals of worship of Siva under the name of Uddisa. As usual with such works there are chapters in it, dealing elaborately with musical instruments, 16 in number in 16 separate chapters. The verse is fine and is in various metres.\*

Kāsyapaṭanṭra has similar chapters on the subject

**986 Indian and Western Music** Popley sums up the main differences thus

1 “The dominant factor in Indian music is melody, while that of western music is harmony. In the one case notes are related to definite notes of a *raga*, and in the other case to varying chords. Indian melody is produced by the regulated succession of concordant notes, while western harmony arises from the agreeable concord of various related notes. As a result of this differentiation, Indian music has developed solely along the lines of melody, while the greatest development of western music has taken place in the region of harmony. Does

1 TO, III 3987 The name Tālavīdhāna there given does not seem to be correct.

2 The instruments are all named, Tālanilayam, Sallari, Patana, Maddala, Bherivigna, Himila, Thuthuka, Mithakkatha, Damaru, Mureva, Angulliphota, Vina, Alamanai, Rāvaṭahastaka, Udyanta, Ghoṣavaṭi, Brahmaka and each instrument has different kinds.

the fact that western music has developed a second dimension, so to speak, make it more advanced than Indian music? Can we call Indian Music has taken one line of development, that of melody, and in order to add to its charm and variety, has developed every phase of it, including time measure in ways that have never occurred to the western mind These are two lines of development, and perhaps one has travelled as far along its line, as the other upon its line

2. Then again, Indian melody is cast in one definite mood throughout, and both time and tune are wrought into one homogeneous whole. Variations are not allowed to alter that mood, which persists with the *raga*. The balance of the music is obtained partly by time variations and partly by grace. In western music mood is used to articulate the balance of the whole piece. The particular times for singing the different *ragas*, the *raga* pictures and the emotions associated with them all fit into this idea to the Indian melody.

3. Then again and perhaps most important of all, in Indian music the salient notes are fixed by long association and tradition, and any alteration of such saliency is not as a rule possible in a melody. The relation of the individual notes to one another is settled by ancient tradition. In western music, on the other hand, the salient notes are made by the momentary impulse of the harmony or of the counterpoint, and it is the cluster of notes rather than the individual note which has special value.

4. Further in Indian composition the melody is dependent upon the relation to certain fixed notes which vary according to the *raga*. It sets no store by any progress through notes which suggest harmony, whereas western melodies tend to circle round the notes which are harmonically related to the tonic. As a result imitation at different levels, so common in western music, is very rarely found in Indian music, and the two tetrachords are seldom identical in the character of their constituents.

5. Indian music lays great stress on grace, gamaka—'curves of sound'. These are not mere accidental ornaments as in western music, but essential parts of the melodic structure.

6. The use of microtones in Indian music and the general absence of the tempered scale gives a very distinct flavour to it. To those whose ears have always been tuned to certain fixed intervals, this occurrence of quite different intervals, some of them most strange to

western ears, alters the whole feeling of the music Mrs Mann says 'Western music is music without microtones, as Indian music is music without harmony'

7 Another difference, that has a great deal to do with our appreciation or otherwise of music, is the matter of emphasis upon certain external qualities Western music rightly has come to lay very great emphasis upon tone and timbre, whereas Indian music passes these by on the other side and gives all attention to execution and accuracy The melody is not determined by canons of charm or pleasure, but by adherence to certain fixed standards, and the quality of tone in which the melody is sung or played does not have the importance it does in the west

987. RABINDRANATH TAGORE goes down to the fundamental causes of the difference between music of East and West

"It seems to me that Indian music concerns itself more with human experience as interpreted by religion, than with experience in an everyday sense For us, music has above all a transcendental significance It disengages the spiritual from the happenings of life , it sings of the relationship of the human soul with the soul of things beyond The world by day is like European music a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments And the night world is our Indian music , one pure, deep and tender ; *aga* They both stir us, yet the two are contradictory in spirit But that cannot be helped. At the very root nature is divided into two, day and night, unity and variety, finite and infinite We men of India live in the realm of night , we are overpowered by the sense of the One and Infinite Our music draws the listener away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows, and takes us to that lonely region of renunciation which lies at the root of the universe, while European music leads us a variegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy "

988. In the earliest literature on Gāndharva there were several schools of thought propounded by Nandikesvara, Umāmaheśvara, Vāsuki, Sarasvatī, Nārada, Agastya and Vyāsa etc , Sāradātanaya mentions thus the names

सदाशिवं शिवा ब्रह्मा भरत काश्यपो मुनि ।

मत्त्वा यश्चिको दुर्गा शक्ति शार्दूलकेहूँ ॥

विशाखिलो दत्तिलश्च कम्बलोऽश्वतरस्तथा ।  
 वायुर्विश्वावसू रम्भार्जुनो नारदतुम्बुरु ॥  
 आजनेयो मातृगुणो रावणो नन्दिकेश्वर ।  
 सातीर्णुणो देवराज स्नेहराजश्च राहल ॥  
 उद्ध(रुद्र)टोजभिमूपालो भोजभूष्मस्तथा ।  
 परमर्दी च सोभेशो जगदेकमहीपति ॥  
 व्याख्यातारो भारतीये लोकटोद्धृश्चक्षुका ।  
 भट्टेऽभिनवगुप्तश्च श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरोऽपर ॥  
 अन्ये च बहवं पूर्वे ये सगीतविशारदा ।  
 अगाधं बोधमन्येन तेषां भतपयोनिधिष् ।  
 निर्मध्यं श्रीशङ्करेन सारोडारभिम व्यधात् ॥

In *Sangiṭamuktāvalī* Devendra sums up the names of earlier writers on music

दुर्गाशतिकिदशास्यदत्तिलयुतं श्रीकाश्यपो याष्ठिक  
 प्रोक्तं कबलकोहलावपि मुनि श्रीमातृगुप्तार्जुनौ ।  
 देव शत्रसमाह्नावपि च तौ राजा तथा राहल  
 प्रोक्तं सोऽपि विराखिलश्च मुनय सङ्कीर्तविष्येश्वरा ॥  
 भोजराजो रुद्रसेन प्राज्ञ सामेश्वरोऽपि च ।  
 सङ्कीर्तविद्याकर्तारं कीर्तिता सन्ति चापरे ॥  
 व्याख्यातारं इमे शङ्कुकोऽद्धृतलोळटा ।  
 भट्टेभिनवगुप्तश्च प्रोक्तं कीर्तिधरोऽपि च ॥

989 *Nandisvarasamhitā* was available about 350 years ago, but we now have the bare mention of it by King Raghunātha of Tanjore in his *Sangitasudhē*<sup>1</sup>. Yākha's views are found summarised in 200 vereses. *Nāradasamhitā* is not available, but Nārada's views are found in *Bṛhannāraḍīyapurāṇa* and *Nāradopanīyat*. *Rāgasāgara* is in the form of a dialogue between Daṭṭhila and Nārada.<sup>2</sup>

1 समीक्ष्य नन्दीश्वरसहिता तामालोक्य शास्त्रं भरतप्रणीतम्  
 ग्रन्थं बृहदेश्वरमिथं मतक्षम्बुनिप्रणीतं निपुणं विलोक्य ।  
 विचार्यं ती यष्ठिकसहिता च शात्वाजनानन्दनसहिता च  
 उभापतेराधुकिकस्य तन्मस्त्रद्वीश्यं नन्दीश्वरतातुसारि ॥

2 See para 963 *supra*.

**990** *Aumapatam* is an ancient but incomplete treatise on music, time, dancing and musical instruments, treated under 38 chapters. It purports to be a narration of Siva to Pārvatī, and begins<sup>3</sup> with the origin of sounds (*nāda*) and the development of sounds into musical harmony. It differs in every respect from the works of Bharata, Matanga and Kohala.<sup>4</sup> That it was a modern epitome of Nandisvara Samhitā is mentioned by Raghunātha in his *Sangiṭasudhā*.<sup>5</sup> It was probably composed by Umāpaṭīśivārya of Cidambaram, the well-known writer on the Saivite worship, who must have flourished earlier than the 12th century A D.<sup>6</sup>

**991** Bharata's work is the most renowned. Having learnt the science from the Creator, Bharata wrote two works, one the bigger in 12,000 verses and the other small in 6,000 verses. Thus says Śāradāṭanaya<sup>7</sup>

नाव्यवेदाच्च भरतास्त्वारमुदधूलं सर्वतः ।  
सङ्क्रान्तं सप्रयोगार्हं भरुना प्रार्तिं व्यधुः ।  
एकं द्वादशसाहस्रेण्ठोकैरेकं तदर्थन् ॥

<sup>1</sup> TC, III 3515 The treatment of dancing is incomplete

<sup>2</sup> प्रणिपत्य भेषणानि शम्भुपासीनमन्तिके ।

प्रपञ्चं तत्त्वतो ब्रूहि नादस्त्वद्वप्सभवान् ॥

<sup>3</sup> For instance he gives 126 minor divisions of svaras while Matanga mentions only 66 and Bharata 22.

<sup>4</sup> The whole of the 5th chapter is quoted by Caturakallinātha (p 228) in his commentary on *Sangiṭarātnākara* who lived in the days of king Devarāya II of Vijayanagar (1428-1446 A D).

<sup>5</sup> See S Clement's Introduction to the *Study of Indian Music*, London. Here is an extract from a review of it in *JRAS*, (1914)

"An important chapter is that on the interpretation of the ancient textbooks, that is, the translation of relevant passages from the *Nūtyāstra* of Bharata and the *Sangiṭarātnākara* of Śārgadeva, with the author's comments. It embraces conclusions as to the ancient system of tuning, propounds the theory that the ancient system required twenty-five *srotis* (not twenty two as the textbooks say), and offers a theory as to the origin of the Indian scales. In the commentary on v 25 of Bharata's ch xxviii an interesting experiment is described, showing the relation of the *srotis* by taking two *vṛṇḍās* tuned in unison, and re-tuning one of them in successive stages. The experiment works out on the theory that the *srotis* are equal. As Mr Clements says, they are not so, and the experiment is probably a merely theoretical one. But it has been the subject of great misinterpretation, and it would have been interesting to know the author's views on it. Unfortunately he breaks off his translation at this point. He has even been reproved by a critic for saying that Bharata thought the *srotis* were equal in size, and the critic adduced this passage to prove that Bharata taught the very opposite. The text, it is true, is slightly corrupt, but it is in such a case where an interpreter, or at least a sound translator, is most wanted."

षष्ठमिश्लोकसहस्रैर्ये नाट्यवेदस्य सम्भव ।  
मरतैर्नामतस्तेषां प्रख्यातो भरताह्य ॥

"Bharata attached more importance to rhythm than to time and devoted only 3 out of 27 chapters to music. He recognised the existence of 7 notes, of the four kinds thereof according to the number of sruthis between them and made mention of Grāmas, Mūrchanās and Jāthis. But it was significantly silent on those aspects, which had prior in its time degraded music, viz., the Raginis and the Puthras."

**992 Sanmukha**, also mentioned as Guha was an old writer on music, but the original work of Sañmukha is lost. Sangrahacūḍāmani<sup>1</sup> is said to form part of Skandapurāṇa, composed by Sanmukha. In three chapters, it deals with the origin of music, and musical tones. There are verses in it referring to Sadānanda and Śārngadeva,<sup>2</sup> clearly showing that it must have been written far later than 14th century A D and could not have formed part of Skandapurāṇa. At best this must be a reproduction of the lost views of Sañmukha.

Sangītacintāmani is written in the Purānic style, as taught by Śiva to Parvati, Nārada and others and apparently deals with the principles of Sāman chant.<sup>3</sup>

**993. Arjunabharatam** is the name borne by several works. The name indicates that the author was Arjuna. A work of that name composed by Nāgārjuna<sup>4</sup> is now available only in fragments and treats of music only. Nāgārjuna<sup>5</sup> was a Buddhist priest and lived in the reign of king Su-lo-po-ha-na. So says I Tsing.

**994 ARJUNADIMATASARAM** is an epitome on music by Madabhūṣhi Venkaṭācārya, son of Anantācārya of Naḍhruvakasyapagoṭra. He lived at Samalkot in East Godavari Dist about 1880 A D. He also wrote an allegorical play, Śuddhasatvam, after which name he was known later.<sup>6</sup>

1. The manuscript is found in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library (Madras). Oyavaṇa is mentioned as a writer on music.

2. भन कल्पितमार्गेण शास्त्रमुत्सूच्य दूरतः ।  
गायन्ति शार्ङ्गदेवाता ।

3. *Tanj.* XVI. 7265

4. *Tanj.* XVI. 7293.

5. Virabhadra Bow (*Andhrula Caritam* I. 152) gives date 184-200 A.D. Tarana, the (*Annals of Tibet*) assigns him to 180-220 A. D. See his *History of Buddhism*.

6. Or. Ms. Library, Madras

995 Vālmīki has a fierce metaphor on Vīna play with Rāvana's prowess thus

मम चापमर्या वीणा शरकोणे प्रवादिताम् ।  
ज्याशब्दतुमुला बौरामार्तभीतमहास्वनाम् ॥  
नारावतलसधार्दा ता भभाहितवाहिनीम् ।  
अवगाश महारङ्ग वादयिष्याम्यह रणे ॥

In Syāmīlaka's Pādatāditaka, there is a fine reference to Vīna play

इयमनुनयति प्रिय कुद्धमेषा प्रियेणात्मनीता प्रसीदत्तसौ ।  
सप्ततन्त्रीनिर्वैर्घट्यग्रन्ती कल काक्लीपञ्चमप्रायमुत्कण्ठिता वल्लु गीतापदेशेन विक्रोष्टति ॥

(Mad Edn) IV 24 43-44

996 Rudra or Rudrācārya is the author of a musical treatise, engraved on a rock at Kudimiyāmalai in Pudukkota State. His identity with Rudrata, the rhetorical writer is not probable. Matanga mentions a Rudrata as a writer on music and Kālinātha says so <sup>1</sup>

“यथा यावत् षहजमेव तारगते मध्यमस्थायत्र सवादित्वात् अनाधित्वात् तारगती रद्देन कृता मध्यमस्येति मतगोक्तम् ।”

So does Sāṅgadeva

रद्देनो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवलभस्तथा ।

Abhinavagupta probably criticises Rudrata as having misunderstood Bharata.

रद्दादिमिस्तु एतमर्थमवृद्ध्यमनै उक्तानां श्लोकपाठविप्रलब्धै सर्वत्रैव अष्टकलस्य उक्त. (?)

It is quite likely that this Rudra was a far earlier writer and lived at the beginning of the Christian era <sup>2</sup>

“The tradition is that his full name was Rudrabhatta, and that on one occasion the King extorted from the poet the promise that he should remove the letter *bha* from his name and should be known as Rudrata, his famous namesake and predecessor”

<sup>1</sup> EI, XII 281, Pudukkota State Inscriptions, No 9 It is not established that he was the priest of King Mahendravikrama, author of Matjavilāsa

<sup>2</sup> Can he be the same as Medhāvi Rudra?

In an inscription dated Śāka 1151 (*JBRAS*, XXIX 260) the following Canarese verse refers to Rudrata

Adarol niya namekshara vide sasira  
Ponge kottadan Bidipanitu dinam  
Padedam Rudratanembi padematam  
Rudrabhanturvijayanadim

This shows that among the letters of his name he pledged one *bha* for a thousand gold coins, so the world called him by the awkward name of Rudrata

**997 Madanapala** was the son of Candradeva and king of Kanouj (whose inscriptions are dated 1104-1109 A D)<sup>1</sup> of Gahadavala dynasty. He was a patron of letters and after his name go a lexicon and a work on *Dharmasāstra*. His *Ānandasanjivana*<sup>2</sup> is a work on music.

Virabhattadesika lived in the court of Kākatiya king Rudradeva and wrote *Nātyāśekhara* in 1160 A D

**998 Jayadeva's GITAGOVINDA** has been noticed. It is akin to the Song of Songs of Solomon in the Old Testament and has been translated with inimitable grace by Sir Edwin Arnold.

"It was only a lyrical composition to celebrate the triumph of true love between Radha and Krishna. It is true that Jayadeva assigned a definite Raga and a definite Thala to each of his 24 songs or prabandhas. Jayadeva's Ragas were Malava, Gurjari, Vasantha, Ramakarī, Malavagowda, Karnata, Desakya, Devavaradi, Gowdakari, Bhairavi and Vibhāsa, and his Thalas were Yathi, Roopaka, Eka, Nissara and Ashta. But can any one of the modern singers, either in North or South India, sing at least one of the 24 prabandhas in the Raga and Thala assigned by him? There was neither the notation to record the songs and transmit them to successive generations nor any scientific treatment in it whereby to teach or suggest the methods of singing them."

Besides commentaries already noted, there are others by Nārāyaṇa Pandita, Rūpādeva and one anonymous<sup>3</sup>

1 IA, XVIII 11; EI, V App 18

2. Bk 509 The manuscript is dated Sam 1585.

3 Tanj, XVI 7336 40. See para 996 *supra*

**999 Krenadatta** (Maithila) interprets Gitagovinda as referring to Śiva instead of Viṣṇu and compares his feat with the work of Madhusūdana who wrested Mahimnaśṭuṭi to the service of Viṣṇu

विशदितशिवपक्षां गीतगोविन्दटीका रचयति शशिलेखां मैथिल कृष्णदत्त ।  
इह न विविधटीकाभ्यजिति कृष्णपक्षो विवृत उभयपक्षौकाभिधेय पद वा ॥

शैव नादियते सुधीरपि मत प्रायोऽयुना वैष्णवः  
शैवो नैव च वैष्णव निजनिजासद्वासनावासित ।  
भत्तेत्थ मधुसूदनोऽपि स्त्राजित्पक्षे माहेश्वरस्तुतिं  
व्याचख्यौ जयदेवस्तिमपि ता शैवे नयाम्यध्वनि ॥

**1000 VISVANATHASIMHA**, Chief of Rewah, of the Vaghela race (1833-1854 A.D.) wrote a poem Rāmācandrāhnikā in praise of Rāma on the style of Giṭagovinda with commentary on it and under his patronage Priyadāsa, a poet of his Court, wrote a similar work Sangītā-Raghunandana in 16 cantos. The latter work has also been by courtesy attributed to Visvanāthaśimha.<sup>1</sup>

**1001 CANDRASEKHARA SARASVATI** the 63rd Ācārya of Kāmakotiipiṭha of Kanci (1729-1789 A.D.) wrote Śivagītīmālhikā in 12 cantos.<sup>2</sup> Cina Bommabhūpāla wrote Sangītā-Rāghava in 6 cantos on the story of Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>3</sup>

Besides works mentioned in para 298 supra there are the following works are in the style of Gitagovinda Sāhajivilāsagitam by Dhundhurāja, Sāharājastapaḍī, Sangītasundara by Sadāśiva Dīkṣita,<sup>4</sup>

1. HPR, Cat Nos 5055, 5259 Visvanāthaśimha's ancestor was Bhavasimha (1660-1690 A.D.) Bhavasimha brought a copy of Somadeva's Koṭhasarantīśāgara from Kashmir, had it revised and transcribed by pandits of his Court. Among these pandits was one Rupanmuṣa who added 99 verses describing the genealogy of Bhavasimha and mentioning therein the names of the learned men of his Court, Balakṛṣṇa, Kitora, Govardhana Vājapeyin, Lālāmapi, Vallabha, Kamalanayana and Lakṣmīṇāṭhabhatta.

2. The Vaghela Rajputs trace their descent from Viradhavala's son Vyaghraadeva who migrated to Northern India from Gujarat in about 1288-4 A.D. His son Kama-deva got the fort of Bandhogarh from his father in law and Bandhogarh became the capital of the Vaghela Rulers. After its destruction by Akbar in 1597 the town of Rewah was established at the capital (Rewah State Gazette, Vol IV, Lucknow, 1907). Since then the State is known by the name of Rewah State"—See Dr Har Dayal Sarma's article on "Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit poets patronised by them"—published in Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Comm Volume

2. Tom. XVI, 7848-5.

3. Tom. XVI 7288

4. Tom. XVI, 7889-9

Gīta-Gangādhara by Nanjarājasekhara,<sup>1</sup> Kṛṣṇagīta by Mānaveda<sup>2</sup> [Kṛṣṇalilavilāsa, Rāmāstapadī, Sankarasangiṭa of Jayanārāyana,<sup>3</sup> Sangīgitū of Śārngadeva, Sangīta-Raghunandana of Viśvanātha,<sup>4</sup> Gīta-Sankara of Anantanārāyaṇa, son of Mṛtyunjaya<sup>5</sup>

Nārāyaṇapatiṛtha's Kṛṣṇallātarangnī has been noticed Vijayāgopāla was almost his contemporary and composed many stray songs of devotion Bhadrādrivāsas' name is found in his Kirṭanas, but his real name is not known, his songs are simple and touching and are very popular These are included and printed in Bhajanoṭsavakaumudi published in Kumbakonam

**1002 Nanyadeva** (or Rājanārāyaṇa) was a king of Tirhaut (Mithila). He was subjugated by Vijayasena of Bengal in 1160 A D. and probably (according to Levi) ruled in 1097-1147 A D. He founded the Karnātaka dynasty in the valley of Nepal. Besides a commentary on Bhavabhūti's Maṭatimādhavam, he wrote a Bhāṣya on Bharaṭanātya-sāstra, also called Bharaṭavārtika, Sarasvatī-hṛdaya-bhūṣapa or SARASVATI-HRDAYA-ALANKARA-HARA, in 17 chapters of about 10,000 granthas The manuscript is in the library of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona

"Every step in the advancement of music was closely traced to the rites of the Vēdic epoch, and every instrument was brought face to face with that used in the sacrificial rites by sacred R̄shis. He gives full information on every subject except on flute, where he is eclipsed by a voracious royal scholar, Kumbhakarna. Some chapters treat of saptā-gītis, deśi-gītis and the ancient tāla system which are now obsolete. The first of these topics was elaborately dealt with by Bharata, while the deśi-gītis the source of later prabandhas took a prominent place in the grand work of Matanga. Dattila and Abhinava seem to have bestowed greater attention upon the saptā-gītis, knowledge of which was indispensable to the right understanding of the Vēdic rites in Āśvamedha and R̄yāsuya. Those seven sacred chants were first sung by Dakshabrahmā to propitiate gods Ekatant̄ī, Pinūkī and Kinnari vinas were introduced to produce all the graces of the seven songs when sung by

1 He was Nanjarāja, brother of Dalavoy Devarāja and son of Kalave Virarāja See para 938 *supra* and summary of Papers read at 8th Indian Oriental Conference Mysore (p. 80), that by A. N. Narasimha.

2. *Trav.*, 84

3. Printed JSSP, Calcutta

4. Adyar, II 45 Oudh, V 18

5. He was also called Pancasāṅnakāvi, see para 153 *supra*

the *rshis* Nānyadeva gives details for about 140 *rāgas*. He is always careful to quote his authorities and thus on *rāgas* his chief masters are Kāśyapa and Matanga. Sārngadēva covered a wider range of 260 *rāgas*, many of which were abandoned long before his day. Nandin also discussed about the same number. But Sārngadēva was not much indebted to Nandin for his materials which were directly taken from Nānyadēva for *rāgas* and from Abhinava for all critical matter, though he never mentions his creditors anywhere. A close comparison of Sārṅga's work with the production of Abhinava will reveal the astonishing insight with which he studied the psychology of the great philosopher Abhinava".<sup>2</sup>

**1003. Sarngadeva** (*Svastighpī*) belonged to an affluent family of Kāśmir. His grand-father Bhāskara migrated to the Deccan. By the worship of Bhillama his father Soddhala attained fame and established the sovereignty of King Singhana of the Yādava dynasty of Daulatabad (Deogiri) who ruled between 1132 and 1169 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Sārngadeva was the Auditor-General under that king. He was great not merely in music, but in medicine and philosophy. His literary attainments were of a high order and in him, he says, Sarasvatī had sought repose<sup>4</sup>. He calls himself often as "Nissanka" and under that name he invented a Vina.

His *SANGITARATNAKARA* is a well known treatise on music which embraces in it the views of all ancient writers, and has by its comprehensive treatment attained almost the first place in musical literature. It

1 He quotes two sages Āstika and Chātra not mentioned elsewhere. M. R. Kavi, "Literary Gleanings" *AHQ*, III. See R. C. Majumdar, *IRQ* VII 379, K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, IX 810, X 87.

2 See Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, Wilson, *Theatre*, gives the date between 9th and 12th centuries A.D.

3 So he writes

नानास्थानेषु सभ्रान्ता परिश्रान्ता सरस्वती ।  
सहवासप्रिया शश्वदिश्राम्यति यदालये ॥  
स विनोदैकरसिको भाग्यवैरग्यभाजनम् ।  
धनदानेन विप्राणामार्तीं सहल शाश्वती ॥  
जिष्ठासन्नी च विद्यामिर्गदार्तीनी रसायनै ।  
अधुनाखिललोकानीं तापतयजिह्वर्षया ॥  
शाश्वताय च धर्मीय कीर्तिनि श्रेयसासये ।  
आविष्करोति सगीतरक्षाकरमूदारधी ॥

is not a mere epitome of the older works, but proceeds on an original definition and discussion. But the lapse of centuries since Śārngadeva's time has wrought a change in the modes and practices of singing, so that his description of Rāgas and Tālas differs from the actualities of this century. Śārngadeva recorded the art of his time and therefore gives us a glimpse of the progress of music in India.

**1004** *Sangitaratnākara* is in seven parts and each part is divided into Prakarapas. The first, *Swarādhyaśya*, treats of musical notes, scales etc. The second, *Rāgādhyaśya*, contains definitions and examples of the different classes of melodies etc. The third called, *Prakirṇādhyaśya* explains some technical terms etc. The fourth, *Prabandhādhyaśya*, furnishes rules of composition etc. The fifth, *Tālādhyaśya*, treats of measures of time. The sixth, *Vādyādhyaśya*, deals with musical instruments and their use. The seventh, *Nṛtyādhyaśya*, explains dancing and acting.

There are commentaries on it by Simhabhūpāla,<sup>3</sup> Kesava,<sup>4</sup> Kallinātha,<sup>5</sup> Hamsabhūpāla, and Kumbhakarna and one anonymous.<sup>6</sup> Gangārāma has written an elaborate commentary in Hindi.<sup>7</sup>

**1005** *Jagadekamalla Pratāpacakravarṭin* was a Calukya king of Kalyān (1138-1150 A.D.).<sup>8</sup> Śārngadeva mentions him with respect. He was a follower of Abhinavagupta. In five chapters, he composed *SANGITACUDAMANI*<sup>9</sup> on music and dancing.

**1006** *Somesvara* or *Bhulokamalla*, who ruled in 1116-1127 A.D.<sup>10</sup> "devoted his entire attention to song and dance, so much so that models of South Indian music took the appellation of *Karnāṭa*, the land over which he ruled."<sup>11</sup> He even condescended to get down from

1. Ed. by Kalivara Vedantavagisa, Calcutta (*Swarādhyaśya* only). He is not the same as the author of the *Rasārnavaśaṅkhākara*.

2. The commentary is called *Kausubha* (Oriental Manus Library). This and the commentary of Kallinātha are said not to be satisfactory by Raghunātha.

3. *Tanj.*, XVI 7270. Ed. (Anandāśrama series) by M. R. Telang, Bombay.

4. Named Candrikā.

5. *Tanj.*, XVI 7270.

6. See para 89 note.

7. The manuscript is in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library (Madras).

8. *Mys. Ins.* Nos. 82, 84, 42, 44, *JBRAS*, XI 258, dated 1044 to 1149 A.D. See 14, VII app 42, XII 212.

9. Henceforward South Indian music began to develop into distinct schools in the Karnāṭa and Andhra countries and became often blended almost unconsciously by

his throne to teach a certain grace in posture in a dance called Kundalî to a Mahratta dancer and henceforward it was called *gondim*

कस्याणकटके पूर्वं भूतमातृमहोत्सवे ।  
सोमेश कोतुकी कान्चिद् भिन्नबेषमुपेशुर्णी ।  
नृलन्तीमय गायन्तीं स्वयं पैथ मनोहरम् ।  
श्रीतो निर्मितवान् चित्रगौणिडनीविधभिलयम् ।  
स्वतोभिली भद्राशैर्गोणिडनीलाभिधीयते ।

Prabandhas of pleasing combinations were productions of his Court. In his *Mānasollasa*<sup>2</sup> he has devoted 2700 verses to music and instruments and touched on new phases of music specially Prabandhas."

One Somesvara is mentioned by Śārngadeva and Śāradātanaya along with Bhoja. The identity of this Somesvara is uncertain.

Sangitaratnāvalī<sup>3</sup> described in the catalogues as Somarājadeva's may not be the work of the king Somesvara. Probably he is "a Pratibhārī of the Cālukya king Ajayapāla of Gujarat (1174-1177 A.D.)"

1007 *Natankusam*<sup>4</sup> contains an able discussion of rasa and abhinaya and their mutual relations. It deplores the misapplication of abhinaya in its days and illustrates the criticism by instancing a verse from Saktibhadra's Āscaryacūḍāmaṇī<sup>5</sup>. From a word *Mahima* in the first verse, it has been suggested that Mahitabhatta was probably its author and in any view it cannot be assigned to a date later than 14th century A.D. It refers to the drama *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa* and to the heroine Kurangi (of the play *Avimārakā*) and the incident of Yaugandharāyaṇa's fictitious self-immolation in fire (described in *Vipāvāsavadatṭha*)

vernacular adoption. Thus says Venkatanātha in *Hamsasandeha* (of the 18th century A.D.)

इमुच्छाये किसलयमय तत्प्रसातस्युष्णिणां  
सङ्कापैस्तैर्मुदितभनसां शालिसरक्षिकाणाम् ।  
कर्णाटान्प्रव्यतिकरभिदाकडुरे गीतिमेदे  
मुद्रान्तीनां भद्रनकलुष मौर्यग्रास्वादयेथा. ॥

1 Ed GOS, Baroda.

2 See list of authors on music in *Sangījamakaranda*, GOS, Baroda, p. 53.

3 On this, see Int. to *Bhāvaprakāśa*, GOS, Baroda, pp. 72-5.

4. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

5. Here the author refers to the tradition that *Āscaryacūḍāmaṇī* was the work of *Sunkales*.

**1008 Jayasenapati** wrote *Nṛtaratnāvali* in eight chapters, and deals with *mūrga* and *dīśi* kinds of music. In the former he followed *Bharata* and in the latter, chiefly *Somesvara*, but all the latest improvements in dancing were also incorporated. It was composed in the year Ānanda, 1254 A D.<sup>1</sup> Jayasenapati was the commander of elephant forces under Kālatiya Ganapati, king of Warangal (1200-1265 A D).<sup>2</sup>

**1009, Ragasagaram** is a work in 3 chapters in Purānic style narrated in a dialogue between Nārada and Dattila on the different kinds of rāgas, their forms and attributes. Seeing that later theories are adopted in it, and Sārnagađeva is mentioned by name, it could not be earlier than 14th century A D.<sup>3</sup>

**1010. Parsvadeva** was the son of Ādideva and Gaurī of the race of Srikantha and disciple of Mahādevarāya. He was a Jain and his belief is that music is a way to salvation, while Darsanas are not. He calls himself Sangitāskara and Srutijñānacakravaraṭin,<sup>4</sup> Abhinava-Bharatācārya etc. He refers to kings Bhoja, Somesvara and Paramardin and is quoted by Singabhūpala and must therefore have lived in the 13th century. His *SANGITASAMAYASAKA* is 9 aḍhikarapas, on nāda and dhwani, on sthāyis, on rāgas, on dhokki etc., on Vādyā, on abhinaya, on ṣāla, on vādyā, and on prastāra etc., and ends with ādhvayoga.<sup>5</sup> He mentions writers king Pratāpa, Digambara and Śāṅkara thus<sup>6</sup>

i पञ्चतालेश्वरो यदा हृषि गथमयापि वा ।  
आलिकमोऽयमेवोक्तं प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ॥

1. *Tanj.* XVI. 7286

2. For Jayasenapati's inscriptions, dated Saka 1185, 1188, 1197, see *II*, III 84, V. 148, VI 39

For Gopapati's inscription, see *IA*, XXI 200, and some unpublished ones from Vaddemānu in Nizam's dominions are with M. Ramakrishnakavi, Madras.

3. *DC*, XXII. 8742.

4. श्रीमद्यवन्दसनीन्द्रिचरणकमलमधुकरायित्वस्तक - महारेतार्देष्ट्व्य - सरविमल-विद्यापुत्र सन्ध्यवच्चूडाभाषि - भस्त्रभाणडीकमावाप्रवीण - श्रुतिशासनचक्रवर्ति- सङ्कीर्ताकरमायवेय-पाख्यदेवविरचिते सङ्कीर्तसमयसारे ॥

5. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda. But really the 1st chapter and 40 verses in 2nd chapter are left out and as it is printed it is only the 2nd chapter and not the 1st. *DC*, XXII. 8751; *Mys.* 203 (called *Sangitasāra-saṅgraha*). He mentions Tumburu, Matunga, Kāśyapa, Dattila, Kohala and Hanuman as writers on music.

6. There is one Vikrama quoted in *Sangitamakaranda*. Are these identical?

11. केशवबन्धकरौ प्रौक्तौ तौ दिगम्बरसूरिणा ।  
उत्तानावश्चितौ किञ्चित् पाश्वगौ त्रिपताकरौ ॥
111. सकल लिङ्कल चेति वाष्मेत् दिवा भवेत् ।  
कथित शकरेण एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥

**1011. Sri Vidyacakravartin.** Vidyācakravartin II (Kālakala-bha) was the son of Vaidyanātha and grandson of Vidyācakravartin I. He wrote Gadyalārāmāṇṭa, which true to its name, is an illustration of melody in prose. For instance, there is this description of an evening walk of Siva and Pārvatī in the celestial gardens on mount Kailāsa accompanied by Vijayā, the hand-maid of Pārvatī.

अत्रान्ते वनलतान्तरितविग्रहा देवीपरिचारिकास्तु काञ्चित्प्राभृतिका नाम कलमधुरा-  
मिमां गाथामगाथयत् ।

तमसि सखि यूचिके लज गौरीनि श्वसितसौरभस्पर्धांम् ।  
किमकृत समृद्धवसन्ती सास्त्र्य मालतीलतिका ॥

अथ श्रुत्वा निश्चिनीभिमामार्यामुमापतिश्यमया सह नमेरुतलादुददिष्टत् । उत्थाय  
अनिजनिकेतनानिमिषुख वृषभकेतन कान्तया सह परिणतहिमकराकेसलयितेन कैलाससानुकर्त्तव्या  
जगाम । गौरी गच्छन्ती कृचित्कुद्धलात् स्थलकमलदलश्यनतलनिषणमितरेतराह्नसंस्पर्शे  
मुख्यनिभीषितलोचनमिव निद्रायमाण हसमिश्रुनमाणिन्जतनूपुरेण पदेन पस्पृशत् । ततस्तत्त्वरेण  
चालितमपि मुहुर्निर्णयनिद्रा-न्तरमन्थेरे कथमपि कृतकलगद्गद्दरब्रमुहूर्मील्य लोचने पुरुरपि निभीषित  
हृस्तयुग्मलम् । अत्र अचित्सरस्तीरसीम्नि विहृविद्युरामर्थोरताहितारवामाठिजनेन ग्राहयिता  
चक्रवाकीं प्रियसमीपमानिनाय सा । पुनरानीता प्रियतममनिकगतमप्यजानती विधिवशादम्भ्यतो  
यान्ती करुणतरमाचक्रन्द चक्रवाकी । कृत्रिचित्कान्तमुत्सरतीमन्तरा कौमुदीमदविघूर्ण-  
मानलोकनामपथप्रस्थितां निवार्य वर्तमि चकार चकोरीं चकोराक्षी । कृचिद्दहिरवस्थितममु-  
क्तरामुषोचितां विरहकृतविविविलापां स्वरुचिपङ्कजोदरजन्धनस्या मधुकर्णी विभित्या मुकुलं  
विजया करेण विमीचयामास ।

इत्य विविविहारव्यापृतां विनोदयम् दयिता मदचपलचकोरलोचनपुटपाटलिमपङ्कवित-  
चार्निंदिकाप्रसरेण मन्दमारुतान्देलितेषफालिकापरिमलहृषीपरिफ्लवमानषट्पदेन पदेन चन्द्र-  
कान्तदण्डिष्यन्द-स्थेतस्त्रियित्वैकेयमुखिलातलेन (?) निश्चियूथिकामोदवासितवन्देवताकुन्न-  
लेन निरन्तरविसुमरकैतकपरागधूसरचकोरकमिनीचरेण रजताचलभेष्यलापयेन सविलास-  
मालयमाजगाम ॥

**1012. Vasudeva** was the son of Vidyācakravartin II. He had two sons Mahādeva and VIDYACAKRAVARTIN III. Mahādeva was a

1. See articles by M. R. Kavi and M. Doraisamayya in *Tirupati: Sri Venkateswara* (Journal now defunct), and pages 100 and 480 *supra*.

pious Brahmin who performed various sacrifices Thus his brother describes him —

श्रीवष्णमो यस्य सुतोऽतिरात्रयज्वा महोदेवसमाह्नयोऽभृत् ।  
बलालवृच्छीपतिरन्यगच्छत् यस्माद्बतसोऽपि नृपालाविधा ॥  
यस्तोत्रश्चास्तुर्गतैरतन्त्रमार्वतमानैरतिरात्रयज्वा ।  
इज्यतृषा सोमसवे पश्चानां सारं समस्तं तिसृणामचूषत् ॥  
दौर्मार्ग्यमक्षोर्भिर्वता हराद्वि॒ प्रमाप्ररोहै शरणे यदीये ।  
त्रीण्युद्धृताश्च्छलतोऽनुसन्ध्य व्रथीनिधानान्यभिसञ्चलन्ति ॥

In his commentaries on Kāvyaprakāsā and Alankārasarvasva, he immortalised kings of Hoysāla dynasty and the martial glory of his patron Ballāla III (1191-1342 A D ) Thus he says

बलालभूपस्य मनोभिरामैर्वाचां विलासैरतिवष्णमोऽभृत् ।  
डन्मूलितस्थापितभूमिपालदेशु पथैरुपवर्णं गीता ।  
उद्घाक्षितायेन महाशिलासु बलालभूपस्य भुजप्रतापाः ॥  
उदाहृतिवेन नयैर्निवृथ्य काव्यप्रकाशादिषु लक्षणेषु ।  
निवेदिता येन जगत्समक्षं स्थाति गता होसलराजगाथा ॥  
वेदान्तयोगागमसङ्ग्रहीत्रा प्रकीर्णकस्यापि तदर्पणेन ।  
व्याख्याय येनोपचितानि लोकै काव्यप्रकाशादिनिवन्धनानि ॥  
काष्ठा प्रासिरियं परा खलु परीपाकस्य भाग्योक्ततः  
श्रीबलालनृपाल ! यदवयमिमौ पादौ तवोपास्यहे ।  
यस्तिष्ठेत् प्रतिहारसीम्नि मवतो रुद्रग्रवेशश्चिर  
किं नासावपि चोळपाण्ड्यपृथीवीपालै सम गण्यते ॥

(Kāvyaprakāsa-vyākhyā, page 144)

His life was spent in the royal courts He grew old He had sons who were as good and great as himself In his old age in order to purify himself of any वाक् कालुप्य (sins of the tongue) he wrote the glorious deeds of Lord Kṛṣṇa in his marriage with Rukmini,

In his own words —

यश्छत्रमद्रासनचामराद्यै स्फूर्तैभृहाराजपद्मैर्मुनत्ति ।  
सभामु राहीं च विपश्चितां च साहित्यराज्ये कविचक्कवर्ती ॥  
सोऽहं प्रवृद्धामृष्टुज्य लक्ष्मीं प्रसूय पुनामनुरूपशीलान् ।  
विचार्यं चात्मानमनादाकामो विष्णु भजे वाक्लुषापद्मै ॥  
पराधरव्यासघोपदिष्ट यथाबद्यालम्ब्य कथाश्रीरथ् ।  
ध्यावध्यैते श्रीभृहत्ताविवाहः फलान्तमारम्भ्य हरेः प्रसूतिम् ॥

He has not altered the purānic story but by various descriptions he has heightened the poetic effect

दिव्ये कथावस्तुनि नात्र किंचिदुत्पादित नापि विमिश्रित वा ।  
निलोपमेया रससारभूम्ना कृतौ वर वर्णनसुधिरसाम् ॥

Vidyācakravarṭin II wrote commentaries on Virūpālkhaṇapāṇicāsika, Kāvyaprakāsa, Alankārasarvasva and Dasaslokī. In Rūkmapīkalyāna the descriptions and trophes are fine and natural. The fifth canto excels in giving a beautiful and vivid picture of Kṛṣṇa's rāsakāndā.

भल्लीक्षजो मुकुल्पाकपरार्थगन्धा गोपस्य गोपसुटशां च विलेपनाद्र्द्वा ।  
इन्दो करान्तुपगता कबरीमरेषु पदावलीविवल्लैर्णगणयांबभूतु ॥  
आन्दोलितस्फुरितकम्पितलीनमुख्यान्याकर्णं गीतगमकानि मुकुन्दवेणौ ।  
नि च चमत्कृतिवशेन नमश्चराणा मान्दोलितस्फुरितकम्पितलीनमासीत् ॥  
स्तुष्टोमयठुतविनिस्सरणोत्तराणि व्यग्रायचङ्कमणवस्त्वविकीर्णरेषु ।  
अर्धकमस्खलदनुखणलङ्घितानि रेषु पदानि सुहशां चलनुपराणि ॥  
यो नायकोऽजनि स एव रसातिपाकाद्योपीजनै सह भवन्तुपनायकोऽपि ।  
एकाश्रयां गुगपदेव विशद्भूपा मुख्योपसर्जनदशां पतिराससाद् ॥  
से से सहामिनवसीम्नि निरभ्यसूय प्रेमद्वान्तरतया परनिर्ब्यपेक्षः ।  
रूपेषु पार्श्वयुगसंशिहितेषु विष्णोगोपीजनस्य बद्धै भद्रोपचार ॥<sup>1</sup>

Vidyācakravarṭin quotes from his BHARATASANGRAHA in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāsa. Thus he refers to dance-eye or Nṛtyadṛḍhi<sup>2</sup>.

1. Poet's Family.	Kings' Family
Vidyācakravarṭin	Bhallāla II (1173-1219 A.D.)
Vaidyanātha	Nṛaumha II (1220-1255 ?)
not known	Somesvara
Probably Kālakalabha alias Vidyācakravarṭin I	M. Bijjalāmbā (1240-57 ?) A.D.
Vāsudeva <i>m</i> Pattamma daughter of Caturvedī Guru	Narasimha III (1261-1290 A.D.)
	<i>nd</i> Pattamma dr. of Pāṇḍya King
Mahādeva	Bhallāla III (1291-1342)
Sri Vidyācakravarṭin II	

1. See para 100 *supra*, also article on Mallikārjunasukhaśudhārṇavam (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1981, p. 81).

बुद्धिकारिता चक्षुर्विकारा इक्षित । उक्त हि मया भरतसम्रहे—  
 तारकापुष्टदृष्ट्यादे विकारानिक्षित विदु ।  
 आकारा सास्त्रिका भावा पूर्वे बुद्ध्या परेऽन्यथा ॥  
 उक्त हि मया भरतसम्रहे—  
 सा न्यन्दित न्यन्दित न्यन्दित न्यन्दित न्यन्दित न्यन्दित न्यन्दित न्यन्दित ॥

**1013 Haripala** or Haripāladeva or Hari was the son of Kumiri (?) and grandson of Somanātha. He was probably king Haripāla of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri (1312-1318) who was killed by Mubarak in 1318 A.D. and not king Haripāla of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilvid (1145-1155 A.D.). He calls himself Vicāracatūrmukha and Viṣṭātantravīśārada and says he wrote 100 works of enchanting sentiments. He describes his own learning thus

वद्भाषारचितास्पदा रसगुणालङ्घारिणी निस्तुष्टा  
 वक्त्री यस पर विहारसिका जाता गिरी देवता ॥

When on a visit to the shrine of Śrīrangam, he stayed there for some time and at the request of the dancers and musicians there he composed his Sangītasudhākara<sup>3</sup>. In 6 chapters, it deals with nātya, tal, vādyā, rasa, and prabandha, with an appendix on Gāyakalakṣana<sup>4</sup>.

In Sangītasudhākara he is mentioned as an author on music along with Sārngadeva among Ādhunikas (moderns)<sup>5</sup>. In an anonymous work Abhinayasāstram<sup>6</sup>, there is a reference to him

आदाकन्ते दोदिगाथा मध्ये पाठाक्षर्युताम् ।  
 मोहनरेदिश्चोऽसौ कथितो हरिपुरुजा ॥

**1014 Hammira**<sup>7</sup> was probably the King of Mewar and the

1. *TC*, I 1025, IV 4570, *Tanj.*, XVI 7298

2. R. Sewell, *Arch. Surv. of India*, II 254

3. M. Duff (*Chronology*, 915) and Bhandarkar (*Hist. of Deccan*, III, 157) call him Hammira. He was 6th in succession from Aparajita (990-1010 A.D.). The genealogy is as follows. Aparajita—his sons Vijeda (1010-1045) and Arikesari (1015-1025)—Arikesari's sons, Cittarāja (1025-1045), Nāgarāja (1045-1055), Mummadirāja (1055-1085)—Nāgarāja's son Ananadeva Konkana Cakravarīn (1085-1125)—his son Aparajita I (1125-1145)—his son Haripāla (1145-1155)—his son Mallakarjuna (1155-1175)—his son Aparajita II (1175-1200).

4. *Adyav.*, I 880, *TC*, IV 4558, *Tanv.*, XVII, 7298

5. *DC*, XXII, 8720-1.

6. On several Hammiras, see para 118. A Chowhan King Hammira, hero of Neyandāra's poem, is mentioned by his son Allardāja or Mallardāja in his rhetorical work *Rasaratnaśārikā*.

fifth ancestor of King Kumbhakarṇa who commented on Sangītarāṇā-kara etc Hammira died in 1394 A.D.<sup>1</sup> In his *Sangitasṛngārahāra*,<sup>2</sup> he mentions an earlier writer Jaiṭrasimha (King)

**1015.** **Lakshmana Bhaskara** wrote a work called *Maṭanga-bharaṭa* based on Maṭanga, dealing mostly with dancing in about a thousand verses. He was earlier than the Naik King of Lanjore and may have lived about 14th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

**1016** **Sudhakalasa** was a Jain and pupil of Rājaśekharasūri. In six chapters on music and dancing, he wrote *Sangītopaniṣad* with commentary calling the whole *Sangītopaniṣad*<sup>4</sup> in Sam 1380 (1323 A.D.) and in Sam 1406 (1349 A.D.)

**1017** **Trilocanaditya's** *Nātyalocana*<sup>5</sup> is widely cited by commentators such as Ḏivākara and Cāitravardhana. Ḏivākara lived about 1385 A.D. and this work must have been composed in 14th century A.D. He also wrote *Locanavyākhyāñjana*.<sup>6</sup>

**1018.** **ASTAVADHANI SOMANARYA** wrote *Svararāgasudhārasam* or *Nātyacūḍāmaṇi*, a learned treatise in 7 chapters on music and dancing.<sup>7</sup> Among original writers he quotes is Rāvana. He was a follower of Nārada's school and differs frequently from Bharata. Somanārya was probably the great Telugu poet Nācana Somana the author of *Uttara-Harivamsa*, who was the donee under a grant dated 1344 A.D. of king Bukka I of Vijayanagar.<sup>8</sup>

1. See Rajputana Gazetteer, II A, Mewar Residency. The genealogies give them thus: Hammira-Khetasungh—sons, Lakka (1382-97) and Mokal (1397-1488)—latter's son Kumbha (1438-1468).

2. S. R. Bhandarkar's *Rep. of Ra;* and *C. I. MSS.*, 54, 92-8

3. *Tanj* XVI, 7281.

4. *BW*, 528

5. *OC*, I 284, III 81.

6. *Opp* 2695

7. *DO*, XXII, 8728, 8729, *TC*, I. R. No 866 in the controversy over Tyāgarāja's mention of *svararāgasudhārasa*, if it refers to three works, *Svārarnava*, *Rāgarnava* and *Sudhārnava*. See Hindu, Dec 1982, 20th, 36th etc Literary supplement; and V. Raghavan's paper read at Music Conference, Madras, 1982.

8. *EC*, X 135. There seems to be some difficulty about the grant. In 1344 A.D. Bukka is mentioned here as sitting on the throne of Vidyanagar whereas a grant dated 1346 A.D. was made Harihara I (*EC*, VI 190). Sewell (*For Empire*) says Harihara died in 1348 A.D. but he himself (in *SLA*, II 348) as well as Rice (*Mysore Govt. I*, 846) say that Harihara ruled till 1350 A.D. For a discussion on this, see B. Suryanarayanan, *NFH*, 144 et seq. It seems a fair suggestion that soon after Harihara consolidated his empire in 1348 A.D. he retired from the throne and *Bukka* took up the reigns of Government.

**1019.** Vidyāranya's *Sangiṭasāra*<sup>1</sup> is quoted by name by Cikkadevarāya of Mysore in his *Bharatasārasaṅgraha* and by Nārāyaṇadeva in his *Sangiṭanārāyaṇa*. Among the quotations by the former a reference to the number of *tānas* reads as follows —

इलेकाचीतिसयुक्त सहस्राणि चतुष्यथ् ।  
तानार्णि पुनरुक्तानि पूर्णपूर्णे सह कमै ॥  
लक्ष्मयं सपदशसहस्राणि शतानि च ।  
नवर्तिश्चयुतानीति हानोपायोऽत्र कथ्यते ॥

and bears agreement with the enumeration given by Abhinavagupta.

King Raghunātha of Tanjore while summarising his authorities for the composition of his *Sangiṭasudhā* respectfully says —

सगीतसार समवेश्य विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।

and again when analysing the *rāgas* has the following

निरूपिता लक्षणतो विविच्य रागाश्चतुष्पृष्ठयधिके चते द्वे ।  
कर्णटसिंहासनमाग्यविद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणाप्रणीम्य ॥

and closely follows the sage's method.

Gauranārya *Lakṣanadīpikā* is a general treatise on poetics, music and dancing.<sup>2</sup> He was the son of Ayamaprabhu, who was the brother of Poṭana. Poṭana was the minister of Śingaya Mādhava, king of Rācakonda of Recerla dynasty, who ruled about 1427 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

**1020** **Gopendra Tippa Bhupala** was a scion of the Sālva Dynasty of Vizianagar of the 15th century A.D. He wrote a commentary on Vāmana's *Kāvyālankārasūtra* and *Tāladīpikā* in three chapters on Mārga and Deśī *tālas*.<sup>4</sup>

1. See para 125 *supra*

" There is a manuscript in the Maharaja's Library at Bikanir called *Sangiṭasāra* which consists of about 160 slokas without its author's name. The work maintains the theory of Nandikeśvara, who, we know from Aumārapaṭa, enumerates 264 *rāgas*. Whether the work is a summary or a fragment of Vidyāranya's production has yet to be decided. But some of the points dealt with in it appear to be developments in music attained in the 16th or the 17th century and lacks in the grandeur that we usually find in Vidyāranya's works."

2 Part relating to poetics is found in *DC*, XXII, 9892-5. Part relating to music is found in *Mys.* 899 and part relating to dancing is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, *Mairas*.

3. *Velugotivārs Vāmśacaritam*, 69-71.

4. *TC*, I 1015, *Tanj.* XVI 7807. See para 819 *supra*. S. K. De, *SP*, II, 84.

**1021 Kumbhakarna** (or Kumbha or Kumbha Rānā) was the son of Mokala and belonged to the Vijayagotra and to the race of Guhilas (Brahmin kings) of Medapata (Mewar)<sup>1</sup>. Apūrvadevi was his wife Rājamalla was his son. He ruled at Citrakūta in 1433-1468 A D. Mira Bai the great saint was his wife. He was a devotee of Bhavāni and Ekalinga and he was favoured with their grace. He recites his conquests over the kings of Malwa, Yavanas and Guzarat and the destruction of Sāranganagara. This brought him a number of titles<sup>2</sup>. His poetry is charming and his proficiency in arts is versatile<sup>3</sup>. His commentary, Rasikapriyā, on Gītagovinda displays his aesthetic taste and there he quotes from his Sangitarāja.

**1022 SANGITARAJA**, known also as Sangītāmīmāmsa, embraces 16000 verses and consists of five Rañnakosás (chapters). The first deals with dramaturgy and dramatic expression, the second with vocal music, the third with musical instruments, the fourth with dressing, dancing and gesticulation, the fifth with heroes, heroines and sentiments.

One of the quotations in his commentary on Gītagovinda shows there was a chapter there on metres

शिखरिणी छन्द । तद्वक्षण संगीतराजे—  
‘रसै रुद्रैश्चिना यमनसमलाग शिखरिणी’ ।

1. This is the geneology of the family as given in his work and in *EI*, VIII app. 18, *Raj. Gaz* II-A, Mewar Residency —

Bappa (d in 1804 A D)

Hammira

Ksetrasimha (Khetsungh)

Laksasimha (1382-97 A D.)

Mokala (defeated Sultan Firoz Shah A D 1428)

Kumbhakarṇa (1488, 1489, 1458 A D.)

Rājamalla (1489, 1498, 1501, 1504 A.D.)

Sangrāmasimha

Ratnasimha (1580 A D.)

2 So he says in his commentary on Gītagovinda,

पद्मवाक्यप्रमाणास्यात्रिसरित्सङ्क्रमश्रिया ।

कुम्भकर्णगिरां याग न स्यादिष्टार्थद कथम् ॥

3. Such as अमिनदमरताचार्य, and मूर्तिमन्नाद

From the last verses in the Cantos in his *Rasikapriyā* it is seen that Kumbhakarṇa wrote works called *Sangiṭakramadīpikā*, *Ekalingāśraya* and *Kumbhasvāmīmandāra* and there is his commentary on *Sangiṭaratnākara*<sup>12</sup>

"About 1440 Kumbhakarṇa king of Mēwad completed his *sangiṭamīmānsa* alias *Sangitarāja* in five sections of *pāthyā*, *gīta*, *vādyā*, *nṛtīya* and *rāsa*. The whole work is not available to us. Each of the five sections is further classified into four chapters of minor divisions. The work extends over 16,000 ślokas. His treatment is thorough in *gīta* and *vādyā*. He sifts all the material then available to him and possessing high sastric proficiency, discusses theories very intelligently. For example we cite the theory of *rāsa* and use of the word *sattva*, etc. He did not quote from Kōhala or Kāsyāpa though he says he studied them. He mentions Daītila rarely. He had with him Rāhula's and Kirtudhara's *Vārtikas* on Bharata's *Nātyasūtra*. He examined the treatises of Kshētrāṇeja. Modern research cannot be complete without a thorough study of this grand work. The author was a profound scholar in *Mimamsa* and *Vedic* rites and thus scarcely misunderstands the arguments of Matanga, Daītila and Abhinavagupta whom he closely follows. His section on musical prosody was borrowed from the later writers of North India. In the construction of *vinas* and *vamsas* he gives all possible details. He touches upon chiefly *Nakula*, *Pinaki*, *Svaramandala*, *Mattakokila*, *Kinnari*, of medium and higher sorts. Sōmēsvara treats of only *Ekatāntri*, *Alavani*, and *Kinnari* of two kinds. Nānyadēva elaborates *Rudravina*, and *Kinnari*. He accidentally mentions that Nārada used *Vina* of 21 strings and Matanga practised upon *Chaitrika* and *Svāti* on a lute of 9 strings."

1023. **Jagaddhara** was son of Ratnadhara and lived somewhere about the 15th century A.D. He commented on *Sarasvatīkanthā-bharana* and on *Malaṭī-Mādhava* and other plays and wrote *Sivastotra* and *SANGITASARVASVA*.<sup>13</sup>

1024. **Catura Kallinatha** was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and Nārāyāpi of Śāndilyagoṭra. His grand-father was Tūttālesvaraṭeva

1. List of Bhandarkar's O.R.I.

2. See V. Raghavan, Miscellanies in *Annals*, XVI, parts iii and iv.

3. This is quoted profusely by Buopagl and Rāghavabhatta.

He was in the Court of Immadi Devarāya, alias Mallikārjuna, son of Praudha Devarāja, or Devarāya II of Vijayanagar (1446-1485 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

**1025 Devanacarya** was probably the same as Devanabhatta who wrote Smṛticandrikā in the Court of King Praudha Devarāja of Vijayanagar (1406-1422 A.D.) His SANGITAMUKTAVALI deals mainly with dancing and has a chapter on music. Besides older authors, he mentions Rudrasena and Somesvara<sup>2</sup>.

**1026 Devendra** alias Devanācārya wrote another work Sāgitamuktāvalī<sup>3</sup>. He was pupil of one Rudra who was said to have been honoured by the scholars of different countries. He calls himself Tauryaṭriṇakacintāmaṇi. He mentions Rudrata as an author on Sangita and Nṛtya. He probably lived in 15th or 16th century A.D.

**1027 Rama Amatyā** was son of Tīmmāmāṭya of the family of Todarmal. His Svarāmelakalānīdhī contains in five chapters a detailed description of the rāgas of the Carnātā system, and their distribution into 72 melakārtas. He flourished in the Court of Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar, who was killed in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D.<sup>4</sup> He was the daughter's son of Catura Kallinātha<sup>5</sup>.

Kṣemakarna's Rāgamālā was composed in 1570 A.D. at the instance of Jaṭava Bhūpati<sup>6</sup>, and another Rāgamālā was the work of Jīvarāja<sup>7</sup>.

1. See para 124 *supra*. For Immadi Devaraja's inscription, see *SII*, 110 (dated Śaka 1371-1449 A.D.), *IA*, xxiii, 182, I A, xxv 846, note 6; *EC*, III, 18. Kallinātha gives long extracts from Kohala's Sangitameru.

2. Kallinātha's commentary though extensive is defective in several places. Śārangadeva closely follows Abhinava and adopts all his criticisms by a rearrangement of the matter. Kallinātha without reading that original attempts to explain those passages and consequently he is meagre if not very wrong. That is why Raghunātha has trenchantly put thus —

श्रीशर्वदेवेन कृतां च सपान्यार्थी तथा लक्ष्मविरोधिलक्ष्याद् ।  
अबोधकाल्यत्पत्तरप्रयोगमुद्दिष्टरागानुदितसंख्याद् ।  
पूर्णा स्फुटकिर्तुभिः प्रवृचौ तौ ब्राह्मणौ केशवकल्पिनाथौ ।  
येकाद्ययेनापि कृतेन ताम्यामवेचितास्पष्टपदार्थमेदाद् ॥

2. *Bkt.* 521.

3. *Tanj.* XVI. 7272

4. *Tanj.* XVI. 7234 Ed. Pudukottai, Bombay Ed by Bhatkande. Ed by M. S. Ramasami Iyer for Annamalai University, Chidambaram. See Popley, *Music of India*, 18.

5. See *SVH*, 192

6. *IO*, II. 819, *Bkt* 516

7. *Mātra*, VII. 261, *CC*, I, 499. There is a Dakṣipīrāgamālā (*BRI*, Ms. No. 884, 1995 8) describing 6 ragas only.

**1028 Pundarika Vitthala** belonged to the village Satanurva in Khandesh and was a karnata brahmin of Jāmadagyagoṭra. At the instance of King Burhankhan of Pharaṭa dynasty<sup>1</sup> he began to reduce the music of Northern India into order and wrote Vitthaliya,<sup>2</sup> Rāgamālā, Nṛṣṭanānīrṇaya, Rāgamanjanī and Sadragacandrodaya.<sup>3</sup> After Khandesh was annexed by Akbar about 1599 A D , he went to his Court at Delhi and there wrote Rāganārāyaṇa at the instance of chief Mādhavasimha. His expositions evidence a comprehensive scholarship of northern and southern systems of music. He was probably the same as Vitthala who wrote Sangītavijñataraṇnākara.<sup>4</sup>

**1029 Subhankara's** Sangitadāmodara in seven chapters treats of music and dancing in their various aspects in relation to heroines and sentiments and being quoted in Sangīta Nārāyaṇa must be earlier than 17th century A D . It is dedicated to King Dāmodara and so followed the name.<sup>5</sup> Subhankara wrote a commentary on Nāradīyasikṣā.

**1030 Lakṣminarayana** (Bhandāru) was the son of Bhandaru Vitthalēsvāra and Rukmīni of Bhāradvājagoṭra. He was the musician (Vaggeyakāra)<sup>6</sup> of State under Emperor Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar (1509-1529 A D ) He had the titles Abhinavabharatācārya, Todaramalla, Sūkṣmabharatācārya etc. The emperor presented him with golden palanquin, elephants, pearl-fans etc. He was pupil of Viṣṇubhattāraka. He wrote his SANGITASURYODAYA<sup>7</sup> in 5 Adhyāyas on Tāla, Vṛṭṭa, Svaragīta, Jātu and Prabandha. The prologue gives an account of the Emperor of Vidyāpura and is of great historical value.

Govinda's Rāgaṭalapāṇijāṭaprakāśa describes music tones and time.

1. This dynasty ruled at Anandavalli in Khandesh in 1870-1800 A.D.

2. *Tanj.*, XVI. 7245.

3. *Tanj.*, XVI. 7242, 7245, *Bh. 575*. Rāgamālā and Sadragacandrodaya have been printed in Bombay. See Poppley, *Music of India*, 17-15. There is a work of the name of Rāgamālikā by Kalāṅkura of Orissa (*TO*, IV. 4705).

4. *Tanj.*, XVI. 7244.

5. IO, II. 818 Mitra's Notices, I. 219. There is a fragment in Or. Ms. Library, Madras and a complete copy with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

In Sangītanārāyaṇa (Chapter III) the author's name is given सङ्गीतदामोदरे तु मिशमाह श्रुमकर ।

6. Dāmodara son of Lakṣmiḍhara is the author of Sangitadarpaṇa, IO, II. 818

7. वाच च गेय च करोति यस्मात् वाग्गेयकार. कथितस्तोऽसौ ।

—*Sangitasudhā*.

8. M. R. Kavil. *Bharati*, (1925), 84.

He mentions Śārngadeva and must have lived later than 13th century A D<sup>1</sup>

**1031 Lakshmidhara** flourished in the Court of King Tirumalaroya of Vijayanagar (1570-73 A.D)<sup>2</sup> and lived at Cerukuru in Guntur District. In his commentary on *Gītagovinda*<sup>3</sup> he mentions Rāgadīpikā, Rangalakṣmīvīlāsa and Vāmadeviya and King Pratāpa's *Sangītacūḍāmaṇi* and he himself wrote *Bharatasāstragranṭha*<sup>4</sup> in which his work on sports of seasons called *Rtukridāviveka* is quoted.

**1032 King Hardayanarayana** was a King of Garrh or Gata-durga (Jubbulpore) and ruled about 1667 A D. He wrote *Hṛdayaprakāśā* and *Hṛdayakautuka* and used Locanakavi's *Rāgatarangipī*,<sup>5</sup> for elaboration.

**1033 Somanatha** was probably an Andhra of Godavari district. His *Rāgavibodha* composed in 1609 A D displays fine poetry in Āryā metre and speaks of rāgas and śruti, more with a view to their use on the Viṇa, of which all varieties are described.<sup>6</sup>

**1034 Catura Damodara**<sup>7</sup> was son of Lakṣmidhara. His *Sangītarādarpana* treats of music and dancing. His descriptions of rāgas are pictorial and are mostly based on Somanātha's *Rāgavibodha*. He was probably a descendant of Catura Kallinātha, the commentator on Śārngadeva and was attached to the Court of Emperor Jehangir (1605-1627 A D).<sup>8</sup>

1. The manuscript is found in the Andhra Sahitya Parishad Library (Madras), under the name *Sangītarāṭnakara*. He mentions among others Samīkṣaṇa, Nandīnī, Guha, Maṭangaja, Nāradā, Śārngin as writers on music.

2. See para 124 *supra*.

3. *Tanj* XVI. 7888

4. *BRI*, (1916-18) No 40

5. Printed in part. He quotes Vidyapati's Maithili songs. Here he referred to his work *Rangasangītsaṅgrahā*.

6. Ed. Bombay Ed by M. S. Ramasami Iyer with introduction and translation. There is a gloss on it *Rāgavibodhviveka* in Bhandarkar's Deccan Collage Ms. (XLIX, I, 480). See Popley, *The Music of India*, 18, K B Dewal, *Theory of Indian Music as expounded by Somanatha*, Poona. For English Translation in part, see Indian Musical Journal, Mysore (1912-18).

7. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Ratansi Līlādhara, *DC*, XXII, 8742; *Tanj* XVI. 7266.

8. In another manuscript (I o No 18017), the author's name is given as Haribhatta (or Harivallabha).

, There are Haribhatta's *Sangiṭadarpaṇa*,<sup>1</sup> *Sangiṭasāroddhāra*<sup>2</sup> and *Sangiṭakalānidhi*<sup>3</sup>

**1035 Veda** was probably the son of Ananta, who was the son of Catura Dāmodara, the author of *Sangiṭadarpana*. Shahāji, father of Śivāji, the Great, was his patron. At his instance he wrote the works *Sangitamakaranda* and *Sangiṭapuṇjali*. The former treats of Rasadṛṣṭi, Gaṇi, cārī, IIastā, nṛtya and rasa.<sup>4</sup>

**1036 Srirangaraja** was a prince of the Vijayanagar ruling family and lived about the beginning of the 17th century A.D. His *Nāṭakakaparibhāṣa* is a small work on dramatic conventions.<sup>5</sup>

**1037. Sangitasudha** known as the work of King Raghunātha of Tanjore was composed by Govinda Dikṣiṭa. It contains a historical introduction on the Kings of Tanjore and a discription of the greatness of King Raghunātha, particularly of his proficiency in music.

"Raghunātha treat's at length of only 50 *ragas* which he says were in use. Older writers simply gave *amsa*, *nyava* and *graha* to each of the *ragas*, but Raghunātha gives in detail the number of the *sruti* in each *svara* with *alaptika*. He arranged 50 *ragas* under 15 *melakartas*, the details given against each of them are full and useful for *vina*. The third and fourth chapters of the work are devoted to musical compositions known as *prabandhas* then in vogue and to minor trophies in music."<sup>6</sup>

**1038 Venkatesa** or Venkata Makhin was the son of Govindamakhin and brother of Yagnandrāyana and was in the Court of King Vijayarāghava who ruled till 1672 A.D. at Tanjore.<sup>7</sup> He was a

1. *Tanj XVI*, 7266 That is another name for Catura Dāmodara as mentioned in introductory verses

2. *Bh. 527*. There is another work of this name by Kikarāja, *PR*, IV, 82, Ex. 42. Kikarāja was known as Śāradānandana (*BRI* 1880 92, No. 882)

3. *CC*, I 685

4. See S R Bhandonkar's cat of MSS. *Raj* and *CI*, (1904-6) page 54. *Bh. 520*, *Tan*, XVI 7268, see para 157 *supra*

5. The manuscript is with P. V Subrahmanyasastri of Razole, East Godavari District

6. *TC*, IV, 4568 See paras 146, 148 *supra* See S Subrahmanyasastri *Venkata-makhin and his twelve Notes*, Jl of Madras Music Academy II

7. Ed by B S Sukthanker, Bombay. There is a reference to one Gopālanāik, as having appreciated him, as an expert in Śrutiś and to Tānapārya, his teacher's teacher. See S. Subrahmanyasastri. *Venkata-makhin and his twelve notes*, (Jl Mad. Music Academy, II Part I) 'Caturqāndi' means four parts of rāga, sthāyi, Arohi, Avrohi and Sancāri.

pupil of King Raghunātha He was proficient in music and rhetoric. In mīmāṃsā he wrote Vārtikābharana, a commentary on Tantravārtika, and performed Vājapeya sacrifice. In general he follows Bharaṭa. He introduced a system of notation in the expression of Śrūṭis, discovered a type of vīpa, a mela in Simharavarāga and called Madhyamela, and asserted that the old Vina Śuddhamela (Raghunātha's vīpa) was unfit for illustrating Śrūṭis. He criticised the views of Sāṅgadeva and Rāmāmāṭya rather with too much severity, but these criticisms are considered groundless by Ahobila. His Laksanagītās are printed in Sangītasampradāyapradarsinī. HIS CATURDANDIPRAKASIKA in 6 chapters is mainly intended as a treatise on music with special reference to the instrument Vīpa.

"The work is critical and the author introduced many novel ideas and suggested new methods. It is said that he was the first to introduce 72 melakartas now in use in South India. This introduction is mnemonic rather than logical which is the characteristic of the older classification. How far Venkatamakhin is the author of this introduction is still doubtful. One may be inclined to attribute it to some innovator in the court of Vijayanagar. Venkatamakhin is hard upon great writers especially on Bāyakāra Rāmāmāṭya of the court of Rāmarāya. Ramāmāṭya is not a negligible writer and his Svaramelakalanidhi gave impetus to Venkatamakin whose offensive trait in criticism is seen for instance here \*

अथेदानीं विचार्यन्ते रामामालेन लक्षिता । मेलप्रकरणे सेला. सरमेलकलानिधौ ।

न हि तान्यत्र शक्यन्ते दूषणानि स्वयेरिते । ग्रन्थे गणयितु \* \* \* ॥

काम्पोजीरागमेलस्कैषि वपारच्छनिषादक (?) । इति नो वेचि वै कीणावादिना गृहदासपि ।  
तद्वैकाररामोक्तान् मेलान् विश्वस्य वैषिकै । कान्तारकूपे बेष्टव्या उद्भूत्य भुजे मुच्यते (!) ॥

Venkatamakhin's system is taken up and enlarged in Melādhikārālakṣaṇa of about 18th Century A.D.\*

As authority on Caṭurdandi, Gopālanāyaka is mentioned thus in Caṭurdandiprakāśikā

अहमेव श्रुतिवेदीलाह गोपालनायकः ।

अथप्रश्नति ते सर्वे श्रुतिश्चा न तु पर्णिदता ॥

1. The System of melakartas is elaborated in Sangrahachudamani purported to have been composed by Shanmukha in Skandapurana. The existence was doubted by Subbarama Dikshita of Ettiyapuram in his Sangita work. Happily an old manuscript is available with me and Venkatamakhin's originality can be disproved.—*M. B. Karo.*

2. *Tanj. XVI. 7318.*

गीतप्रबन्धयोरेव भेदो यदि न कल्प्यते ।  
कुतसिसद्येच्छतुर्दण्डी कुतो गोपालनायक ॥

Gopālanāyaka is quoted by Kallinātha also and is said to have been a friend of Amir Khusru and respected by Allauddin Khilji (1295-1315 A D)<sup>4</sup>

**1039 Jagajjyotirmalla**, son of Tribhuvanamalla, was the ruler of Bhakṭapura (Bhatagamva), a tributary of the King of Nepal. He was a great musician and finding no suitable work on music in the north he brought Abhilāṣa's Sangītacandra into Nepal and had a commentary Sangītabhāskara<sup>5</sup> written on it by another scholar Vangamāṇi of Mīṭhila, while he himself composed a treatise Sangītasārasaṅgraha<sup>6</sup> in Nepal Era 799. He ruled in 1617-1633 A D. He wrote a commentary on Pañcasāñī's Nāgarasarvasva and an opera play Hara-Gaurivivāha in Nepalese dialect.

Among his other works are Svarodayadipikā, Gīṭāpancāśikā, and Sangītabhāskara (?) His Ślokasangraha is a collection of verses on 33 subjects

His son Praṭāpamalla was also a poet and his son Jagaṭprakāsamalla made an anthology Padyasamuccaya. At the instance of his daughter's son Ananṭa, one Ghanasyāma wrote a commentary on Haṭhamukṭāvali, a work on dancing<sup>7</sup>

1. For a critical review of its contents by T L Venkatarama Iyer, see Jl Med Music Academy, Vol I.

2 Isvariprasal's Med India, 542.

3 Nepal, 260

सन्ति यथपि भूयास् ग्रन्था सङ्गीतगोचरा ।  
तथापीत्यशमन्यतु नास्तीति परिचिन्तयन् ॥  
पीयूषहरण तार्थ्यो यत्नात् विहितवान् यथा ।  
तथैतत् पुस्तक शास्य दूरादक्षिणदेशत् ॥  
आजहार नृपत्रेषु शीजगड्योतिरीचिता ।—Sangītacandra

That Abhilāṣa wrote it appears from the introductory verse

एव परम्पराप्राप्नासनात्यवेदार्थसंग्रह ।  
क्रियते शामिलोषण विद्वचरणसेविना ॥

4. Nepal, 261.

5 For all this account, see Int. to Nāgarasarvasva edited by Tauusukharama-sarma, Bombay

**1040** Dhundhiraja, son of Laksmana of Vyāsagotra, was a Paurāṇika under King Shahaji of Janjore (1687-1711 A D) and wrote Sāhavilāsa in 8 cantos and probably Sāharājāṣṭapadī<sup>1</sup>

Mummidi Cikkadevaraya's<sup>2</sup> (III) Bharaṭasārasangraha is an elaborate but incomplete Work in 2500 verses, and embodies the views of Bharata, Maṭanga and Vidyāraṇya Cikkadevaraya III was a ruler of Mysore (1672-1704 A D)

**1041** Ahobilā's Sangitaparijata was written in the 17th century A D and was translated into Persian in 1724 A D. He mentions ancient writers and it is based particularly on Hanumān's work He refers to Rāgataranginī and Rāgavibodha and defends the views of Rāmāmāṭya He was the first to describe the twelve svaras in terms of the length of the string of the Vīna<sup>3</sup>

**1042** Bhavabhutta was son of Sangitarāya Janārdana<sup>4</sup> Bhatta and was grandson of the musician Tāna Bhatta<sup>5</sup> In the Court of King Anūpasimha of Bikanir (1674-1709 A D)<sup>6</sup> he wrote Anūpasangitavilāsa,<sup>7</sup> Anūpasangītaratnākara and Anūpasangītāṅkusa (now in print) and Sangītavinoda, Muralīprakāśa and Nastoddīṣaprabōdhaka, Dhrauvapadatikā<sup>8</sup>

**1043** Gopinatha Kavibhusana was son of Vāsudeva Pāṭro of Karaṇa family Vāsudeva was priest and physician of King Gajapati Jagannāṭha Nārāyana of Khimundi of Ganga race, who probably ruled in 1766-1806 A D<sup>9</sup> Besides a music poem Rāmacandravihāra, he wrote an extensive work on poetics Kavicintīmāni in 24 chapters the last of which embraces music<sup>10</sup>

**1044.** Balaramavarman or simply Rāmavarman was the nephew of Bālāmārtānda Varman He was born in 1724 A D and

1 *Tang*, XVI 7847-9 See para 168 *supra*

2 Mys. 308

3 Ed. Madras or Nellore See Popley, *Music of India*, 19

4 He was a musician of the Court of Emperor Shah Jahan

5 One Tānappācārya is mentioned by Venkatamakhin see *Jl. Mad. Mus. Acy* II 159

6 At his instance a commentary was written on Gīṭagovinda (*SKC*, 67)

7 Rāgamanjari, Rāgakuṭuhala and Rāgakuṭuka are quoted here

8 *Bkt*, 518, 514, 517

9 See Sewell's *Arch S SI*, II 186, where one of his ancestors and one of his successors bore the names Sarvaguo Jagannāṭha Nārāyaṇadeva (1686-1702) and Jagannāṭha Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva (1843-1850 A D)

10 *TG*, IV 4226.

succeeded in the throne of Travancore in 1753 A D and passed away in 1798 A D. He was a valiant conqueror and kind ruler and his name is still fresh in the memory of his people. He was known by the names Dharmarāja and Kulanārāja. He was a Vikramāditya to the poets of his period. He was a linguist and was the author of several dramatic pieces in Malayalam, called Kaṭhakalis. Sadāśivamakhin, a poet of his court, wrote Rāmavarmayasobhūṣanam in his praise on the plan of Pratāparudrayasobhūṣanam. Venkatasubrahmanyādhvarin, a descendant of Appayyadikṣita, wrote the drama Vasumatikalyānam in which this king was made the hero.<sup>1</sup>

The king was particularly interested in drama. His Bālarāmabharatam is a treatise on music and dancing in 18 chapters. After an introductory essay in prose on the interdependence of bhāva, rāga and tāla, he describes music, vocal and instrumental, and the development of the sentiments by gesticulation.<sup>2</sup>

**1045 Bhaskaracarya** was a descendant of Varadaguru of Śrīvātsagotra and lived at Śrīperumbudur (Chingleput Dist) probably in the 18th century. His Sāhityakallolinsf embraces the whole topic of poetics and dancing and cites Rāsārnavaśudhākara.<sup>3</sup>

**1046 Tulajaraja** (Tukkoji) King of Tanjore (1729-1735 A.D.), wrote an extensive work in prose Sangitasārāmpā on all topics dealt with by Śārngadeva.<sup>4</sup> Thus he praises Śiva, as the embodiment of nāda.

स्वरानन्द्यावस्थे सकलजनशुष्टु बहुविध-  
क्षुतिव्यक्त शम्भु कृतविकृततानास्पदमहम् ।  
हदादिष्यानेषु प्रकटिताविलासं प्रवणतो  
धूताशेषक्षेत्र मनसि कलये नादवपुषम् ॥

His Nātyavedāgama deals with dancing.<sup>5</sup>

1 See article on this book by A S Ramanatha Iyer in *Shama'a*, IV 171.

2 In the Travancore State manual (I 417,) the name Bālarāmavarman is given to the king who came to rule in 1798-1810 A D, (See also ibid, II 485) But it is ascertained from this work, and an inscription published in *Trav Arch Series* (IV 106) that Rāmavarman, the predecessor of Bālarāmavarman (Trav State Manual, I. 869) was also known as Bālarāmavarman and was the author of this work. See also *Trav State Manuscripts*, II. 484.

3 DC, XXII, 8706

4. *Tanj*, XVI, 7288 where the author's genealogy is given. A part of it was published by Sukthankar under the name Sangitasārāmpātoddhāra.

5. *Tanj*, XVI, 7285.

**1047, Purusottama Kaviratna** lived at Parlakimidi, Ganjam in about 1790 A D Besides prabandhas, Rāmacandrodaya and Rāmābhuyuda, and Bālārāmāyana, he probably wrote Kalānkuranibandha or Rāgāmalikā.<sup>1</sup> His son Narāyana Misra Kaviratna wrote Sangītasāra, and prabandhas, Balabhadravijaya, Śankaravihāra, Uṣābilāsa, Kṛṣṇavilāsa and Gundicāvijaya,<sup>2</sup> Navanāgalalita

Nārāyaṇamisrā classifies prabandhas as śuddha and sūtra The former has several songs in it set to different rāgas e g Gītagovinda, the latter has all through only one rāga While he wrote Rāmābhuyuda, sūtraprabandha,<sup>3</sup> his father wrote Rāmābhuyuda Śuddhaprabandha

**1048 King Gajapati Virasri Narayanadeva**, son of Padmanābha, ruled at Parlakimidi about 1700 A D<sup>4</sup> He belongs to the race of Uttungaganga He learnt music under Kaviratna Puruṣottama and the result of his study is embodied in his work, Sangīta nārāyaṇa In four chapters it deals with music, dancing, musical instruments and musical compositions The illustrations glorify the author himself<sup>5</sup> He refers to his work Alankāracandra Among other works and authors quoted by him, some of which are now scarce, are Sangītāśuromāṇi, Sangitasāra (probably of Vidyāranya), Sangītaratnamāla (by Mammata), Gītaprakāśa, Sangītacandrikā, Kṛṣṇadattī, Sangītacūḍāmani, Sangītakalpataru, and Harināyaka

**1049 Sadasiva Diksita** was a poet of the Court of King Tulaja of Tanjore (1729-1735 A D) He became Avadhūta sanyāsi of whom miracles are told He was a friend of Śridhara Venkatesa (Ayyāval) of Tiruvasanallur He lived at Pudukkota The State of Pudukkota is believed to be under his spiritual protection and the state conducts

1 TO IV 4705 Rajamalik Composed by Kaviratna Kalānkudi

2 Gundicā is a festival of a deity at Nolagiri

3 "The Sūtraprabandha which is a composition to be sung in a single rāga throughout is the Rāga Kavya of old, which is a variety of Upārupaka or semi dramatic, operatic composition described by Koṭakau It is described by Abhinava Gupta in his commentary on the Natya Sastra He gives two instances of this Rāga Kavya Abhinava says that the Rāga Kavya called Rughavavijaya is sung throughout only in Thakka Rāga and the Rāga Kavya called Marishavadhu, only in Kakubha grama rāga."

"तथा हि राधविजयस्य हि ठक्करागेणैव विचित्रवर्णनीयत्वेऽपि निर्वाह् , मारीच-वधस्य ककुमग्रामरागेणैव । अत एव रागकाव्यानीत्युच्यन्ते ॥" p 184 Gaek. edn

4 TO, V. 6227 There his Alankāracandrikā is quoted See Bk 527

5 e g अमरलोकशोकहरण मणिष्टत तवरणपदम् ।

गजपतिपद्मनाभनुपतितद्वज् एष भवपदम् ॥

a festival at his Samādhī at Nerur near Karur, S India Besides a philosophical poem, Ātmavidyāvīlāsa he composed many songs of devotion His Gītasundara in 6 cantos is devoted to the deity Somasundara (Śiva) \*

Sadāśiva appears have gone to Travancore and therehonored by King Rāma Varma Kārtika Tirunal (1755-1798) he composed Rāmavarmayasobhūana for his glorification

**1050 Thyagaraja** was born at Tiruvārur in 1758 A D and his parents soon settled themselves at Tiruvayyar (Tiruvadī) on the Kāverī, a seat of Sanskrit learning. He was the son of Rāmabrahmam of munkinādu Vaidikī Brahmin sect

"He lost his parents early in his teens and became the victim of harsh treatment of his wicked brother, Japyesan, who went to the length of throwing the Swami's beloved idols of worship once into the street and later into the Cauvery itself, for the one reason that these vigrahams were the sole cause of the Swami's neglect of domestic welfare and his spurning of wealth The most popular kritis of Sri Thyagaraja like 'Endudaginado' in Thodi, 'Nenenduvekudura' in Karnataka Behag were composed ex tempore in this period which marked the struggle of his intense Bhakti with the base passions of the world, represented by his brother The Bhagavtar then related how the saint in despair with tears in his eyes, dug in the sands of the Cauvery to get back his lost Rama and how one day as the result of a dream in which He appeared to the saint, he was able to locate the place where the idols lay imbedded, hugged them to his breast and shed tears of joy singing 'kanugontini' and other delightful songs on the spur of the moment The saint's meeting with Narada in the guise of an old sanyasin, who presented him with Swararnava, written on palmyra leaves, his refusal to yield to the lure of gold offered by the Tanjore Raja, the latter's anger thereupon and the sudden unbearable colic with which he was attacked and the equally quick disappearance of the pain on the Raja's promise not to interfere with the Swami's liberty were all related in a touching and impressive manner by the Bhagavathar whose rendering of the kritis was particularly appreciated For want of time he had to finish his discourse after very briefly dealing with the saint's visit to Tirupati, Srirangam and other holy places, the attack of robbers in the forest

---

1. *Tanj XVI.* 7840 Printed, Madras. See para 298 *supra* His life is described in a Tamil work published at Pudukkota.

and the defence by Rama and Lakshmana who were always watching his welfare, the saint's attaining Samadhi on Pushya Bahula Panchami in the year Parabhava (1846) after taking Sanyasa Asramam to avoid another re-birth in this world ”

Tyāgarāja “was a musical star whose influence extended far beyond the limits of India, to many other countries and continents His music had been recorded in western system of notation also The basis of his music, in fact the motive power behind his inimitable compositions, was his intense love and Bhakti for Sri Rama whom he regarded as the One Parabrahmam, the embodiment of Nada That Rama was the saint’s guardian angel was evident from many incidents of his life, one of which was that Rama is said to have appeared to a devotee in Maharashtra in his dream and directed him to pay a visit to His bhakta, Thyagaraja, in Tiruvayyar in the South In obedience to this Divine command, the Mahratta devotee visited the Swami and was so impressed with the character of the saint that he remained there permanently as his disciple It was on this occasion that he sang the Thodi kriti, ‘Dasaratha Nirunamu’ It was due to this contact that they found Thyagaraja appreciating the beauties of Northern music and incorporating them in some of his kritis like ‘Marugelara’ and ‘Manamuleda’ His compositions present an extraordinary variety of musical form, from the slow-timed ‘Namminavarini’ to the quick trot of ‘Sobhillu’, and afford as much scope for the trained musical acrobat to exhibit his skill, as for the woman in the home and the man in the street to sing with facility and delight ”<sup>1</sup>

His early songs were mostly in Sanskrit and his Raga Nata was the first of the garland of five gems, Pancaraṇa

**1051 Govinda’s Sangitasāstṛasamkṣepa** is said to represent later day music and to have superseded Venkatamakhin’s views In two colophons of two chapters, it is mentioned that it is part of Skandapurāṇa and composed by Saṃmukha इति स्कान्दपुराणे सहग्रहचूडामणैषमुखविरचिते प्रथमोऽन्याय ।

Govinda supports Tyāgarāja and opponents of Govinda give out that Govinda was probably Tyāgarāja’s friend and composed this work under the guise of an extract of Purāṇa to put down the popula-

---

1. Taken for ‘Hindu’, Extract of Lecture by Muthia Bhagavathar, N Sanjiv Rao’s Sri Tyagaraja, Pudukkota

rty of Venkamakhin Govinda refers to Acyutaraya's viṇa and Acyutārāya ruled at Tanjore in 1572-1614 A D<sup>1</sup>

**1052 Venkata Vaidyanatha Diksita** lived at Tiruvadamatudur He was the grandson of the paternal uncle of Venkatamakhin and inherited his musical talents He was proficient in the Vina and expounded Venkatamakhin's Caturdandiprakāśikā Rāmaswāmi Diksita became his disciple and under his tuition he blossomed forth as Vainikasikhāmaṇi Rāmaswāmi was the son of Venkatesvāra and belonged to Govindapuram near Madhyārjuna (Tirvradamarudur) He found his place of fame at Tanjore under the auspices of his teacher, Virabhadrayya, the master-musician of his age He lived in 1735-1817 AD and wrote Talamālikā

Rāmaswāmi's younger son Balasvāmi (Bālakṛṣṇa) Diksita was born in 1780 He was a boy prodigy He could handle with facility a number of musical instruments and with the patronage of Manali Chinaya Mudaliar of Madras studied western music also It is said that he had the magical power of reproducing any natural sound on his Vina

The Rulers of Ettiyapuram were patrons of music for over a century and during the period of three of them Jagadisvara Venkatesvara Ettappa (1816-1839) and his successors Jagadisvara Rāmakumāra Ettappa and Jagadisvara Rāma Venkatesvara he was poet laureate, "He was a prince among poets and a poet among princes and composed many kīrtan and curnikas in honour of Hindu deities Kārtikeya was his signature" Among his friends in music were Minakṣisundarayya, Subbakutti Ayyar, Subbayya ananavī, Vengu Bhagavatār, and Madura Ramayyar<sup>2</sup>

**1053 Rāmāswāmi's** eldest son MUTUSWAMI DIKSITA was born at Tiruvälur in 1775 A D After some travel in the north along with a Sanyāsi, he settled down in his place During the last years life, he lived at Ettiyapuram under the patronage of its ruler

Wherever he went, whatever shrine he visited and whichever deity he saw, he worshipped with the gift of his songs The following

1 "Ramakrishnakavi says that Govinda was an *Andhra*, that he wrote a work called रागतालचिन्तामणि, that he followed Ramamatya and his 20 melas and that the Adayar Ms contains a few sheets in the beginning of this work which had got mixed up with an anonymous work called *Sangrahachudamanī*, described as a part of the *Skandapurana*"

2 On this author, see article by C. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar in *Hindu*, Feb. 1908.

are the more important of these songs the Pancha Linga Kirtanas, his five songs on the Gods representing the five elements of Earth Water, Fire Air and Ether, at the shrines Kanchi, Jambukesvara, Arunachala, Kalahasti and Chidambaram These songs are 'Chintaya makanda mula landam' in Bhairavi, 'Jamboo pate' in Yamuna Kalyani, 'Arunachalanatham' in Saranga, 'Sri Kalahastisam' in Useni and 'Ananda natana prakasam' in Kedara, another series of songs is that on the Navagrahas, the nine planets, excluding Rahu and Ketu he composed a series of Navavarana Kirtanas on the Goddess at Mayavaram , the most important songs are those he composed on the many deities at Tiruvarur itself, on the chief deity Tyagaraja he has sung many pieces of which ' Tyagaraja yoga vaibhavam ' in Ananda bhairavi and 'Tyagarajaya namaste' in Byagadī deserve special mention; the Goddess Kamalamba at Tiruvarur was a favourite of Dikshitar and on her especially he has composed a Navavarana series, he has sung her eleven times , Tyagaraja's consort, Nilotpalambika, is sung in one song and the renowned Vinayaka on the north eastern corner of the tank has been praised in the songs 'Vatapi ganapatum' in Hamsadhvani and 'Sri Maha Ganapati' in Goula , in a Kirtana in Sriraga, 'Srimuladhara chakra Vinayaka', a form of Ganapati as presiding over the Muladharachakra found in front of Tyagaraja's principal shrine has been sung , besides almost all the deities at Tiruvarur, Achaleswara, Anandesvara, Siddhesvara and others have been sung , of the deities at other famous shrines, mention may be made of 'Sri Rajagopala' in Saveri, 'Bala Gopala' in Bhairavi<sup>11</sup>

Dikstar had left the imprint of his personality all his songs Material considerations did not enter his scheme of life He led a pious life and believed in Advaita philosophy He embodied the essence of Vedic teachings and mantras in his songs and showed the way for even those who could not be initiated in mantras to commune with the Supreme His Navagraha Kritis are a masterpiece in this respect both from the point of view of music and of devotion

---

1 A diligent search all over South India for the compositions of Dikshitar, a recording of all those Dikshita kirtanas known to such primier musicians as Veena Dhanam, who especially has a large stock of them as a consequence of her having come in the direct Sishya lineage of Dikshitar through Saitanur Panju, a good Deva nagari edition of such collected compositions of his,—these and many more lines of work I think, will be pursued by lovers of music, ere 1935 ushers in the first Dikshitar centenary which must be celebrated not only in Madras but also in his own native place Tiruvarur in a grand manner"—*Sound and Shadow, II November, 1933.*

His end came suddenly At Ettiyapuram, he was one day sitting, listening to the music of his pupils who were singing his Gamaka-krīva Kirtana, 'Minakshi' He asked them to sing it once more, they were singing the Anupallavi—Minalochani Pasamochani' when he felt that the Goddess had really released him from bondage (Pasa), he was accordingly released from mortal bondage He passed away in 1835 A D "<sup>1</sup>

**1054 Syamasastri** was Tyāgaraja's contemporary and is the third of the musical trinity of South India He wrote mostly in Telugu, but there is an excellent piece in Sanskrit opening with Sankari in Rāga Sāveri

"Thrice holy is Tiruvarur to the lover of our music , for it is this small place that gave birth to the Carnatic music trinity—the Trimurtis Sri Tyagaraja, Sri Syama Sastriar and Sri Muthuswamy Dikshitar All the three celebrated composers were contemporaries Tyagayya was the eldest and he blessed this earth with his life for the longest period, while the two others left it earlier Of the three, Muthuswamy Dikshitar was the youngest and he alone stuck to Tiruvarur for the longest time, while Tyagayya left for Tiruvayyar or the Panchanada Kshetra and Syama Sastriar for Tanjore proper "

**1055 Pratapasimha Deva**, Maharaja of Jaipur (1779-1804 A D ), produced a musical encyclopaedia SANGITASAGARA with the help of an assembly of musicians <sup>2</sup>

**1056 Sri Swati Ramavarma Kulasekhara** was Mahāraja of Travancore (1812-1847 A D )<sup>3</sup> Besides prabandhas such as Yāyāticarīta and 13 musical narratives Kucelopākhyāna and Ajāmilopākhyāna<sup>4</sup> he composed sanskrit Kirtanas like the kṛtis of Tyāgarāya, devoted to Śrī Padmanābha<sup>5</sup> He deplores the fallen musicians of his day thus

आकन्ता कलिनेव हन्त जगती पापीयसा गायक-  
व्यूहेन स्थितिपालसदाख्यिलाक्रान्ता समन्तादपि ।  
नुस्तपङ्कजसभवग्रणयिनीलीलारविन्दोदरा-  
मन्दस्यन्दिमरन्दसुन्दरगिरा कुत्रावकाशोऽस्तु न ॥

1 See T SrinivasaRaghavaChariar's article in *Hindu*, 5th Nov 1935

2 There is a work of this name in *CC*, I 686

3. See para 178 *supra*

4. Ed by *TSS* Trivandrum

5. Ed by *TSS*. Trivandrum

The following verse in his praise by a fuedatory Chief of Malabar it fine

षष्ठी तत्पुरुषाहृयो नृपतिषु प्रायेण विद्वत्प्रभू-  
 शब्दस्सम्प्रति कर्मधारयतयाप्यामाति वन्ध्वीश्वरे ।  
 इलालोच्य विलोक्य सम्प्रति बहुवीहितमेतत्पदे  
 किं शोकादिव न स्थिति क्वचिदपि द्वन्द्वाव्ययीभावयो ॥

**1057 Ramavarma Maharaja** (Ayilliam Tirunal) of Travancore (1860-1880 A D ) was a great patron of music Besides a commentary of Śrīkr̥navilāsakāvya and Jalandharāsuravadha (Kathakali) he wrote Vṛttaratnākara on prosody

**1058 Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu** (1842-1916) was one of the greatest pandits of the Āndhra country in the last century, and was conferred the title of Mahamahopādhyāya in 1908 by the Government of India in recognition of his scholarship Though he remained as a Telugu Pandit throughout his service in the Presidency College, Madras and Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, he was a profound and critical Samskr̥ti scholar and poet and wrote some works in Samskr̥ti His Bilvanāṭhasatakam, Tanumadhyā-Āryāsatakam, Tanumadhyā-Gitaratnam were all printed in the early seventies of the last century, and he was the author of nearly fifty stavas, like, Varadarājaṣṭuti, Tārāvalīṣṭuti, Brahmavidyāṣṭuti, Śrī Kālahastiṣvara-ṣṭuti, which were published in his paper called Āndhrabhbāśāsanjivini or ‘Telugu Tongue Reviver,’ and which are examples of the author’s devotion and learning His Gītamahānata गीतमहानट was written in imitation of Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda In the field of philosophy Venkataratnam Pantulu claims the discovery of the ‘Akṣara Sāṅkhya’ system of philosophy, and wrote a work in Samskr̥ti called Mārgadāyini enunciating the principles of the system His knowledge of Tamil and Kanarese was commendable and his famous Telugu work Bilvesvariyan is a translation from the Tamil classic of the name

Venkataratnam wrote more than 25 works in Telugu, and his service to that literature covers a period of nearly half a century He was held in high esteem by his contemporaries and was greatly patronized by the late Vidyavinoda Panappākam Ānandācāriar, the famous advocate of Madras, who used to call him as ‘Andhra Johnson,’ the literary dictator of his day

**1059 Sri Vikrama Deo Varma**, D Litt., Sāhitya Samrāt Mahārāja of Jeypore Samasthanam, South India, Kṣatriya (Solar Race) of Bhāradvājagoṭra, is the son of Śrī Kṛṣṇacandra Deo Mahārāja and Śrī Rekhā Devī. He was born on 28th June 1869 and ascended the Gadi on 6th June 1931. His literary patronage is visible in a recurring annual donation of Rs One lakh to the Andhra University and various other donations amounting to fifty thousand a year. A great scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu, Oriya and English and a renowned poet in Sanskrit, Telugu and Oriya, a great astrologer and an Abhinava-Bhoja, he has composed many stutis in Sanskrit and some in the form of songs with his name woven in accrostics.

**1060 Durvasula Suryanarayana Sastri**, Vīna-Gāna-Kalānidhi, (1843-1896), was the chief Palace Vidwan and musician during the reign of Mahārāja Sri Ananda Gajapati Raja of Vizianagaram Samasthanam. Sastri composed several musical pieces in Sanskrit and Telugu such as *Paramānanda samudravīcīlāyam* in Kambhoji and *Devi dehi sañcātūm* in Kalyāṇi. Viḍu Venkataramanadāsa is his disciple. Sastri was the disciple of Dāsa's father Peda Gurācāryulu.

**SIVARAMA YATI** lived in 1830-1900 and composed a book of songs of devotion called *Nijabhajanasukhapaddhaṭi*.

**MARGADARSI SESAI AIVANGAR** was so called as he was the light (or path-finder) of South Indian music. He mostly lived at Ayodhya and in the latter part of his life settled at Śrirangam in the service of Lord Ranganātha. He signs himself Kosalapuri in his songs. His songs (some of which are said to have been accepted by the Deity) are graceful.

**MAHA VAIDYANARHA ŚIVA** of the "golden voice" was at the top of the musicians of South India in living memory. His Melarāgamacikā is now available.

Aśtāvadhānam Anantācārya's *extempore* composition of Samasyas and enigmas was a wonder. In some of his verses he artistically wove the names of rāgas, e.g.

चिकुराली तु वराली वदन तव माति शङ्करमरणम् ।

Under the patronage of the Zamindar of Ulipālayam near Bezwada, Kānduri Rāmānujācārya and Narasimhācārya composed songs in Sanskrit.

Sangītāyātām and Abhinavagopālapulindinīcarīta are opera plays interspersed with songs<sup>1</sup>

**1061 Sri Martand Manik Prabhu Maharaj** (1860-1936 A.D.) occupied the gadī of Śrī Mānīkprabhu who founded the Sakalamāṭasampradāya at Maniknagar, Nizam's dominions. He was well-versed in all the sāstias and in music he wrote songs in several languages. His masterpiece in Sanskrit is Gnāna-marṭānda (son of knowledge). He bore the title Abhinava Śāṅkarācārya.

**1062, KIRTANACARYA C R SRINIVASACARYA** (1867-1936) was born in Tanjore District. He was a profound scholar and critic in music. During the last decade of his life he took an active interest in resuscitating South Indian music and with the help of musical academies and conferences accomplished the colossal task of settling disputed points of interest in the technique of several ragas, in which for some centuries past musicians had their own ways. He was proficient in the compositions of Tyāgarāja and his edition of his songs is erudite; he was thence known as Abhinava Tyāga Brahman. He is the pioneer of musical criticism in modern India. Speaking of Indian and Western music he wrote "Instrument predominates in the West and voice in the East. This is the true meaning of the crude, yet popular statement that harmony pervades the music of the West and melody that of the East. That this is so is shown by the absence of harmony in the vocal music of the West. The East has very much to give to the West. Only three modes or so of the seventy-two melakarthas of South Indian Music are used in the West. And the thirty-six melakarthas that take a sharp Ma are practically non-existent in the West, though men like Scriabine have, greatly daring, made the experiment of introducing it. On the other hand, the change of keys in one and the same piece that characterises the compositions in the West is not allowed in the Indian system, though we have it in "The Ramayana" that the music of those times included seven jatis that were amplified largely later on. And these took each note in turn as the drone, if we read the Ratnakara aright. It must be noted, too, that the voice and the instrument began to take in more and more of melody in modern times in the West. In the matter of thalas the West has very little to show in number and variety, though it must be said that the practical music of the present day in India lays under contribution chiefly three or four main thalas."

---

1. Tanj. XVI. 7862.

**1063** Among living musical composers of South India are Rājagopala Aiyar of Mannārgudi, Śrīrangācārya of Cidambaram, Srinivāsa-cārya of Nerur, Venkata Bhāgavatar of Kalladakurici, Bhairavamūrti and Harinagabhusanam of Masulipatam, Ariyakudi Rāmānuja Aiyangar of Kārakudi, Sangamesvara Sāstrin of Pittāpur, Venkataramadasa and Nārāyaṇapadasa of Vizianagaram

**1064 Miscellaneous** The following are other treatises on music

Gopendra Tippa's Tālaprabandha illustrates each Tāla by a song on Śīva<sup>1</sup>. So is Govinda's Tāladasāprāṇadīpkā otherwise called Mahābhāraṭalakṣṇākāvya, where the songs are in praise of Rāma.

Gītraprakāśa is quoted in Sangītanārāyaṇa. It gives songs of Kṛṣṇadāsa, contemporary of Caitanya. Nārāyaṇakavi in Sangītasāra quotes a song from Rāmānandakavirāya's Kṣudragītraprabandha called Cītrapada, as found in Gītraprakāśa which ends thus<sup>2</sup>:

जयतु रुद्रगजेशमूदितारामानन्दकविरायकविगीतम् ।

referring to King Vīra Rudra Gajapati. This Rāmācanda is the author of the play of Jagannāthavallabha

Kirtanāpadasṭoma, Dolāgīta, Śivabhajanakīrtana, Vēdāntaguru-darsanakīrtana, Śrī Rāmacandra dolā, and Sangītakāmaḍā, Unjalgiṭi by Śāṅkaranārāyaṇa, Sangīta-Rāghunandana by Viśvanāṭhasimha, Sangītasāstrasamkṣepa by Govinda and Sangītasangrahacintāmanī by Appalācārya [Adyar, 45-46], Abhinayamukura, Sangītalakṣaṇa and Bhāratasārasangraha by Candrasekhara [Mys 307], Sandesahastāḍila-kṣana, and Sangītasvaralakṣaṇa [Mys 641], Sangītasāstraḍugdhāvāridhi [Mys Sup 51]

Sangītasātra (*Tan*, XVI 7306), Ragārohāvarohaṇapattikā (*ibid.* 7349), Rāgalakṣaṇa (*ibid* 7304), Lāsyapuṣpāṇjali (*ibid* 7268), Tānaminghantu (*ibid* 7329), Varṇapaḍa (*ibid* 7328), Taddhīṭtonnam (*ibid.* 7314), Melādhikāralakṣaṇa (*ibid* 7313), Tālaprastāra (*ibid* 7310) and Kīrtanas and Gīṭas (*ibid* 7317-27)

Abhinayāḍīvicāra, Abhinayalakṣaṇa, and Nātyaprasāmsā (*Tan*, XVI 7249-62), Devendra's Sangitamuktāvali (*Ibid* 7272), Hanipāladēva's Sangītasudhākara (*Ibid* 7293), Rāgapradipā (TC, II 244),

1. प्रधनं तालानी भवतुति भिषणात्तुत य.

शिवाकृष्णसाकारा नटनकरणानामपि मिदा ।

2 JBORS, VI, 448.

Sangītasudhānidhi (quoted by Rāghavabhatta), Sangītakalpadruma of Krūnanda Vyāsa (CC, I 685), Sangītacandrodaya (quoted by Gangārāma), Varnalaghuvyākhyāna of Rāma

Saptasvaralakṣaṇa, Svaraṭṭilādilakṣaṇa (*Trav* 73), Gitāvalī of Sanātana [CSC, (1907) 38, (1917) 586], Navaratuarasavilāsa, Rāgadhyānādi-kathanādhyāya (*Bik*, 515), Sangītasudhākara, Abhinavatālamanjari and Rāgakalpadrumānākura of Appa Tulasī alias Kasinātha (composed in 1914), Laksyasangiṭa of Baikande and Abhinavarāgamanjari of Viṣṇusarma (Printed, Poona)

Sangītasātrakalikā of Śuddhasvarnakāra Mosadeva (S. R. Bhan Rep II 54), Sangītasiddhānta of Rāmānanda Tīrtha, Sangītarāja, Sangītakalikā,<sup>1</sup> Sangītasudhā of Bhimanarendra (Ondh, X 12), Sangitamandarpaṇa (*BRI*), Sangītasarvasva<sup>2</sup> and Svaracintāmāni (*Gough*, 185), Sangītasāroddhāra (or Rāga kautūhala) of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaita (*Bik*, 518), Rāgaluṭūhala (quoted by Bhāvabhutta), Sangītasārasangraha (i) anonymous (*Rice*, 292, *Opp*, I 1052) and (ii) by Saurindramohana (Printed, Calcutta), Bharatasāstra by Raghunātha Prasāda (*Tanj* XVI, 7232), Rāgacandrikā and Caṭvārimśatsadrāganiṛūpaṇa (Printed, Bombay)

Nātyādhyāya by Asokamalla (*Bul* 514), Sarvasvaralakṣaṇa (CC, I 703), Ādibharaṭaprastāra (*Opp* 4991), Sangītagangādhara by Kāsiपati, (CC, I 105), Ānandasanjīvana by Madanapāla, (*Bik*, 509), Sāroddhāra (CC, I 715)

Gāyakapāṇījaṭa by Śingarācārya (Printed, Madras), Gnānakīrtana, Madhyamakālakīrtana, Muhanaprāśāntyaprāśavyavaṣṭhā, and Śāhiṣyam by Aśvinī Mahārāja (*Trav* 176), Mālādhāra by Minappa Venkatappa (Printed, Mysore), Vairāgyaṭarangīṇī (Astapadī) by Mānavikrama Kavirājakumāra (*Trav* 176), Śrī Harikirtana by Subbarāyadāsa (Printed, Madras), Sangītarājaranga (Printed, Trivandrum), Sangītasarvārtha-sangraha by Kṛṣṇarao (Printed, Madras), Angahāralakṣaṇa (*Trav* 73), [Anubhavarasa by Hira Saravi, Anurāgarasa by S Nārāyaṇaswāmin, Abhinavatālamanjari, Abhinavarāgamanjari, Ādarsagītāvalī of Jīvārāmopādhyāya, Ānandagāna, Kalyāṇakalpadruma, Gajjālsangraha, Gānasṭavamanjari, Jogavīhārakalpadruma, Doloṭsavadiṇikā, Dharmasangiṭa of Radhākṛṣṇāji, Navaraṭnarasavilāsa, Rāgaṭatṭvabodha of Śrīnivāsa, Rāgatarangīṇī of Locana Pandita, Gītasataka of Sundarācārya, Rāgalakṣaṇa of Rāgakavī].<sup>3</sup>

1. Quoted by Hemādri (1560-1800 A. D.) in his commentary on Raghuvamī.

2. Quoted by Jagaddhara in his commentary on Veṇiśāṁhāra (CC, I 687)

3. All printed See Cat of Oriental Book Depot, Poona.

Sangītāmṛta and Sangītacintāmaṇi of Kamalalocana (CC, I 685, 686), Sangītaprakāsa Rāgādīsvaranirnaya of Raghunātha (18th century A D)

Rāgapraḍīpa (TC, II 2447), Rāgaratnākara of Gandharvarāja (Tanj, XVI 7302), Gītādoṣavivicāra (TC, IV 4707)

Rāgavarṇanirūpana (DC, XXII 8742), Tālalakṣana by Kohala (DC, XXII, 8725, see Tanj, XVI, 7312), Taladasāprāpaprakarapa (DC, XXII, 8723), Tālakalāvīlāsa, and Caturasahbhāvīlāsa (quoted in Nārāyana Śivayogi's Nātyasarvasvadipikā (BR (1916), No, 41), Mṛdangalakṣaṇa (DC, XXII, 874), Śrutiḥbhāskara of Bhīmadeva (Bk 530)

Rāgaṭaṭtvavibodha of Śrinivāsa Pandita (Bk 517), Sangītakalpataru quoted by Ruciṇī and Ranganātha,<sup>1</sup> Sangītacandrikā of Mādhavabhatta<sup>2</sup> quoted in Sangītasūdhā, Sangītakaumudī quoted in Sangītanārāyaṇa.<sup>3</sup>

On Indian music and dancing generally, see Kannoolmal, *Indian Music* (Ind Rev XVI 1054), K Bhairavamurti, *Music* (Bhārat, 1925, 94), M E Cousins, *Eastern and Western Music*, (Paper read at All India Oriental Conference, 1924), Madura Ponnusami, *Swaras*, (*ibid*), K N Sitaram, *Place of Chidambaram in the Evolution of Dance in India* (*ibid*), K V Srinivasa ayangar, *Abhinaya* (*ibid*), M R Kavi, Nānyadeva on Music (*ibid*), A Wesharp, *Psychology of Indian Music* (JASB, IX vi) Schmidt's *Essays on Hindu Musical Scale and 22 Sutris*, G S Khare's *Some Thoughts on Hindu Music*, (Poona), Saurindra Mohan Tagore's *History of Music*, *Hindu Music*, *Hindu Drama*, *Seven Principal Musical Notes of the Hindus*, *Six Principal Ragas and Music and Musical Instruments of South India* (Calcutta), Pingley's *Indian Music*, Annie Wilson's *Hindu System of Music*, (Lahore), Chinnasami Mudaliar's *Oriental Music in staff notation*, (Madras), Singarachari's works (Sasilekha Office, Madras), Ananda Comaramasami's *Indian Music* (London), Shahindra's *Indian Music*, (London), Krishnarao's *First Step in Hindu Music*, (London), K B Deval's *Musical Scale* (Poona), Gangadhar's *Theory and Practice of Hindu Music*, (Madras), Clement's *Indian Music*, (London), Mrs Mani's

1 There is a commentary on it by Roya Ganesa (Bk 512) Ranganātha commented on Śakuntalā in 1655 A D

2 TC, IV 4801 A work of this name is quoted in Sangītanārāyaṇa (TC, V. 6327, TC, IV 4804)

3, TC, V. 6127.



**Kamasutra**

(PROLOGUE)

**1065** **Kamasutra** treats of PROLOGUE in its most comprehensive signification. For purposes of literature, erotics are on the same level as poetics and may, not improperly, be called a branch of Sāhitya. The classification of heroes and heroines, the description of their qualities, the progress of their loves and the means of their union are all stated in works on fictions or erotics and these precepts are adopted and elaborated in the poetical and particularly the dramatic literature. Bhavabhūti, in his Mālatīmēdhava, expressly says that his play is an illustration of Kāmasūtra. Without a study of erotica, Sanskrit poetry cannot be appreciated.

Kāma or love is the third 'luru-sārtha', that is, the third object of a man's life. From the remotest ages the idea that enjoyment of pleasures is as much necessary for a man's salvation as Dharma and Artha, virtue and wealth, has been prevalent in India, and tradition attributes the first treatise on these three objects of life to the Creator himself in 100,000 chapters. It is out of this first source, Manu and Bṛhaspati formulated distinct works on Dharma and Artha. Nandin it was that related the principles of Kāmasāstra in 1,000 chapters and of these summaries were made by Svetaketu and Bābhraṇya. Bābhraṇya's summary was itself a large work in 150 chapters and in seven parts dealt with seven subjects, Sādhārana, Sāmprayogika, Kanyāsāmprayogika, Bhāryādhibhāraka, Pāradārika, Vaisika and Aupanisadika. The first deals with the merit of Kāmasātra, the nature of education and the regulation of life, the second with sensual enjoyment and copulation, the third with wooing, training and company of girls, the fourth with relations between husband and wife, the fifth with dealings with the wives of others, the sixth with public women, and the seventh with charms and medicines in relation to enjoyment of sensual pleasures.

From this vast volume of Bābhraṇya, the various topics were separated and related respectively by Cārāyana, Suvarnanābha, Ghota-kamukha, Gonardiya, Gonikāputra, Daṭṭaka and Kucimāra. Of these all but the last are now lost. It was Vātsyayana who made an epitome of these writings in his Kāmasūtras of 36 chapters, with the object of

comprehending the whole subject of erotics in an easy and readable form. This is the resume of early literature with which Vātsyāyana begins his Kāmasūtra<sup>1</sup>.

It is the view of Vātsyāyana that all these three Puruṣārthaś, Dharma, Artha and Kāma are equally serviceable and conducive to bliss here and in the other world. He begins by saying धर्मार्थकामेभ्यो नम् and traces the source of Kāmasāstra to the Creator himself thus —

प्रजापतिर्हि प्रजाससुद्ग्रवा तासा स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गसाधनमध्यायाना शतसहस्रे-  
णाम्ने प्रोवाच ।

He advocates Kāma, the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, without prejudice to Dharma and Artha, in the period of youth —

शतायुर्वै पुरुषो विभव्य कालमन्योन्यानुबद्धं परस्परस्यानुपचातकं त्रिवर्गं सेवेत ।

In answer to a depreciation of Kāma as undesirable expressed thus

न कामाश्चरेत् । धर्मार्थयो व्राणयोरेवमन्येषां च सता प्रलयनीकत्वात् । अनर्थं जनसंसर्गम-  
सद्व्यवसायमशोचमनायर्ति चेते पुरुषस्य जनयन्ति । तथा प्रमादं लाघवमप्रलयमग्राह्यातां च ।,  
he writes

शरीरस्थितिहेतुत्वादाहारसधर्माणो हि कामा फलभूताश्च धर्मार्थयो बोद्धव्य तु दोषेभ्विव ।  
न हि मिष्ठका सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते, न हि मृगास्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते ।

and quotes an ancient verse

एवमर्थं च कामं च धर्मं चोपचरेत्वर ।  
इहामृतं च निश्चल्यमत्यन्तं सुखमन्तुते ॥

The last verses embody a counsel of good conduct thus

तदेतत् ब्रह्मचर्येण परेण च समाधिना ।  
विहितं लोकपात्रायै न रागोऽवाहि सविधि ॥  
रक्षत् धर्मार्थकामानां स्थितिं स्वा लोकवर्त्तीनीष् ।  
अस्य शास्त्रस्य तत्त्वज्ञो भवत्येव जितेन्द्रिय ॥  
तदेतत्कुशलो विद्वान् धर्मार्थावलोकयन् ।  
नातिरागात्मकं कामी प्रयुक्त्वान् प्रसिद्ध्यति ॥

and then the sage predicates salvation for a life devoted to pleasure consistent with Dharma and Artha

<sup>1</sup> Ed by S R Schmidt Tr into German Ed Bombay with Jayamangala's commentary Translated into English in 1883, and recently by K Bangasami Iyengar (Lahore) See also CG, 215, 256 On Kālidāsa's quotations from Vātsyāyana, see Peterson, JBRAS XVIII, 110 and Mujumdar, IA, XLVII 196.

**1066 Dattaka,**<sup>1</sup> the son of a Brāhmaṇī of Mathurā, was born at Pāṭaliputra. Having lost his mother while yet an infant his father gave away the boy to a Brāhmaṇī woman and so he was known as Daṭṭaka. He wanted to study the ways of the world and thinking that the best means was a resort to the homes of dancing woman, got into their company and soon learnt their artful devices to a high degree so that he was requested by them to compose a work on the principles of Kāmasāstra relating to their profession. So says Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtras<sup>2</sup> and the commentary of Jayamangala gives the tradition.

The work, Daṭṭaka-sūtras, is not available, except two aphorisms quoted by Śāmilaka and Isvaradaṭṭa<sup>3</sup> in their plays and there is a parody of it by a character in Śūdraka's Padmaprābhṛtakā that it began with the letter ओम्.<sup>4</sup>

Mādhavavarman II, the king of the Ganga dynasty, wrote a vṛtti on Daṭṭaka-sūtras. He was the 5th ancestor of Durvinita and lived probably about 380 AD.<sup>5</sup> A fragment of the vṛtti which is in verse embraces two pādas only, dealing with rakta and virakta Vesyas and Śayanopacāra.<sup>6</sup> It is doubted if this is a summary of Daṭṭaka's original Tantra, for the first verse runs thus

यहत्तकेन प्रमदाहितार्थं कान्तानुवृत्तं कथित सतन्ते ।  
तस्मास्तमाहल्ल समस्तभन्य वेश्याङ्गनावृत्तमह प्रवस्ये ॥

1 Is he identical with Daṭṭ? Their probable names are the same.

2 तस्य षष्ठ वैशिकमधिकरण पाटलीपुरिकाणां गणिकानां नियोगात् दर्चक पृथक् चकार ।

—Kāmāśra, I

3 किंबवीषि—वेश्याभ्यो यदीयते तजष्ट इति बहवो त्रुवन्ति ।

तहत्तकेनाप्युक्त, कामोर्धनाश पुसामिति ॥—Dhūrtaṇitasambandha

सा हि तपस्त्विनी निवृत्तकाभतन्त्रा रजोपरोधात् केवलकुटुब्बतन्त्रार्थं शब्दकाम-  
मनुवर्तते । गम्यश्वायमस्या । अपुमान् शब्दकाम इति दातरीया ॥

Padmaprabhṛtakā

4 वेश्याङ्गन प्रविष्टो मोहाद्विक्षुर्यदच्छया वापि ।

न आजते प्रयुक्तो दर्चकस्त्रेष्विकोङ्कार ॥—Padmaprabhṛtakā

5 See para 48 sūtra EO, IX 7 and No DB, 68 दर्चकस्त्रवृत्ते प्रणेतु श्रीमन्मा-  
घवमहाधिराजस्य ।

6 TO IV 4785 Here are some verses

कान्तेन यत्नान्मुखवासपूर्वमोगाश्च गृहीत मुखी नियोगात् ।

कृष्णा च कृष्णोत्तरमात्रमस्मै मन्द्र प्रयच्छेत्प्रतिवाक्यमादौ ॥

मुजे प्रियस्य स्वविशरो निवाय तस्योत्तमाङ्ग समुजेऽवसर्य ।

गान्धाणि तदाक्षवश निवेश्य कान्तेन सार्थं कथयेच्छयाना ॥

**1067 Kucimaratatantra** is not fully extant. A few sections in the Aupanisadām (medicine) chapter have been traced and published. It is avowedly a narration of Kucimāra's practices and his greatness has brought this work into repute, enough to call it an Upaniṣad. Thus it begins —

शङ्कराय नमस्कृत्य यत्पूर्वस्मुदाहृतम् ।  
 \* \* \* तकर नृणा मन्त्रौपथिस्मन्त्रितम् ॥

सयोगादिष्टसमारादुपपत्तं च तत्वत ।  
 कृचिमारेण तपसा यत्कृत कीडन पुरा ॥

तत्प्रवक्ष्यामि चित्रार्थं नानार्थपदनिश्चितम् ।  
 श्रूयता नामतश्चैव कूचूपनिषद् पुनः ।

बृहण लेपनं चैव वश्य बन्धनवृष्यकम् ।  
 पादलेपान्जनं तैलं रोमनाशनमेव च ॥

Even in its present form, the work is very old and can be assigned to a date earlier than the 10th century A D.<sup>1</sup>

**1068 Vatsyayana** Tradition accords to Vātsyāyana the repute of a Muni or Maharsi. His proper name was Mallanāga of the Vātsyāyana family but his identity with Paksilaswāmin, the author of Nyāyabhāṣya, is not substantiated. Obviously he flourished in the age when the sūtra form of literature was in vogue. His exact date is as usual a chronological speculation, but the uncertainty is a matter of relativity. Vātsyāyana instances the killing of his queen Malayavatī by Kuntala Śātakarpi Śātavāhana.<sup>2</sup> Kuntala Śātakarpi or Swāti Karna was the 13th Āndhra king, and son of Mrigendra Swātikarṇa and according to Maṭsyapurāna and Kaliyugārājavṛttanta he ruled in Kali 2487-2481, that is B C 615-607.<sup>3</sup> This date is of orthodox acceptance. Leaving an appreciable interval for the act of that king to become a story of notoriety and being instanced in literature, we may safely assign Vātsyāyana to the 4th or 3rd century B C.

1 I ruled Lahore, DC, VIII 2945 app 7908 (Kucimārasamhitā)

2 See Introduction, about Kings of Magadha

3 कर्तर्या कुन्तलश्चातकणिश्चातवाहनं महादेवी मलयवतीं जघान । II vii. The use of perfect tense shows that the story was already considered traditional.

But V Smith places Purikasena (for variations of this name, see T S Narayana Sastrī, o c 99 where he gives him the date 485-464 B C) in 69 A D, from which K G Sankara Iyer (JMY, VIII 291) deduces the date 45 B C for Kuntala Śātakarpi and relying on the quotation of Lankāvalāśutri in the Nyāyasūtras he takes us through a labyrinth of cross references to Asvagohla and Nāgārjuna and concludes

Kamasūtra<sup>1</sup> is a valuable treatise on sociology and eugenics. The work, says H C Chakladar, (*JBOCS*, V, part II) "furnishes a beautiful picture of the Indian home, its interior and surroundings. It delineates the life and conduct of a devoted Indian wife, the mistress of the household and the controller of her husband's purse. It describes the daily life of a young man of fashion, his many-sided culture and refinement, his courtships and peccadillos, the sports and pastimes he revelled in, the parties and clubs he associated with. The wanton wiles of gay Lotharios and merry maidens, the abuses and intrigues prevailing among high officials and princes and the evils practised in their crowded harems, are described at great length and often with local details for the various provinces of India. The Kamasutra shows, moreover, that, as in the Athens of Pericles, the hetaerae skilled in the arts, the artists, the actress and the danceuse, occupied a no very mean or insignificant position in society. The book thus throws light on Indian life from various sides."

Kāmasutras composed in 350 A D If Vātsyāyana was regarded as a divine or a Rṣi by Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, this date subverts all imagination.

"It can be shown that the book, as we have it now, was known to Bhavabhūti, who flourished at the end of the seventh century, and that he makes constant reference to it in his *Mālatimadhava*. There is a statement to that effect at the beginning of the play itself, the point of which has been hitherto missed. I refer to the phrase "Auddhatyamayojitakamasutram," which occurs in the enumeration by the actor of the qualities the audience expect to find in the play about to be represented before them. Jagaddhara sees no reference to a book here, and Bhandarkar, differing from Jagaddhara, translates, "bold or adventurous deed, intended to assist the progress of love (i.e. in which is introduced the thread of love)." Bhavabhūti doubtless means it is too. But his words include a reference to this book of which he makes great use. When Kamandaki slyly suggests, while professing to put aside, the tales of how Sakuntala and others followed the dictates of their own hearts in love, he is following Vatsyayana. When she tells Avalokita that the one auspicious omen of a happy marriage is that bride and bridegroom should love one another, and quotes the old saying that the happy husband is he who marries the girl who has bound to her his heart and his eye she is quoting Vatsyayana, and so in many other parts of the play one of the most conspicuous passages is in his seventh act where Buddharakshita breaks through her Prakrit to quote the Sanskrit phrase, "Kusumasadharmano hi yoshtatah sukumaropakramah"—"For women are like flowers, and should be approached gently." Buddharakshita is quoting our book (p 199), and the whole of the context refers to a matter which Vatsyayana treats of at great length, and which is interwoven with the plot of the *Malatimadhava* " *PR*, II 67

1 Ed Benares and Bombay For an excellent exposition in Telugu see Vātsyāyana's Kamasūtra, T P Adinārayana Sastri, Madras

2 For an elaborate essay on the work, see Harachandra Chakladar's *Studies in Kamasutra of Vatsyayana*, Calcutta. See Peterson *JBRAS*, (1891), 109, J N Samaddar, *Economic Ideal of Kamasutra*, IA, LIII 146. There is another English translation published by Brijmohan & Co, Amritsar

Besides Bhoja's Śingāraprakāśa, which is practically an elaboration of portions of Kāmasūtras, there are commentaries on it by Yasodhara Bhāskara Nṛsimha, Virabhadradeva, Malladeva<sup>1</sup> and one anonymous<sup>2</sup>

**1069** Yasodhara's gloss, Jayamangala,<sup>3</sup> is attributed by some scholars to Śankarāryya or Sankarācārya,<sup>4</sup> because other commentaries of the name of Jayamangala, such as on Cānakya's Arthaśāstra, Kāmandaki's Nītiśāstra, Bhālikāya, Īsvara's Sāṅkhyasaptāśati etc., are said to be of the latter's authorship and Yasodhara alias Indraprabha is in that case only a scribe.<sup>5</sup> It is not possible to say who that Śankara was, except that this gloss is later than Kokkoka and cannot be earlier than the 13th century A D. The great Śankara himself is said to have written a Bhāṣya on Kāmasūtras.

**1070** Virabhadradeva was the son of Rāmacandra and a king of Veghela dynasty of the line of Śālivāhana. His Kandarpa-cūḍāmani<sup>6</sup> is a running commentary in verse and gives the date of its composition as Sam 1633 (1577 A D).<sup>7</sup> BHĀSKARA NRŚIMHA lived at Benares and composed his work at the instance of one Vrajall in 1788 A.D.

**1071** There is a tradition that Śankara wrote Manasijsūtras and Jyoṭiḥśvara says that he had seen Manmatbataontra of Īśvara.

1 OC, I 93, Bk, 585

2 PR, I V 25

3 See TO, V 6888

4 See Weber, IL, 267 note

5 The colophon to the gloss reads thus

इति श्रीवात्स्यनीयकामसूत्रटीकायां जयमङ्गलाभिधानायां विद्यधाङ्गनाविरहकातेरेण  
गुरुदर्शेन्द्रपदाभिधानेन यथोधरेण प्रकृतकृतसूत्रभाष्याग्राम् ।

"It is not possible to make out the real meaning of the underlined words and they certainly cannot mean that Yasodhara brought the Sūtras and Bhāṣya together because they are adjectival to Tīka, and Tīka cannot be a combination of sutras and Bhāṣya. Peterson says "The author gives his name as Yasodhara but states that he wrote this explanation of the Sutras which Vātsyāyana collected after he had retired from the world in grief at the loss of a beloved wife, and had, under the name of Indrapāla entered the ascetic life" (PR, II 67).

6 SKC, 64, PR, II 66, P K Goḍe, Identification of Virabhanu (OC, II 254 where genealogy is given)

हरलोचनहरलोचनरसशाशिभिर्विश्रुते समये ।  
पालगुणशुक्लप्रतिपदि पूर्णो ग्रन्थस्समेर. ॥

7 DC, VIII 2981

Rantideva's *Yogādhikārikā* also deals with medicines,<sup>1</sup> for instance

माहेन्द्रपुराक सरल धृतेन ससैन्धव गव्यपयस्मुसिद्धम् ।  
तद्वक्षयित्वा रातिमङ्गरेषु जयत्यरुत्पाद्युवतीहस्तम् ॥

Nāgārjuna or Siddha Nāgārjuna<sup>2</sup> is said to have composed Vasikarauatantra<sup>3</sup>. It is not now available. There is Nāgārjuniyayogaśatāka by Dhruvapāla<sup>4</sup>.

Kremendra's Vātsyayānasūtrasāra is quoted in his Aucitvaviciāracarā (39)

**1072 Padmasri** or Padmasignāna was a Buddhist monk. He mentions Kuitnīmata and is quoted in Śāringadbarapaddhaṭi, and he must have therefore lived about 1000 A D. In his Nāgarasarvasva in 18 parts, he sums up with fine illustrations in flowing poetry all that is needed for a man of aesthetic and amorous tastes. Besides describing the means of adoring one's person and residence, it embraces all stages of love from wooing to conception, with instructions on charms and medicines.

There are two commentaries on it by Tanusukharama<sup>5</sup> (the editor) and by Jagajjyotirmalla (1617-1633 A D). Naगaridāsa wrote Nāgarasamuccaya<sup>6</sup>.

**1073 Kalyanamala** wrote his ANANGARANGA<sup>7</sup> to please a Mohammadan ruler of Oudh, Ladakhan Lodi, son of Ahmedkhan. In ten chapters it describes the sensual qualities of different clauses of women and purports to be a compendium of writings on the subject. He also wrote Sulomaṭcarit, a Sanskrit version of the story of Solomon, son of David, in the old Testament.<sup>8</sup>

1 CC, I 498 He is mentioned in Sāktirāṇḍākara (OJ 101)

2 See 14, IV 141, X 87, XV 852, XVI. 169

3 CC, I 288, III 61

4 Opp 998, II 1090, Oudh, XII 26

5 Ed by himself, Bombay with a valuable introduction

6 Printed, Bombay

7 Ed Lahore DC, VIII 2941 Here is a verse for instance

उच्चिद्राम्बुजकोश्यतुल्यवदना रम्या मरालस्वना  
तन्वी हसपथागतिस्मुलित वेष सदा विभ्रती ।  
मध्य चापि वल्लित्याङ्किततत्त्वशुक्लाम्बराकांक्षिणी  
सुश्रीवा शुभनासिकेति गदिता नार्युचमा पद्मिनी ॥

8 DC, XXI 8150

**1074 Kokkoka** was the son of Tejoka and grandson of Pāri hadra His RATIRAHASYAM in 10 chapters was composed for the election of one Vainyadatta and is an elegant and lucid summary of āmasūtras It is quoted by Kumbhakarna and by Nayacandra and as probably composed in the 12th century A D.

There are commentaries on Ratirahasya<sup>1</sup> by Kāncinātha,<sup>2</sup> Avanca Āmacandra,<sup>3</sup> and Kaviprabhu<sup>4</sup> Harihara's Sṛngārarasabandhapra pīkā is also a commentary<sup>5</sup>

उद्भूत पारिद्रामरनरपणि प्रेयमीर्गीतकर्ते  
नप्ता तेजोकनाम्नस्सदसि वहुमत् पञ्चिताना कवीनाम् ।  
एतच्छृंगधविद्याधरकवितनय कामकेल्लिरहस्य  
कोक्कोक कामुकाना किमपि रतिकर व्याकरोत् कौतुकेन ॥

The colophon reads इति श्रीसिद्धपञ्चितसिद्धाळीयकोक्कोकविरचिते रतिरहस्ये ।

Kāmasāstram<sup>6</sup> is a compilation of verses on erotics with pictorial presentations, one in each sheet, but the verses appear to be from 'atirahasya, which as preserved in Tanjore has readings different from the published edition<sup>7</sup>

**1075 Harihara**, son of Rāmavidvat, bore the title Sahajasāra-vātacandra He also wrote Ratirahasya or Sṛngārabhedapadipikā<sup>8</sup> or Sṛngāradipika in which chapter IV deals with mantras, yantras and medicines It is said that he was a Telugu poet and wrote Bhāgavata about 1450 A D<sup>9</sup> But if Viḍyādhara's mention of a poet Harihara and his work Bindvalankara, as having received immense wealth from a king Arjuna means this Harihara and if King Arjuna is king Arjunavarman

1. *Tan*, XVI 7855

2. Ed Benares *DC*, VIII 2957, *Tan*, XXII 7857

3. *DC*, VIII 2955 This was translated into Telugu and Tamil long ago

4. *Tan*, XVI 7858

5. *Tan*, XVI 7959

6. *Tan*, XV 7866

7. *Ibid* 7855

There is a Kāmaśāstra by Silhapata Iśvarakāmiṣa, quoted by Arjunavarman in a gloss on Amaruka *CC*, I 61

8. *DC*, II 2452 Ms breaks off in the 5th chapter (*Mys* 207, *DC*, VIII 2950). These chapters were published by R S Schmidt in *ZDMG* Aufrecht (*CC*, I 661) see the references as Burnell, 59 But the Tanjore catalogue has no such name, there is a Śabdabhedapradipikā (anonymous) noted there, *Tan*, IX 8908

9. See Viṭṭesalingam's Poets Part III

Rantideva's *Yogādhikārikā* also deals with medicines,<sup>1</sup> for instance

माहेन्द्रपुराक सरल धृतेन ससैन्धव गव्यपयसुसिद्धम् ।  
तद्वक्षयित्वा रातिभज्जरेषु जयत्यरुप्ताशुवतीहस्तम् ॥

Nāgārjuna or Siddha Nāgārjuna<sup>2</sup> is said to have composed Vasikarauatantra<sup>3</sup>. It is not now available. There is Nāgārjuniyayogaśatāka by Dhruvapāla<sup>4</sup>.

Kremendra's Vātsyayanaśūtrasāra is quoted in his Aucitvaviciāracārā (39)

**1072 Padmasri** or Padmasrīgnāna was a Buddhist monk. He mentions Kuitnīmata and is quoted in Śāngadharapaddhaṭi, and he must have therefore lived about 1000 A D. In his Nāgarasarvasva in 18 parts, he sums up with fine illustrations in flowing poetry all that is needed for a man of aesthetic and amorous tastes. Besides describing the means of adoring one's person and residence, it embraces all stages of love from wooing to conception, with instructions on charms and medicines.

There are two commentaries on it by Tanusukharama<sup>5</sup> (the editor) and by Jagajjyotirmalla (1617-1633 A D). Naगaridāsa wrote Nāgarasamuccaya<sup>6</sup>.

**1073 Kalyanamala** wrote his ANANGARANGA<sup>7</sup> to please a Mohammadan ruler of Oudh, Ladakhan Lodi, son of Ahmedkhan. In ten chapters it describes the sensual qualities of different clauses of women and purports to be a compendium of writings on the subject. He also wrote Sulomaṭcarit, a Sanskrit version of the story of Solomon, son of David, in the old Testament<sup>8</sup>.

1 CC, I 498 He is mentioned in Sāktirāṭnākara (*Opf* 101)

2 See *IA*, IV 141, X 87, XV 852, XVI. 169

3 CC, I 288, III 61

4 *Opp* 998, II 1090, *Oudh*, XII 26

5 Ed by himself, Bombay with a valuable introduction

6 Printed, Bombay

7 Ed Lahore *DC*, VIII 2941 Here is a verse for instance

उच्चिद्राम्बुजकोशतुल्यवदना रम्या मरालस्वना  
तन्वी हसपथागतिस्मूलित वेष सदा विग्रती ।  
मध्य चापि वल्लित्रयाङ्किततत्त्वशुक्लाम्बराकांक्षिणी  
सुश्रीवा शुभनासिकेति गदिता नार्युचमा पद्मिनी ॥

8 *DC*, XXI 8150

**1080** MINANATHA wrote Smaradipikā or Ratiratnapradipikā He describes the plan of his work thus <sup>1</sup>

प्रथम जातिनिर्देशस्ततो नायकलक्षणम् ।  
ततश्चाभ्यन्तररति स्वान्यदाराधिकारिता ।  
वारनार्यधिकारश्च कमशोऽन्ते प्रदर्शित ॥

SRINATHABHATTA wrote a treatise in 16 chapters on erotic sorcery, as expounded in the Tantra <sup>2</sup>. There is a Kāmaṭantra in 14 parts of unknown authorship <sup>3</sup>.

**1081** Rasikaranjanam of Vaidyanātha and Raṅkabodhīnī of his father Kāmarājadīlītā <sup>4</sup> and Sṛngāratilakam of Kālidasa are small poetic descriptions of amorous sentiments <sup>5</sup>.

**1082** Rasacandrikā of Viśvesvara <sup>6</sup> describes heroes and heroines. Vitavṛtti describes the relations between harlots and their lovers and was probably composed by Saumadatta <sup>7</sup>. Madhava's Jadavṛtti gives a humorous account of fools as dupes of dancing woman <sup>8</sup>. Dhūrlānandam in 4 parts is an attractive account of the rakish ways of the man of the town <sup>9</sup>.

Citrādhara's Sṛngārasāra in 7 Paddhatis deals with the origin,

1 CO, I 745, 455 He is quoted by Manoharasarman, Of, 252, PR, II 190.

2 Mira's Notices, No 991, IO, IV 921, BRI, (1925), 15 Ed. Bombay.

3 OML, No 14980?

4 DO, XX 8009

5 See S.K. De SP, I 820 and for quotations see Nāgarnasāya (Ed. Bombay p 117)

For instance

मन्था धिश्च स्मरोऽग्निर्भग्नरणिरहो रोमपतिस्तु दर्भी  
होमद्रव्य हि रेतो भणितमपि च वागृत्विजावण्डयुरमम् ।  
एतत्कामाग्निहोत्र विधिविहितमहो सालसाक्षो भजन्ते  
धिकान् धिकान् धिगतानिति वदति सख सख वारयोधिन्पृच्छ ॥

This is based on Chandogyanapauśu (V 8)

“योषा वाव गोतमाग्निस्तसा उपस्थ एव समिद्युपमन्तयते सधूमो योनिरचिर्यदन्तः करोति तेज्जारा अभिनन्दस्फुरलिङ्गा । तस्मिन्नेतरस्मिन्नानौ देवा रेतो युहति ॥

6 TO, II 18

7 The first verse of the work is quoted as Saumadatta's in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣīṭavali. But a commentary on Jadavṛttiām ascribes the work to Bharṭṛhari's (Manuscript in Or Ms. Library in Madras).

8 Trav 74

9. CO, III 8981 Trav, 74

emotions, progress and consummation of love and incidentally with music and dancing<sup>1</sup>

Smaradīpikā<sup>2</sup> is a short piece of 157 verses and embraces all the topics of erotics. In the colophon of one of the manuscripts it is attributed to Mūladeva, but the third verse indicates that the author was Rudra Ratimanjari of Jayadeva. A small piece on women and copulation<sup>3</sup> Kāmāprābhṛtaka by Kesava is an introductory treatise on erotics and shows fine poetry<sup>4</sup>. So is Kāmānaḍa in 5 patalas of Varadarāja, son of Iṣvarādhvarin.<sup>5</sup>

Anangadīpikā (in prose),<sup>6</sup> Ratisāra,<sup>7</sup> Raticandrikā,<sup>8</sup> and Sṛngāra-kuṭūhala of Kautukadeva,<sup>9</sup> and Ṭṛiyapuruśarthaśādhakasarani,<sup>10</sup> and Prapayacintā deal with amorous sentiments and dalliance. Bandhodaya is a collection of pictures very artistically drawn upon palm leaves illustrating various postures of coulation and accompanied by the verse describing the bandhas<sup>11</sup>. Sṛngārakanduka or Jārapancāsaṭ describes in two parts some amorous situations as between Kṛṣṇa and Gopis.<sup>12</sup>

Vesvāṅganākalpadruma relates to courtesans<sup>13</sup>. Raghupatirahasya-dīpikā stops with Sambhogaprakarana<sup>14</sup>.

**1083 Miscellaneous Kāmasāra of Karṇadeva,<sup>15</sup> Ratisāra of King Mādhavadeva,<sup>16</sup> Raticandrikā<sup>17</sup>**

1. *DC*, XX 8016 IO I 864

2. *PR* II No 118 *Tanj.*, XVI 7363

3. Ed. Bombay and elsewhere.

4. *TC*, III 8897

5. *TC*, III 8898

6. *Bk* 531

7. *CBK*, 531 8

8. *DC*, VIII 8894

9. *TC*, IV 5001

10. *OML* No 8/649.

11. *Ibid* Ms No 4/574 Sambhogādhyayām (*Mys* 807) Kāmakalpaṭṭā of Saḍāśiva is a similar work on postures of copulation without pictures. The latter manuscript is available with Mr Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

12. *TC* II 1400 There is a commentary on it by Venkatarāghava of Śrīśāla family.

13. *Opp* 6220

14. *Adyar*, II 87

15. *PR*, III 22, 866

16. *Mys* 807.

17. *TC*, III 8899



## CHAPTER XXVIII

### **Chandoviciti**

(METRICS)

**1084 Chandas-sastra or Chandoviciti**, as it has been sometimes called, is the science of metrics, prosody. It is a Vedāṅga, a subject of study necessary for the proper understanding of the hymns. The earliest Sanskrit literature, Rg-veda, is in sūktas or hymns, that is, in verse.<sup>1</sup> The seers (Rṣis) that sang those verses must have been guided by specific canons for metrical expression, for music, that is evident in the chanting of the hymns contained in Sāma Veda, must originate an array of letters yielding sounds conducive to the harmony of the ear. “In the Brahmanas the oddest tricks are played with them and their harmony is in some mystical fashion brought into connection with the harmony of the world, in fact, stated to be its fundamental cause. The simple minds of these thinkers were too much charmed by their rhythms not to be led into these and similar symbolisings.” The metrical content of the Rigveda has shown that each period except the ‘normal’ period, was inventive. The bards were occupied in constructing fresh metrical schemes, as well as in producing verse following established models. They frequently compare their craft to the highest kind of workmanship known to them, that is displayed in the construction of a war-chariot, and they show confidence that a ‘new’ song will be more pleasing to the gods than one which is old fashioned.”

Principles of versification and inquiries into the nature of metres, that is, the beginning of the science of metrics, are found in Nidāna-sūtra of Sāmaveda, Śāṅkyāyana Brāutasūtra (vii 2), and in Rk Prāṭisākhya and Kātyāyana Anukramanī which almost follows it, while in the later hymns of Rk Samhitā some metres are named.<sup>2</sup>

The antiquity of the Vedic metres goes far beyond conceivable history. It dates back probably to the days when the Indo-Aryans, as, ethnologists may say, were still unseparated or just separated from their Persian brethren.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *SL*, 54; Weber, *JL*, 226 and Weber, *die Metrik des Inde*, Berlin; Brown, *Prosody*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> See Weber, *IST*, VIII 1, H Jacobi, *ZDMG*, XXXVIII 590, XL 886.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold, *Vedic Metre* (Cambridge), 19.

"The comparison of the earlier parts of the Avesta indicates that the first Vedic poets were not far from the period when verse was measured solely by the number of syllables, without any regard to their quantity. The quantity of initial and final syllables is always indifferent in the Rigveda, and this feature is inherited from the earlier period of purely syllable measurement. But in all other parts of the verse we find rhythmical tendencies, which determine with varying regularity the quantity required in each position." Thus concludes Arnold. As works of mechanical art the metres of the Rigveda stand high above those of modern Europe in variety of motive and in flexibility of form. They seem indeed to bear the same relation to them as the rich harmonies of classical music to the simple melodies of the peasant. And in proportion as modern students come to appreciate the skill displayed by the Vedic poets, they will be glad to abandon the easy but untenable theory that the variety of form employed by them is due to chance, or the purely personal bias of individuals, and to recognize instead that we find all the signs of a genuine historical development, that is, of united efforts in which a whole society of man have taken part, creating an inheritance which had passed through the generations from father to son, and holding up an ideal which has led each in his turn to seek rather to enrich his successors than to grasp his own immediate enjoyment. If this was so, when the Vedic bards also are to be counted amongst 'great men' such as sought out musical tunes and set forth verses in writing.'

**1085** The following extracts from Arnold's *Vedic Metre* (6-15) are instructive

The units of Vedic metre are the 'verse', the 'stanza' and the 'hymn'.

A verse consists most commonly either of eight syllables, when we distinguish it as a *dimeter* verse or of eleven or twelve syllables, both of which varieties are included under the name *trimeter* verse.

\* \* \* \*

The most typical forms of the stanza are

- (i) the *Anustubh*, which consists of four dimeter verses, and
- (ii) the *Trishtubh*, which consists of four trimeter verses, each of eleven syllables.

Four trimeter verses, each of twelve syllables, form a *Jagati* stanza.

Stanzas may contain more or fewer verses than four. Thus the *Gayatri* consists of three dimeter verses, the *Panksi* of five, the *Mahapanksi* of six whilst three *Trishtubh* verses form the metre known as *Viraj* and two decasyllabic verses that known as *Dvipada Viraj*.

Stanzas may also consist of combinations of dimeter and trimeter verses, the latter being then usually of twelve syllables all meters of this type we group as lyric metres,

Lyric metres may also include verses of four syllables, and even of sixteen, but these are comparatively rare. The most important lyric meters are *Ushih* (8 8 12 or 8 8 8 4), *Kakubh* (8 12 8), *Brahatis* (8 8 12 8), *Satchchhati* (12 8 12 8) and *Atyasti* (12 12 8 8 12 8).

A hymn may contain any number of stanzas, but usually it consists of not less than three or more than fifteen stanzas, generally uniform in character, except in the case of strophic and 'mixed lyric' hymns. It is also not uncommon for the last stanza of a hymn to contain one or even two additional verses.

Where the number of stanzas in a hymn is very large, or the metre suddenly changes, it becomes probable that we have a composite hymn, that is two or more hymns combined in the Samskita text.

In all metres in the Rigveda the quantities of the first and last syllables of each verse are different, and (with some exceptions) each verse is independent in structure.

In almost all metres a general iambic rhythm may be noticed in the sense that the even syllables, namely the second, fourth, and so on are more often long than short.

\* \* \* \*

In all metres the rhythm of the latter part of the verse is much more rigidly defined than that of the earlier part.

\* \* \* \*

In the early part of the verse there is a general preference for long syllable, in the latter of the verse or short syllables. These preferences modify considerably the general iambic rhythm prevailing in both parts.

\* \* \* \*

Trimeter verse may be analysed in two ways:

- (i) into two parts, as separated by the caesura, which regularly follows either the fourth or the fifth syllable, or
- (ii) into three numbers, namely (a) the opening, which consists of the first four syllables (b) the break, consisting of the fifth, sixth, and seventh syllables and (c) the cadence which includes the remaining syllables, beginning with the eighth.

In the case of Tristubh verse, the two parts consist either of four and seven syllables, or of five and six syllables each, according as the caesura is early (that is, after the fourth syllable) or late (that is, after the fifth syllable). If the caesura is early, we have a short first part and a long second part; if late, we have a long first part and a short second part.

In the case of Jagati verse, the second part is in each case longer by one syllable.

In all cases the second part regularly begins with two short syllables.

#### Anustubh

वायुरस्म उपामन्थात् पिनष्टि स्म कुनन्मम ।

केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यदुदेण पिचत्सह ॥

## Gayatri

- 1 उकथं चनं सस्यामानम्  
अगो ररिरा चिकेत न  
गायत्रं गीयमानम् ॥
- 11 तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं  
भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि  
थियो यो न प्रचोदयात् ॥

## Normal Triṣṭubh

बृहस्पति प्रथमं जायमानं  
महा ज्योतिषं परमे व्योमन् ।  
सन्तास्यस्तुविजातो रवेण  
वि सप्तरास्मिरधमत्तमासि ॥

## Normal Jagati

अतदा अर्भा महते वचस्यवे  
कक्षीविते वृचयामिन्द्रसुन्वते ।  
मेनामवो पृष्ठणस्वस्य शुक्रतो  
विश्रेताते सवनेषु ग्रवान्ध्या ॥

The following passage from Mahābhāṣya is instructive

तथा छदोप्रथोऽपुण्यज्यते छदोविशेषाणां तत्र तत्र विहितत्वात् । तस्मात्सप्तचतुरुक्तराणि छदांसि प्रातरतुवाकेऽनुच्यते इति शास्नात । गायत्र्युच्छिणगतुष्टुव्यूहतीपतिक्षिष्ठुजगतीत्येक्षरोष्टिक् । एवमृतरोत्तराधिका अतुष्टुबादयोऽवर्गतन्या । तथान्यत्रापि श्रूयते । गायत्रीमिर्बाङ्मणस्यादप्यात् त्रिष्टुव्यमीराजन्यस्य जगतीमिर्बैश्यस्येति । तत्र मणायगणादिसाधयो गायत्र्यादिविवेकच्छदोप्रथमतरणेनस्तुविशेषं । किं च यो ह वा अविदितार्थेयच्छदोदैतत्राहणेन मत्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति वा स्थानुवर्तीतर्गतं वा पथदि ग्रवामीयते पापीयान् भवति । तस्मादेतानि भवेत्त्र मत्रे विद्यादिति श्रूयते । तस्मात्तदेदनाय छदोप्रथं उपयुज्यते ।

By the time of the composition of Upaniṣads we find the anustubh metre settling down to a definite form, almost approaching the epic *sloka*. Even in Rgveda, we have that variety

वायुरस्म उपमन्थात् पिनष्टि स्म कुनञ्चम ।  
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यहुद्रेण पिवत्सह ॥

The tradition that the *sloka* metre became manifest in the unconscious effusion of Vālmiki's grief caused by the sight of killing of

Kauncī is but an indication that Vālmīki, called thereby *Adikavi*, was the first of the authors of classical Sanskrit poetry.

**1086** "The poetry of the epic is composed in metres, chandas of three sorts. The first is measured by syllables, the second by moræ, the third by groups of more. These rhythms ran the one into the other in the following course. The early free syllabic rhythm tended to assume a form where the syllables were differentiated as light or heavy at fixed places in the verse. Then the fixed syllabic rhythm was lightened by the resolution of specific heavy syllables, the beginning of mora-measurement. The resolution then became general and the number of moræ, not the number of syllables, was reckoned. Finally, the moræ tended to arrange themselves in groups and eventually became fixed in a wellnigh unchangeable form. Part of this development was reached before the epic began, but there were other parts, as will appear, still in process of completion. Neither of the chief metres in the early epic was quite reduced to the later stereotyped form. The stanza-form, too, of certain metres was still inchoate."

The mass of the great epic (about ninety-five per cent) is written in one of the two current forms of free syllabic rhythm, about five per cent in another form of the same class, and only two tenths of a per cent in any other metre."<sup>1</sup>

**1087** "After the composition of Ramayana, and since that time prosodial genius has been very active and the variety of metres that had come into vogue was such that Bharata treated the subject *Chandoviciti* in chapters 14 and 15 of *Nātyasāstra*. Bharata defines the tunes of a metre in quantities laghu or guru fort fixed places.<sup>2</sup> Kohala has a section on prosody. According to Bharata and Kohala, whose main sphere was histrionics, the rhythm of the metre must appear to be a spontaneous effusion of the thoughts and sentiments of the actor on the scene."

**1088 Metric Varieties** are based on mere number of syllables, admixture of long and short measures, or number of morae (mātras).

SLOKA is free syllabic, a stanza of four pādas (feet), in two verses (hemistichs) of 16 syllables restricted to *guru* and *laghu* syllables in some fixed places. This is the definition —

<sup>1</sup> Hopkin's, *Great Epic*, Ch IV

<sup>2</sup> Regnault, *La mètre de Bharata*, AMG, 2, Paris.

पञ्चम लघु सर्वत्र सप्तम द्वितीयो ।  
षष्ठ गुरुविजानीयादेतत् श्लोकस्य लक्षणम् ॥

Akṣarachandas is fixed syllabic and this is varnavṛtta, e.g., Raṭhoddhatī, Praharṣīpī, Rucirā Mātrāchandas counts by morae such as Puṣpitīgrā, Aupacchandasika, Aparavaktra and Vaṭṭalīja

GANACCHANDAS has morae in groups e.g.,

"Arya, Aryagiti, Upagiti, stanzas of two verses, each verses, each verse containing eight groups of morae, the group of four morae each, but with the restriction that amphibrachs are prohibited in the odd groups, but may make any even group and must make the sixth group, unless indeed this sixth group be represented (in the second hemistich) by only one mora or four breves, and that the eighth group may be represented by only two morae The metre is called aryagiti when the eighth foot has four morae, upagiti, when the sixth foot irregularly has but one mora in each hemistich"

**1089** Among earliest writers on *Laukika* or classical chandas, are Krauṣṭuki, Tandin, Yāska, Kāsyapa, Saṅṭava, Rāta and Māndavya and these are mentioned by Pingala Abhinavagupta quotes from Kāṭyā-yana, Bhatta Sāṅkara and Jayadeva

यथोक्त कात्यायनेन—

‘वीरस भुजदण्डानां वर्णने संधरा मनेत् ।  
नायिकावर्णने कार्यं वसन्ततिलकादिकम् ॥  
शार्दूललीला प्राच्येषु मन्दाकान्ता च दक्षिणे ।’  
यथा शङ्करमतिशालिना मट्टशङ्करेण अर्थसमवृत्तप्रकरणे प्रदर्शितम् ।

"This Bhatta Sankara seems to be a Saivacārya like Abhinava A Śaiva called Śankarakantha is known to us as the father of Ratnakantha, the author of *स्तुतिकुषुपाम्बजलिटीका* Aufrecht mentions two more Śankaras, one, son of Ratnākara and commentator on *महिन्नस्तोत्र* and another writer on prosody called शङ्करशर्मन् who wrote a work on metrics called *वृत्तमुक्तावली*" Bhatta Sankara quoted by Abhinava is probably a commentator on Chandoviciṭi

**1090** Jayadeva wrote a Chandassāṭra in the form of aphorisms He is quoted as a master on metrics and music by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī*<sup>1</sup> and he must have therefore lived in the

1. सर्वेषां वृत्तानाम् इत्यादौ अर्थसमासेन जयदेवोऽभ्यधात् ।

"He is twice mentioned as a writer on Prosody by Namisādhu in his *Tīkā* on

early centuries of the Christian era, unless we take him to the 2nd or 3rd century B C when the *sūtra* style was in vogue. There is a commentary by Harata son of Bhatta Mukula who lived about 900 A D<sup>1</sup>.

**1091** Pingala's *Sūtras*<sup>2</sup> do contain a section on vedic metres, and many that are now obsolete, but they were meant only as a treatise on classical prosody. Pingala's treatment is similar to that of Agnī Purāṇa (Chap 328-34). Pingala invented a code of mnemonics which has become so popular that the systems of Bharata or of the later Janāśraya have not been adopted by writers on prosody. Pingala uses eight gapas of three syllables य्, म्, त्, र्, ज्, श्, न्, स् and long and short sound measures guru and laghu (ग् and ल्). The formula is यमातराजमानसलगम्.

There are commentaries on Pingalasūtras by Halāyudha,<sup>3</sup> Śrīharṣaśarman, son of Makaradhvaja,<sup>4</sup> Vāṇīnāṭha,<sup>5</sup> Lakṣminātha son of Rāmayabhatta,<sup>6</sup> Yādavaprakāśa,<sup>7</sup> and Dāmodara.<sup>8</sup>

Nārayana's *Vṛttotkṛtata*<sup>9</sup> and Candrasekhara's *Vṛttamauktika*<sup>10</sup> are almost Pingala's paraphrases and the latter is in 6 Prakasas called by its author Vārtika of Pingalasūtras.

**1092** Janasrayī Chandoviciti<sup>11</sup> begins with a reference to king Janāśraya, and his sacrifices

---

Rudraṭa [CC, I 199] Nāmisadhu, I 18. The manuscript is dated sam 1190 (1184 A D)]. Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭa in his commentary on the *Vṛtaratnākara* quotes Jayadeva and his definition of the Upacitrā metre. Jayadeva is twice quoted in Rāmacandra Budhendra's commentary, *Pancikā*, on the *Vṛtaratnākara*.<sup>12</sup>

1 BRI, No 72 of 1872-3. See P K Gode in *Poona Orientalist*, I 88.

2 Ed by Weber, *IST* VIII and with the commentary of Halāyudha, *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta by Visvanathasastri and in Kāvyamala, Bombay.

On the supposed identity of Pingala and Pāṇḍjali, See *IST*, VIII, 158. Pingala's name occurs in Mahābhāṣya.

3 Printed, Calcutta.

4 CSC, (1904), 5.

5 *Mīṭha*, X composed in 1600 A D.

6 TāṇḍI IX 8928

7. *Adyar*, II 89

8 *Ibid*.

9 IO, II 808. There are Prākr̥ta Pingalasutras with commentary by Ravikara and Viśvanāṭha son of Viḍyāñvāsa (*Ibid.* 809).

10 *Ibid* 818, *Adyar*, II 89.

11 See M R. Kavi's Edn in part in Journal *Tirumalai Sri Venkateswara*, Madras (now defunct) with a valuable Introduction.

स भूपतिरुदारधीर्जयति सम्पदेकाश्रयो जनाश्रय इति श्रिया वहति नाम सार्थं विषु ।  
मस्येरुरुभिरद्युतैर्मध्यवतो जयश्रीरपि जिता विजितशशुणा जगति यैन रुद्धाचरत् ॥

If Janāśraya is identical with king Mādhavavarman II of Viṣṇukundin dynasty who bore that title, he would have flourished between 580 and 615 A D.<sup>1</sup>

Janāśraya's quotations from various ancient writers are of historical value. Among these traced, are Bharaṭa, Vararuci's Ubbhayābhisārikā, Śūdraka's Padmaprābhṛta, Kālidasa's poems, Asvaghosa's poems, Sandarapāndya's Nītīdvīṣṭikā, Kumāradāsa's Jānakīharaṇa, Bhāravi and Vikatanitambā.<sup>2</sup> These authors flourished before 6th century A D. Apart from these quotations, there are compositions of the author, one of which a Dandaka applying to God Kumāra and king Janāśraya in double entendre is worth a repetition.

यैन प्राणु क्रौञ्चस्थाम्रं मणिकनकविमलनवरजतपटहरं वृषभसकलशाशिकिरणकुमुदसहस्रं  
सिताम्बुजसभिम ।

मिष्ठ शक्त्यान लीलावल्लास्तटविटपकुटजसितपनसतिनिशधवल्लदिरतिलकतरुगहनलालित-  
शिखर लतागृहसङ्कट ।

क्रीडाभूमिर्गन्धवर्णा गजगवयमहिषसूषुष्टतशरभमृगमिथुनपरमबहुविविधशकुनिचरितं  
विप्रद्रुतकिञ्चर ।

सोऽर्जीन् वौद्दिदेवौ रोषात्पित इव पिबतु दहन इव दहतु पवन इव वहतु तश्णर-  
विसहश्वदनो भयूरभ्वज ॥

1. Viṣṇukundin dynasty ruled over the tract of the basin of the Kṛṣṇā and Godāvari and perished by 650 A D and Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana defeated them about 615 A D.

2. "Bhoja quotes the following verse as an example for Pumādhu, a woman who marries a second husband

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरा गुणेन रञ्जिता ।

निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानाममौर्ध्यमधुर वच ॥

(शङ्काप्रकाशे)

Here it means the expression of Vikatanitambā

Namisādhu and Bhoja quote the following verse —

काले भाष सस्ये माम वदति शकाश यश्च सकाषम् ।

उद्धे लुप्तते रं वा ष वा तस्मै दत्ता विकटनितम्बा ॥

(सद्वालङ्कार)

And this verse is introduced by Namisādhu in the following words —

"यथा विकटनितम्बाया पतिमनुकुर्वाणा सखी प्राह्"

which means the maid ridicules the vocal clearness of the husband of Vikatanitambā."



## EXPLANATORY CHART.

<sup>1</sup> This was prepared by M. R. Kavir and used in his introduction, loc.

"The system works upon 18 symbols represented by the last indicative letters, while eleven of them are also known by the initial vowel of the word thus for 11 out of 18, symbols are indicated by two letters each (a vowel as well as a consonant) For instance, *m* (म) and *a* (अ) represent *gana* of three short vowelled-letters which according to Pingala is *na-gana* ||, similarly *t* (त) and *ā* (आ) represent *bha-gana* of Pingala, *k* (क) and *ɛ* (े) *ja-gana*, *ɛ* (ऐ) and *ɪ* (ई) *ragana* ०'०, and so on *ai* (ऐ) and *t* (ट) stand for 5 letters of *ra-gana* ००० and *laga* of Pingala ०००, *au* (औ) and *ii* (इ) stand for *bha* and *laga* ००००, *o* (ओ) and *sh* (श) stand for *ra-gana* and *guru* ००००. For example, we shall take *mūta* called *Sragdhārā* which consists of गोदुशोनू that is, *g*, *o*, *d*, *u*, *s*, *o*-six *ganas* ००००, ०१००, ३३००, ००००, ००००, ००००.

ग ओ द उ श ओ  
दन्ताप्र, प्रोतचञ्च, युतिदन्त, तनया, सुवसा, दिरधदेहो

The above example was cited by the author

Take for instance *Nandini* of the 13th Chhandas,—*līra* (लीरे) which means १, १, १, *ai*

ल इ र ए  
श्वयनो धितस्य शिव मादधातु ते, मकरा, लये ति, मिवि, वर्तिताभ्मसि ।  
वपुरिन्द्रनीलभणिभज्जसनिम उरुषस्य षेषशयनाधिशायिन ॥

Again *Praharsiṇī* requires *gakoni* which are equal to *g*, *a*, *k*, *o*,

ग अ क ओ  
तन्मित्र लजति विपत्सु यशमित्र

*m* means that *jñāra* or caesura comes after the third place

To show the relative merits of the three systems, their code words are quoted below for *vritti* कौञ्चपादा of the 25th Chhandas

*Janāśraya*—जैण्णु=ii, au, n, n, u  
ii au n n u  
सिंहविर्गज्जद, द्वीपिविकीर्ण, हरिरिवमृग, गणमरिगण, मपमी ।

Pingala—

म्मौ स्मौ नौ नौ गू भूतेन्द्रिय वस्तुषय ७—७—१८  
म म स म न न न न ग  
सिंहवि गर्जदद्वी पिविकी र्णहरि रिवमृ गगण मरिग णमप मी ।

Bharata—

आथ चतुर्थं च तथा पञ्चमं षष्ठमेव च । नवमं दशमं चैव अन्यं चैव गुणयथ ।

लघून्यन्यानि शेषाणि पादे स्युं पञ्चविंशते । वृत्तहैं सा तु विशेषाक्रौञ्चपादीति नामत ॥

Another recension reads as

न्मै यदि पादे स्नावपि चेष्टावभिकृतिरिह खलु बुधजनविहिता ।

ना च समुद्रा स्युर्विनिविष्टा यदि च खलु गुरुरिह निधनभितम् ॥

**1093** Jayamangalācārya wrote the hand-book *Kavisikā* in the time of king Jayasimha (1094-1143 A D)<sup>1</sup>

*Kavikanthapāsa* is a treatise on poetical composition and deals mainly with the auspicious character of letters and their combinations. This is the last verse —<sup>2</sup>

भूर्वृणस्मुखसम्पदीप्सत . हृष्प्रदा अम्मण

आभ्रेया लिपय प्रणाशजनकाश्चोकप्रदा वायुजा ।

दारिद्र्यं सलिपिन्जै प्रकटित सर्वे प्रबन्धाद्यगा

कर्तुं कारथितुशशुभाशुभफल श्रोतुर्दिशन्यन्वहम् ॥

**1094** Kedarabhatta was son of Pibveka (Pathvaka) of Kāyapagotra His *Vṛttaratnākara*<sup>3</sup> in 6 chapters is most popular and has been extensively quoted by commentators, Mallinātha, Śivarāma etc He must have lived earlier than 15th century A D

There are commentaries by Panditacintāmaṇi,<sup>4</sup> Nārāyaṇa<sup>5</sup> son of Rāmesvara, Śrinātha,<sup>6</sup> Haribhāskara,<sup>7</sup> Janārdana Vibhudha,<sup>8</sup> Divākara, son of Mahādeva,<sup>9</sup> [Ayodhyāprasāda, Ātmārāma, Kṛṣnavarman, Govindabhatta, Cudāmanī Dīkṣīta, Narasimhasūri, Raghunātha, Viśvanāthakavi, Śrīkanṭha (*PR*, V 196), Somasundaragāṇī (*PR*, I 190), Sulhana, son of Bhāskara, Soma Pandīta, Sārasvatāśadāśivamuni, Somacandragāṇī (*PR*, III 396, IV 33)]<sup>10</sup> Kavisārdūla, Trivikrama, son of Raghūsūri,<sup>11</sup>

1. *PR*, I, 68

2. *TC*, III 3771

3. *PR*, III 925

4. *Tanj* IX 8949 Is Śūrīrāmasāmī, author of *Vṛttapuṣpaprakāśana* a different author? (*CC*, II 142)

5. Printed, Madras *Tanj* IX 8950 Composed in 1545 A.D

6. *Tanj* IX 895, Mys 294

7. *IO*, II, 808, *PR*, II 190, III 546, composed at Banaras in 1676,

8. *IO*, II 808, *PR*, VI 389

9. *IC*, 1555 Composed in 1740 A D

10. *CC*, I 596

11. *PR*, V 36,

Nārāyaṇabhatta,<sup>1</sup> Nṛsimha,<sup>2</sup> Kṛṣṇasāra,<sup>3</sup> Tārānātha,<sup>4</sup> Bhāskararāya,<sup>5</sup> Prabhāvallabha,<sup>6</sup> Devarāja<sup>7</sup> and one anonymous<sup>8</sup>

**1095** Bhāskara wrote Abhinava-Vṛttaratnākara, on which Śrīnivāsa wrote a commentary<sup>9</sup>

Trivikrama, son of Raghusūri and pupil of Vardhamāna, wrote Vṛttaratnākaraśūtrātikā.<sup>10</sup>

**SRUTABODHA**, by 'Kālidāsa,' is very well known and has several excellences. There are commentaries (*CC*, I 675),<sup>11</sup> by Harṣakīrti Upādhyāya (*PR*, V 463), by Manoharasarmā, by Tāracandra and by Hamsarāja (*Mitra*, IX 134, IV 297, V 278, VIII 196), [by Mādhava, son of Govinda (composed in 1640), Lakṣminārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Sukadeva, and by a pupil of Meghacandra (*PR*, III 225)],<sup>12</sup> by Caturbhujā (*PR*, VI 391) and by Nāgājī, son of Harji (*CC*, III 140).

**1096 Gangadasa** was son of Gopāladāsa Vaidya of Bengal. In six chapters, he describes in his Chandomanjari<sup>13</sup> varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He also wrote Acyutacarita, a poem in 16 cantos and Dinesācarita, a poem in praise of the sun. His father Gopāladāsa wrote a play Pārijāṭaharana.<sup>14</sup> He must have lived in the 15th or 16th century A.D.

There are commentaries<sup>15</sup> on Chandomanjari by Jagannātha Sena, son of Jaiādhara Kavirāja, Candrasekhara, Dāṭarāma, Govardhana, Vamsidhara and Kṛṣṇavarman.

**1097 Prastara** Works on metrics treat of *Prastāra*, that is, "all mathematical calculations for the number of vṛittas in each kind which

1 *Trav* 69

2. *TC*, VI 7176, *DC*, III No. 1792

3 *Trav* 69

4 Printed, Calcutta.

5 *Mys* 689, *Adyar*, II 89

6 *Adyar*, II 89

7 *TC*, VI 7177.

8. *Tanj* IX 8954; *TC*, VI. 7178, *DC*, III No 1794.

9 *TC*, IV.

10 *PR*, V. 27 A copy of his Kāṭaṇtrapancikodyoṣa is noted by Aufrecht as written in 1221 *CO* III 52

11 Printed Benares, Bombay and elsewhere.

12 *CC*, I 675

13 Ed everywhere *PR*, V. 452 VI. 882, *Tanj* IX, No 5082 This manuscript is dated Saka 1608 or 1680 A.D. *Mitra*, VI. 180, VII 246, 286

14 *CO*, I 885

15 *CO*, I 192 There is another Chandomanjari by Gopāladāsa and a third on Vedic metres (*CO*, I. 192)

declare the number of any verse in its group and the details of ganas of any particular vritta, its number being given," or "permutation of longs and shorts possible in a metre with a fixed number of syllables set forth in an enigmatical form" or an exposition of the science of prosody mathematically developed in the calculations of combinations Pingala describes it in his last chapter and so do other works on metrics such as *Vṛttarathnākara*<sup>1</sup>

**1098** Cintāmaṇi Jyotiivid, son of Govinda, of Sivapura composed in 1630 A.D. *Prastārācintāmaṇi* is in 3 chapters, consisting of a code of rules in a variety of metres accompanied by a prose commentary,<sup>2</sup> on *Varnapratyāra*, *Mātrāprastāra* and *Khandapratyāra*.

*Prastāravicāra* which is anonymous,<sup>3</sup> *Prastārapaṭṭana* of Kṛṣṇadeva,<sup>4</sup> and *Prastārasekhara*<sup>5</sup> of Śrinivāsa, son of Venkata, deal with this subject.

Prastāras are valuable in the elucidation of rhythms in Indian music

**1099 Other works** *Vṛttadarpana* by Siṭārāma (*TC*, III 3755),<sup>6</sup> *Jaganmohanavṛttasataka* by Vāsudeva Brahmapandita (*TC*, III 2735),<sup>7</sup> *Vṛttaraṭñānava* by Nṛsimha Bhagavaṭa, disciple of Rāmānanda Yogindra (*TC*, III 3767)

1 *IST*, VIII, 425

2 *IO*, II 306

There is a commentary by Daivagna composed in 1630 A.D. *CC*, I, 359

3 *Tanj* IX 8982

4 *Oudh*, III 12

5 *Tanj* IX 8985

6 He also wrote *Balabhadracariṇī* and many poems in Telugu. He lived at Kuthārapura which seems to be Guntala on the Godavari

7 The illustrations are mostly taken from nature and are very fanciful

वसन्तातिलकावृत्तम्—

गतिस्थितिभुक्तिभिस्तमानौ शुककाकौ मवतस्तथापि तत्र ।

शुक एव नदेवतावचासि श्रुतिमात्रेण निजास्यतो ब्रवीति ॥

पुष्पिताम्रावृत्तम्—

उदितवति सुधाकरे तभिसा विलसति वर्धत उच्चकै पयोधि ।

विरक्षसति कुमुद तथापि द्वित्र सलिलरह मुकुलीभवत्यतीव ॥

दांपत्यवृत्तम्—

कालविशेषे कोकिल उचैः कूजति काकसन्ततमेव ।

कूजन्त पिकमालोक्यार्या सन्तुष्यन्ति न काक दद्वा ॥

**1100** [Vṛttakalpadruma by Jayagovinda, Vṛttakauṭuka by Viśvānātha, Vṛttakaumudi (i) by Jagadguru, and (ii) by Rāmacaraṇa (*Ouh* XII 18), Vṛttacandrikā by Rāmadayālū (*Ouh* VII 2), Vṛttacandrodaya by Bhāskarādhvaram, Vṛttatarangini, Vṛtṭadipikā by Kṛṣṇa, Vṛttapraṭyaya by Sankarādayālū, Vṛttapradīpa (i) by Janārdana and (ii) by Badarīnātha, Vṛttamālā (i) by Virūpākṣajayvan (*Adyar*, I 39), and (ii) by Valiabhbaji, Vṛttalaksana, Vṛttavārṣika 1) by Umāpaṭi and (ii) by Vaidyanātha, Vṛttavinoda by Fatehgiri, Vṛttavivecana by Durgāsahāya, Vṛttasudhodaya (i) by Mathurānatha Sukla, and (ii) by Venivilāsa], (*CC*, I 5968), [Vṛttarāmāspada by Kṣemankarana Misra (*Ouh*, XXII 68), Vṛttasāra by Bhāradvāja, Vṛttasiddhāntamanjari by Raghunātha, Vṛttabhirāma by Rāmacandra], (*CC*, II 1+2)

**1101** Vṛtta-Rāmāyana (*Ouh*, V 10), Rāmastutiratna by Rāmaswāmi Sastrin (*Trav* 173), Kṛṣṇavṛtta and Nṛsimhavṛtta, Vṛtakārikā by Nārāyana Purohiṭa (*Mys* 294), Vṛtṭamanimālikā by Śrinivāsa (*Mys* 294, 684), Vṛtṭadyumāṇi (i) by Yasvanta (*CC*, I 596) and (ii) by Gangādhara (*Adyar*, II 39), Vṛttavinoda (*CC* III 125), Rangarāṭchandas (*CC*, I 488), Karuṇānanda by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC*, I 597), Karpasantoṣa by Mudgala (*Bk* 279), Kāvyajivana by Pṛitikara (*Ouh*, IX 8), Samavṛtta-sāra by Nīlakanthācārya (*CC*, I 301) Vṛtṭamanikosa by Śrinivāsa (*Mys* 294), Vānibhūṭa by Dāmodara (*IO*, II 305, Printed, Bombay), Vṛtṭamuktāvali (i) by Kṛṣṇārāma, (ii) by Mallāri, (iii) by Durgādatta (*IO*, II 3011), (iv) by Gangādāsa, and (v) by Hari Vyāsamiśra composed in 1574 (*CC*, I 142)

**1102** [Chandasprakāsa by Seṇacintāmanī, Chandassudhākara by Kṛṣṇārāma, Chandahkalpalatā by Maṭhurānātha, Chandahkosa by Raṭnasekhara (*PR*, III 404, V 193), Chandassloka (*Opp* 1828), Chandassankhyā, Chandascūḍāmanī by Hemacandra, Chandassudhācillahāri] (*CC*, I 190-1, III 41), Chandafpiyūṭa by Jagannātha, son of Rāma (*PR*, V 194), Chandomuktāvali by Sambhurāma (*PR*, III App 395), Chandonusāsana by Jinesvara, Chandassundara by Narahari, Chandoraṭnākara (*IO*, 2917, *Oxf* 201), Chandomālā by Śārṅgaḍhara (*IO*, 1238), Chandahkausṭubha by Rādhādāmodara (*Mys* 293, *PR*, IV. 33, V. 192) [Chandovyākhyāsāra by Kṛṣṇabhata, Chandassuḍhā by Gaṇas-takavyākhyā, Vṛtṭacintāraṭna by Sāntarājapandita, Vṛttadarpaṇa by Bhīṣmacandra] (*Mys* 293)

**1103** Vṛtta-raṭnāvali (*CC*, I 191) (i) by Durgādatta, (ii) by Nārāyaṇa, (iii) by Ravikara, (iv) by Rāmadeva, (v) by Venkatesa, son of Avadhānasarasvatī (*Mys* 639, *Tan* IX 3957), (vi) by Rāmaswāmi



## APPENDIX

[These two extracts from Kādambarī and Avantisundarīkāṭhā are specimens of exquisite style and extraordinary poetic fancy inculcating ethics and are appended to show how Bāna's ideas have been elaborated as if by emulation by Dandin]

### [EXTRACT FROM BANA'S KADAMBARI]

आलोकयतु तावत्कल्याणाभिनवेशी लक्ष्मीभेव प्रथम । इय हि सुभट्टव्यग्रमंडलोपलब्धन-  
विभ्रमभ्रमरी लक्ष्मी क्षीरसागरात्पारिजातपङ्कवेष्यो रागाभिंदुशक्लादेकांतवक्तामुच्चै श्रवस-  
श्चलती, कालकृतान्मोहनशक्तिं, मदिराया मद, कौस्तुभमणेरतिनैष्टुर्य, इतेतानि सहवासपरिचय-  
वशाद्विरहविनोदचिद्वानि गृहीत्वेवोद्गता । न श्वेवविघमपरमपरिचितमिह जगति किञ्चिदस्ति यथेष-  
मनार्थी लब्धाऽपि खलु दु खेन परिपाल्यते, दृढगुणपाशसदाननिष्पदीकृताऽपि नश्यति, उद्दामदर्प-  
भट्टसहस्रोल्लासितासिलतापजरविधृताऽपि अपक्रमति, मदजलदुर्दिनांधकारगजघटितघनघटाटोप-  
परिपालिताऽपि प्रपलायते, न परिचय रक्षति नाभिजनमीक्षते, न रूपमालोकयते, न कुलक्रम-  
मठुर्वतते, न शील पश्यति, न वैदर्घ्य गणयति, न श्रुतमाकर्णयति, न धर्ममनुरुद्धयते, न सागमाद्विन-  
यते, न विशेषज्ञता विचारयति, नाचार पालयति, न सत्यमनुरुद्धयते, न लक्षण प्रमाणीकरोति ।  
गर्ववनगरलेखेव पश्यत एव नश्यति । अध्याप्यारुद्भंदरपरिवर्तावर्तं प्रतिजनितस्त्वकरेव  
परिग्रमति । कमलिनीसच्चरणव्यतिकरलग्ननलिननालकटकक्षतेव न क्वचिभिर्मरमावज्ञाति पद ।  
अतिप्रथलविधृताऽपि परमेश्वरगृहेषु विविधग्रामधृपानमत्तेव परिस्खलति, पारव्यमित्रोपशि-  
क्षितुमसिधारासु निवसति, विश्वरूपत्वमिव गृहीतुमाश्रिता नारायणमूर्तिम्, अप्रलयवहुङ्गा च दिवसी  
तकमलमिव समुचितमूलदण्डकोषमण्डलमपि मुचति भ्रुभुज । लेतेव विटपकानव्यारोहति । गगेव  
वसुजनन्यपि तरगुद्बुद्बुदचचला, दिवपकरणतिरेव प्रकटितविविश्वकर्णति, पाताळगृहेव  
तमोवहुङ्गा, हिंडिवेव भीमसाहसैकहार्यहृदया, प्रावृष्टिव अचिरद्युतिकारिणी, दुष्टपिशाचीव  
दर्शितनेकपुरुषोच्छाया, सल्पसत्त्वमुन्मत्तीकरोति, सरसतीपरिशुद्धीतमीर्ष्येव नालिंगति जनम्,  
गुणवत्सपवित्रमिव न स्पृशति उदारसत्त्वमभग्नमिव न बहुमन्यते, सुजनमनिमित्तमिव न पश्यति,  
असिजातमहिमिव लघयति, शूर कटकमिव परिहरति, दातारं सन्मिव न स्मरति, विनाति  
पातकिनमिव नोपसर्पति, मनस्त्वनमुन्मत्तमिव हसति, परस्परविश्वद च इद्वालमिव दर्शयती  
प्रकटयति जगति निज चरितम् । तथाहि । सततमूष्माणमारोपयन्त्यपि जाग्रमुपजनयति, उभती

मादधानाऽपि नीचसमावतामाविष्करोति, तोयराशिसमवाऽपि तुष्णा सवर्धयति, ईश्वरता दधानाऽप्यशिवप्रकृतित्वमातनोति, बलोपचयमाहरन्यपि लघिमानमापादयति, अमृतसहोदराऽपि कट्टविपाका, विग्रहवत्सपि अप्रत्यक्षदर्शना, पुरुषोत्तमरतापि खलजनप्रिया, रेणुभवीव सूक्ष्मपि कलुषीकरौति ।

यथा यथा चेय चपला दीप्यते तथा तथा दीपशिखेव कञ्जलभलिनमेव कर्म केवलमृद्धमति । तथाहि—इय सवर्धनवारिधारा तुष्णाविष्वकूर्णीना, व्याधगार्तिरिद्रियमृगाणां, परामश्चूमलेष्व सञ्चरितचित्राणा, विभ्रमशब्द्या मोहर्धनिदणा, निवासजीर्णवलभी धनभदपिशाचिकानां, तिमि रोद्रति शास्त्रदीनां, पुरस्सरपताका सर्वाविनयाना, उत्पत्तिनिम्नगा कोशवेगग्राहाणा, आपाना भूमिर्विषयमधूना, सगीतशाला भूविकारनाव्याना, आवासदी दोषाशीविषाणां, उत्सारणवेत्तला सत्पुरुषव्याहाराणां, अकालप्रावृद्ध शुणकलहसकाना, विसर्पणभूमिलोकवादविस्फोटाना, प्रस्तावना कपटनाटकस्य, कदलिका कामकरिण्, वृथशाला साधुभावस्य, राहुजिह्वा धर्मेदुमडलस्य ।

न हि त पश्यामि याश्चपरिचितयाऽनया न निर्भरमुपगूढो यो वा न विप्रलब्ध । नियतमिय भालेस्यगताऽपि चलति, पुस्तकमध्यपि इदंजालमाचरति, उत्कीर्णाऽपि विप्रलभते, श्रुत्वाऽप्यमि सधते, चितिताऽपि चयति । एवविधयाऽपि चानया दुराचारया कथमपि दैववशेन परिगृहीता विकृतीभवति राजान्, सर्वाविनयाधिष्ठानतां च गच्छति । तथाहि—अभिषेकसमय एव चैव मगळकलशजलैरिव क्षाल्यते दाक्षिण्य, अश्विकर्यधूमेनेव मलिनाभवति हृदय, पुरोहितक्षाम्र सम्भार्जनीमिरिवापनीयते क्षाति, उष्णीषपट्टवधेनेवाच्छायते जरागमनस्मरण, आतपत्तमडलेनेव वार्यते परलोकदर्शनम्, चारमपवैरिवापद्वियते सत्यवादिता, वेत्रदैरिव उत्सायते शुणा, जयशब्दकलकैरिव तिरस्कियते साधुवादा, ध्वजपट्टपैदैरिव परामृश्यते यशः । तथाहि-केचिच्छ्रुमवश्याद्यिलशकुनिगळपुटचपलाभि खृद्योतोन्मेषमृहृतमनोहराभिर्मनसिजनगर्हितामि., सपद्धि प्रलोभ्यमाना धनलबलामावलेपविस्मृतजन्मनोज्ञेकदेवोपचितेन दुष्टासुजेव रागावेषेन वाद्यमाना विवधाविषयरसग्रासलालसै पवभिरप्यनेकसहस्रसख्यैरिवेद्रियैरायासमाना. प्रकृतिच्चलतया लब्धप्रसरेणकेनापि शतसहस्रताभिवोपगतेन मनसाङ्कुलीक्रियमाणा विह्वलता-सुष्पर्यति ।

किंच प्रहैरिव शुद्धते, भूतैरिवाभिभूयते, मलैरिवावष्टम्यते, वायुनेव विडम्यते, पिशाचैरिव ग्रस्ते, मदनशरैर्माभिहता इव मुखमगत्तहस्ताणि कुर्वते, धनोभ्याना पच्यमाना इव विचेष्टते, गाढप्रहाराभिहता इवाणानि न धारयति, कुळीरा इव तिर्यक्यपरिग्रमति, अर्धमंगतयः पगव इव परेण सर्वार्थते, मृत्यावादविपाकसजातमुखरोगा इवातिकृच्छ्रेण जल्पयति, सप्तश्चदत्तं

इव कुमुरजोविकाररासञ्चवर्तिना शिर शूलशृत्पादयति, आसनभृत्यव इव पुर. स्थित बधु-  
ञ्जनपि नाभिजानति, उत्कुपितलोचना इव तेजखनो नेक्षते, कालदष्टा इव महामत्रैरपि न  
प्रतिकृष्णन्ते, जातुषा इव सोष्माण न सहते, दुष्टवारणा इव महालानस्तमनिश्चलीकृता अपि न  
मृद्धत्युपदेशम्, अतितृष्णाविषवेगमूर्छिता कनकमयमिव सर्वं पश्यति, असय इव पानवार्धित-  
तैरेष्वा. परप्रेरिताः विनाशयति, दूरस्थितान्यपि फलानीव दत्तविक्षेपैर्महाकुलानि शातयति,  
अकालकुमुरप्रसवा इव मनोहराकृतयोऽपि लोकविनाशहेतव, इमशानान्य इवातिरौत्रभूतय ,  
तैरिकिरा इवादूरदार्थिन, उपसृष्टा इव क्षुद्राविधिष्ठितमवना, श्रूयमाणा अयि प्रेतपटहा इवोद्देजयति,  
विलमाना अपि महापातकाध्यवसाया इव उपद्रवमूपजनयति, अनुदिवसमापूर्यमाणा ,  
पाष्ठेवाघ्नातमूर्तयो न भवति, तदवस्थात्थ व्वसनशतशरव्यतामूपगता वल्मीकितृणामावस्थिता  
बलविद्व इव पतितमप्यात्मान नावगच्छति ।

[EXTRACT FROM DANDIN'S AVANTISUNDARIKATHA]

विदितमेव खलु विदितवेदितव्यस्य यथेमा प्रतिपदसुलभान्तराया दुर्योजनसाधनसमवायाश्च  
सम्पर्य । प्रार्थमाना दुरवापा, समाराध्यमाना दुःखशीला, रक्ष्यमाणा प्रपलायिनी च लक्ष्मीः ।  
प्रलक्ष्मेव चासाध्यापलम् । पृष्ठा खलु देवस्य पितृपितामहसवर्धितापि रिपुष्वर्वग्रसम्बाधमुक्ताचित्तेन  
सुचिरलालितापि प्रवीरकरदण्डमण्डलीकृतप्रचण्डचापचकटकारमुखरितेषु समरेषु शरीरं जीवित-  
मध्यनवेष्य रक्षितापि, यथेष्टलाभसवर्धिता तु द्विजवराशीर्वादनन्दितापि, निलाराधनप्रसञ्जकुल-  
देवताधिष्ठानापि, नित्योद्युक्तविद्याधरवृद्धसमाजाजसग्राह्यमाणविनयापि, चतुरुदधिवलयमध्य-  
वर्तिसकलनरपतिकुलविरचिताजलिकमलवनविहारमानितमनोरथापि, खभावदेषेण दुर्मति-  
रपरिचिता जीवत्येव तस्मिन्निरजीवितलेहलोलखद्विग्रहिन्ने महाहिमोगमीषणे. सग्रामे तस्या-  
सिद्धुकरदलितकुमुदकुड्मलोदरदलावदातायामप . . . !..... अपि चेयं पतञ्जरथमयीव  
भुजग्नमेगिनीं सुहृत्मप्यविश्रम्य परिग्रहति । उपनतापि दैवादुरसि प्रमदमूर्छितेव हठा-  
विष्यति । अविदितकृत्याकुलमाकुलीकृताक्षमक्षरमतुमवदु खमङ्गनिमोगैराचक्षाणमारुद्धशङ्का-  
साञ्चसैरवस्थानुरूप पुरुषमप्लवेष्का प्रधावति । मधुकाद्विरिव मलिनवर्णं क्षुद्रात्मकै. शिक्षिता  
कर्कषुरुपसाहसैकहारमना [स्थात] दुर्ग्रहेषिव । विटपमारोहाति दुष्टमर्कटीय तमकस्मादेव  
शोभयित्वा विच्छुतफलमृदधूतपत्रमुसुज्य विटपमन्य सक्रामति । यत्र लवलभा ज्वलनशिखेव तम-  
वश्य भस्मीकृत्यैव प्रशास्यति । मन्ये च कालकूटसासाश्च भगवत्वा निष्पातामिविषीभूत. स्वित-  
मानिदानीं दुरधासिन्धु । अथवा नेये कालकूटतुल्यक्षयाणां लक्षयित्वा, यावद्मुनैकस्यैवेश्वरस  
कण्ठमात्रं दूषितमनया शतसहस्राणीश्वराणा सर्वाकार दूषितानि । सैषा मन्दरोदूतमहासमुद्रवीचीबल  
व्येगस्तालजविजुक्तिमताङ्गभज्जरे महान्तमूर्णाणसुद्धमति । स्थानाशनशृण्यनेषु धृतिमुपगच्छति

मुहूर्ष्यहृवेष्टते, भक्त द्वैष्टि, दृष्टिमुद्भ्रमयति, जीवित च पर्यास्यमाना भयानका दशामावाहयति । अचलक्षोभमुखलविगर्भमूर्छन्मारुतातिरेकस्तीकृतेव जातापातवातप्रकृति, असहृतश्चाला चानवस्थिता च क्षुद्रा च निष्ठुरप्रलापकारिणी च कृशवर्णा च कृतप्रलोभना च सप्रलैर्विभैर्मृश्च दुनोति (पुरुष) कारताम् । उरगनायकस्य वासुकेर्भन्दराकर्षणखेदविह्लस्य निश्चासनिज्वरविवाशि-धूममण्डलाविकृतेव सदसच्च न पश्यति, परप्रणेया सतीवाजस्यमालम्बते महापथेऽपि स्खलति, नरपश्चनापि समापतति, अस्पृश्यानपि स्पृशति, अशुचिमध्यधितिष्ठति । चक्षुप्सद्विश्च परिभूयते सत्यम् । अचलवृत्तेरत्युद्ग्रस्यापि भूमृतोऽस्या समुद्रवेद्जिह्वसवेष्टनमतिघोरा च अन्तिरासीत् । सर्वानेव देवान् ब्रह्ममुखान्परिभूय समन्तमायासिद्वान्ततन्त्रीर्थकर नारायणमात्मनोपसुल्ल भजमा नयाज्ञयोद्घोषितमसाधारण वार्ष्यम् । अमुनाऽतिमायेनेमां रक्षाऽधोक्षेजेनानुभूतावतारभूतावाम-नता । नानाविधिविडम्बनार्थपरा चेय दुधधराशेरपसुतचटुलकटाक्षदृष्टेषोन्मादितपुरुषेष्वनिभित्त सङ्कलितानि विग्रहसङ्क्लहाणि पश्यन्ती वशेव राजकुलेषु लीलावष्टम्भरसप्रगल्म ग्रमति, सोम्ययेज जाति न्यापयति, तेजोरूपतयेव वशसतर्ति दहृति, तमोमयत्वादिव वसन्तमवनानि मालिन थति, व्यभिचारितयेव भग्नाकुलानि पासुलयति । चित्रप्रदमयशोदाऽपि मण्डल, असुमद्रापि विजय मानुषण्येनाकर्त्तीति, अदमयन्त्यपि लोकपालानवध्य नल्लसार गुरुकरोति, अमृतैकसत्त्वाद-पारिजात रत्नाकरमपि नाधिवसति, विरतविग्रहमकरध्वजमपि पुरुष दुद्धश्च नामिनन्ददति, कलासंप्रहृश्चाल कुशल इलमुख्यमानेव शङ्के शशकेऽपि न वसति, सुरभिगन्धसपणमिल सहमानेव मन्ये महोत्पलेऽपि न पातयति पद, अङ्गीकृतमसुरस्नेहोपचारमिलसूययस्तेव धारातलेऽपि न वङ्गकमते । तर्कयामि चास्या । सञ्चिधानादेवावदातेऽपि चन्द्रमण्डलेस्फुटीभूतो नून-मस्ति कल्लङ्क, पावनेष्वपि कमलवनेषु प्रोदीर्यते रजोविकार, सञ्चेऽपि च कृपाणधाराजले जायते बनुष्मेदनशक्ति । लागाशतिसुत्कर्षिणीमिव दर्शनन्ती लागाशीलानेव लाजति, शूरैस्सह शौर्यमिव प्रकाशयन्ती विगृहैव तिष्ठति, विनीतेऽपि विनीततरेव तिरस्करोति, अलगुरागवद्यतिरागिणीवावेयं ददाति, . हीमत्सु नितान्तप्रीतेव न रूपमात्मनोऽमिव्यनक्ति, वर्मरतिचण्डरागानति-यन्त्रणासहिष्युतयेव नवेशयति, प्रणयमदीनेषु दीनसत्त्वा शीलमेदादिव नावलम्बते भैत्रीकर्म, उच्छ्वलेषु क्षुद्रारोहितयेव नाधिरोद्ध क्षमते । . अस्तुगर्भरागमिव निदावदूषितमाभिजाल प्रतिक्षणमवमुद्भाति, चरणमिवानुरक्तमलधस्ताद्वतेयति, जङ्घचाकाण्डमिव प्रजानुरक्त तनुतरं दधाति, कङ्कण्डमिव स्थिरमुपहितोसजाल क्षेत्रयति, जघनमिव महामोगमावृणोति, उर इव मध्यस्थ मधकल्पमुद्भर्तयति, नामिरन्धमिव गम्भीर बह्वार्बमुपशाति, स्तनतटमिव ग्रवृद्ध बन्धयति, भुजपाश-मिव मुदुमवाङ्मुख्ययति, अधरमिव परिस्पन्दमिव क्षतावस्थानमापादयति, दशननिवेशमिवमाल-मधरस्थिरस्कार्यमारचयति, लोचनयुग्माभिव स्त्रिय विग्रहेण योजयति, केशहृत्तमिवावति-मन्त समययति । स्वरत्तरेषु चासौ सुलेषु पातिला, आन्यपूर्णीव दुर्जनवरणमानसहता, निश्चर-

तां गताऽपि फलीक्रियते, निर्मर्यादादविभ्रमा च मत्तमातङ्गानपि अमरीवामिसरति, विषुद्धिलास-  
तरळा मेघरजिरिव राजदृशानप्युद्देजयति, जडानप्यन्धानप्यधीरानपि, सूक्तानपि, क्षयिणोऽपि,  
शिवत्रिणोऽपि, व्यङ्गानपि, विरूपानपि, वृद्धानपि, क्षीबानपि, कृष्णानपि, लुभ्धानपि,  
मुग्धानपि, निष्ठुरानपि, सैरिणी न परिहरति । असदशानेकदुर्जनोपभोगनिर्मर्यकदर्थिताऽपि  
नापत्रपते । किं बहुना । न शुणमपेक्ष्याभिर्वैते, नापि दोषेण व्यावरते । तथा हि । अजातशत्रोर्धा-  
मिंकतामानेलसम्भवस्याभ्यवसायसामर्घमर्जुनस्य पराक्रम यमयोस्त्वतिमानुषस्तपमननुरुद्ध्यमान-  
शकुनिरवितमस्थूतकपट चारीकुलं शुद्धमलीकारगर्वं हुयोधनमतिनिर्भरमालिलिङ्गं लक्ष्मी ।  
किमनया नाचरितभिन्दजालेषु, किमनम्यस्त प्रलभ्मनेषु, किमशेषित महापातकेषु, किमगणितम-  
कार्येषु, किमप्रवर्तित वर्णसङ्करेषु, किमभिज्ञ मर्यादासु, किमनुद्धवित मोहविलसितेषु, किमप्रतिहतं  
जालवर्तमेषु । रज्जुरियं बन्धनाय सलवादिताया, विषमिय जीवितहरणाय माहात्म्यस्य,  
शब्दमिय विश्वसनाय सत्पुरुषवृत्तानां, अशिरिय निर्दहनाय धर्मस्य, सलिलमिय निभजनाय  
सौजन्यस्य, धूलिरिय धूसरीकरणाय चारित्रस्य । चित्रायते चेयं सीमन्तिनीविसवादिवृत्तमस्याः ।  
यतो यमेव पुरुषमेवा समाश्लिष्यति स्वयमेव तप्तुद्वामकाम परखीसहस्रेषु योजयाति, सदापि वाश्णीं  
हृतेयमात्मनं समक्षमेव सेवमानभिममुत्साहयति । शुणानपि दोषीकरोति, दोषानपि शुणी-  
करोति । अस्याश्च पलातिशये प्रक्रान्ते प्रस्तावोऽपि न दीपार्चिषा, न वार्तापि करिकलमकर्ण-  
पङ्कवार्णा, न कथापि कदलिकाप्रान्तपारिकाणाम् । केवलमनार्थयुद्देवैवामनवस्थितत्वेनानुसर्तुम  
स्ति शक्ति ।

एवविधापि चेयं दुराचारा सकृदव्यभिचारितापि समावचापलेन भूयोप्य-  
साधारणपुरुषकारभूषणैर्भवाहस्त्रैव शक्यते प्रत्याहर्तुम् । धातेराष्ट्राननुष्ठितकपटचत-  
हारितापि ख्ववरणयवासविनिवृत्तै पाण्डुपुत्रै प्रत्युदधतैव । इयमपरिमितमहामहीश्वत्प्रभूत-  
वाहिनीवरपरिवृहितमनेकशतसहस्राणांगसङ्कुलं कुरुकुलबलजलघिमनुप्रविश्य शुक्तिभिव वृत्त-  
मुक्तालक्ष्मीं दुर्लभं । बन्धा । यस्येय निश्चला चलितामेव स्त्रियमां दुष्टचेटीयिव पुनः पुनर-  
वग्न्या निगलयित्वा नीतवन्त काल अचलशिखाकूटविकटमासलासपीठा पीठीकृतसप्तहीय-  
सकलरत्नाकरमेखला धरणीमुज । श्रूयते च नवनल्लिनाल्लतन्तुगर्भेलीनो नहृष्टप्रभावसमय समअ-  
मेव चक्षमे सहस्राशः, पुनरमृष्णिन्पुलोमकन्यकाकरग्रहदुर्विदग्धहृदये ऊर्वशीप्रलोभप्रलम्भ-  
नाप्रहोदग्रसप्तविनिर्वृद्धिविकापिरुद्दे निग्रहमर्यितस्य महेषरगस्यस्य शापादजगरभूय  
गतवल्मणवृत्तं कल्पत्रमनायकां च नाकलक्ष्मीं प्रापयत ।

### गोपिकागीतम्

(SRI BHAGAVATA, X. 31)

[For the early history of *Gita Kavya*]

गोप्य ऊङ्गु.—

जयाति तेऽधिकं अन्मना ब्रजश्वेयत इंदिरा शशदत्त हि ।  
 दायेत दृश्यता दिक्षु तावकास्त्वयि धृतासवस्त्वां विचिन्वते ॥

शरदुदाशये साधु जातसत्सरसिजोदरश्रीमुषा दृशा ।  
 मुरतनाथ तेऽशुल्कदासिका वरदं निमतो नेह किं वथ ॥

विषजलाशयादव्य लराक्षसाङ्खर्षमारुताद्वैयुतानलात् ।  
 तृष्णमयात्मजाद्विश्वतो भयाद्वम ते वर्यं रक्षिता मुहुः ॥

न खलु गोपिकानदनो भवानखिलदोहिनामंतरात्मदृक् ।  
 विघ्नसार्थितो विश्वगृप्तये सख उदेयिवान् सास्त्वता कुले ॥

विरचितामय वृष्णिधुर्यं ते शरणमीयूषा ससृतभैर्यात् ।  
 करसरोरुह कात कामद शिरसि देहि नशश्रीकरग्रहम् ॥

वजजनार्तिहन् वीर याषिता निजजनस्मयध्वंसनास्मित ।  
 मज सखे भवतिकरीस्स नो जलरहाननं चारु दर्शय ॥

प्रणतदेहिना पापकर्णन तुणचरानुग श्रीनिकेतनम् ।  
 कणिफणार्पित ते पदाषुजं कृष्ण कुचेषु न. कृष्ण हृच्छयम् ॥

मधुरया गिरा वस्तुवाक्यया बुधमनोहया पुष्करेक्षण ।  
 विधिकरीरिमा वीर मुद्दतीरधरसीधुमाप्याययस्त नः ॥

तव कथामृतं तप्तजीवनं कविभिरीडित कल्पवापहम् ।  
 श्रवणमगळं श्रीमदातत भुवि गृणति ये भूरिदा जना ॥

प्रहसित प्रिय प्रेमवीक्षित विहरणं च ते ध्यानमगळम् ।  
 रहसि संविदो या हृदिस्पृश कुहक नो मन झोमयति हि ॥

चलसि यदवजाप्चारयन् पश्चन् नक्षिनसुंदर नाथ ते पदम् ।  
 शिलतृणांकुरैस्सीदतीति न कलिलतां मन. कात गच्छति ॥ ।

दिनपरिक्षये नीलकुतलैर्वनरहान विग्रदावृतम् ।  
 चनरजस्वल दर्शयन् मुहुर्मनसि नस्समर वीर यच्छसि ॥

प्रणतकाभद पश्चाजार्चितं धरणिमडन व्येयमापदि ।  
 चरणपकज शतम च ते रमण नस्तनेष्वर्पयाधिहन् ॥  
  
 सुरतवर्धनं शोकनाशन स्वरितवेणुना सुन्दु उचित ।  
 इतरागविस्मारणं तुणा वितर वीर नस्तेऽधरा मृतश् ॥  
  
 अटति यद्वानहि कानन त्रुटियुगायते त्वामपश्यताम् ।  
 कुटिलकुंतल श्रीमुख च ते जड उर्दाक्षता पक्षमकुदृष्टाम् ॥  
  
 पतिसुतान्वय ब्रातुबांधवान तिविलध्य ते श्वच्छुतागता ।  
 गतिविदस्त्वोदीतमोहिता कितव योषित कस्त्यजेनिष्ठि ॥  
  
 रहसि सविद हृच्छ्योदयं प्रहसितानन प्रेमवीक्षणम् ।  
 वृहदुरशिश्रयो धाम वीक्ष्य ते मुहुरतिस्पृहा मुझते मन ॥  
  
 ब्रजवनौकसरा व्यक्तिरंग ते वृजिनहृन्यल विश्वभगलम् ।  
 त्वजमनाकव नस्त्वत्स्पृहात्मना सजनहृजा विश्वूदनम् ॥  
  
 यचे सुजातचरणाखुरह स्तनेषु भीताश्चनै त्रिय दधीमहि कर्केषु ।  
 तेनाटवीमटसि तदव्यवहते न किलित्कर्पादिसिञ्चमतिथिर्वदायश्ची न ॥

ऋग्वेदसंक्षिप्तम्.

(SRI BHAGAVATA, X. 47)

[For the early history of Dāṭa-Kūrya]

काचिन्मधुकरं हृष्टा ध्यायन्ती कृष्णसंगमभ् ।  
प्रियप्रस्थापित दूतै कल्वयित्वेदमन्नवीत् ॥

गोपिकोवाच—

मधुप कितवंधो मा स्पृशात्रि सपल्या कुचविलुलितमालाकुभस्मधुर्भिर्नः ।  
 वहतु मधुपतिस्तन्मानिनीना प्रसाद यदुसदसि विंष्ट गत्य दूतस्त्वमीदक् ॥  
 सहुदधरसुधां स्त्रौ मोहिनीं पायथित्वा सुमनस इव सच्चस्तसेजस्मान्मवाहक् ।  
 परिचरति कथं तत्पादपञ्चं सुपद्मा अपि बत हतवेता सुतमझेकजल्पै ॥  
 किमिह बहुषष्ठे गायसि त्व यदूनामधिपतिसमग्रहाणामग्रतो न पुराणम् ।  
 विजयसखि सहीना गीयतीं तत्प्रसग क्षपितकुचरुजस्ते कल्पयन्तीष्मिष्टा ।



## INDEX TO INTRODUCTION

Alphabet, 23	Indian Literature
Anchor Sheet of Indian Chronology 59	antiquity of 1 history of 28
Āndhra dynasty 44	Kalacūri era 48
Asoka ( <i>COJ</i> , III 145)	Kalhana on ancient records 32
Buddhist accounts and 71	Kaliyuga
in inscriptions 57	Kalpa 45
Asokāvadāna 72	Kanva dynasty 42
Bāhradratha dynasty 35	Kathāsaritsāgara 82
Bhāsā 20	Kātyāyana 20
Bṛahmanas 9, 13	Kollam era 50
Bṛhaspaticakra 49	Languages classification of 13
Buddha-Nirvāṇa 73	Lokakāla 76
Calculation	Mahābhāraṭa War and dates 63
methods of 45	Magadha history of 35
Chronograms 51	Mahāvamsa 71-2
Cedi era 48	Mahāyuga 45
Candragupta Mourya 40	Manvanṭara 45
Classical period	Mahesvarasūtra 15
posteriority of 12	Maurya Dynasty 40
Devayānī 3	Mauryas according to Purāṇas 78, 91 according to Kathāsaritsāgara
Dīpavamśa 71	32
Edicts of Piyadāsi <sup>1</sup> 85	Nanda dynasty 38
Grammar	Nandikesvara-Kāṇkā 15
spiritual aspect of 26	Pāṇini 20
Gupta dynasty 44	Paṭṭanjali 20, 21
[L R D Banerjee, <i>Age of Imperial Guptas</i> Benares]	Pattāvalis 30
Gupta era 74	
Guptavalabhī era 74	
Harṣa era (of Nepal) 48	
Harṣa Samvat 48	

<sup>1</sup> The name Asoka is said to be found in the XIth Edict. Under the circumstances of extreme improbability of the chronology, it requires complete verification and examination. See V. Smith's *Asoka*.



## INDEX (MISCELLANEOUS)

- Abdulla 196  
 Adilshahi dynasty 772  
 Ahmad Nizam Shah 884  
 Akbar 196, 229, 373-A, 406, 703  
 Allauddin 96  
 Anhilvid dynasty 70-1  
 Bahadur Shah (of Gujarat) 694  
 Bikaneer Kings 898, 1042  
 Buddha 6  
 British Kings 200  
 Bundelkand Kings 538  
 Camara dynasty (Sambhar) 75  
 Calukya dynasty 1, 6, 62, 70-1,  
     86, 89, 90, 280  
 Calukya Vikrama era 89  
 Chowhans 61  
 Colas 67, 521  
 Eighteen-half poets 168  
 Fatteh Saha 693, 700  
 Gangas 1066  
 Gangas of Khimindi 1043  
 Gangas of Kalinga 193, 880  
 Gangas (Western) of Talkad 816  
     [*The Gangas of Talkad* by M. V.  
         Krishnarao, Madras]  
 Gauda Kings 75  
 Ghazni Mahammad 194  
 Gupta era 9, 42  
 Gupta Valabhi era 42  
 Hieun Thsang 549  
 Hoysālas 100, 480, 1011  
 Jama dynasty of Navnagar 199  
 Java 776  
 Jehangir 196, 373-4  
 Kadamba dynasty (of Vanavasi)  
     86, 199
- Kadamba dynasty of Palasika 82  
 Kākaṭiyas 48, 916  
 Kalacuri Kings 663  
 Kalingas 928  
 Kāncī 459  
 Kaniṅka 4, 33  
 Kanoj Kings 73, 75, 997  
 Karveśnagar 941  
 Kashmīr dynasties 184-190  
 Keladi Chiefs 197  
     [Paper by N. Lakshminarayana Rao  
         in *Vijayanagaram*]  
 Kempe Gaudas 789, 444  
 Lokakṣīla  
 Magadha dynasties 598  
 Mahāvamsa 39  
 Mahrāta Kings of Tanjore 157  
 Naik Kings of Tanjore 145  
 Nepal dynasties  
     [For genealogy of Kings, see C. Be-  
         dall's 'A Journey of Nepal and  
         Northern India, Cambridge' List of  
         MSS appended].  
 Nuzvid Rajas 942-943  
 Orcha Kings 528  
 Pālas 59  
 Pallavas 48, 459  
 Paramāra dynasty 61, 515  
 Peshwas 524, 937  
 Pithapuram Rajas 522  
 Praḍhāra dynasty (Kanoj) 75  
     [*History of Kanor* by R. S. Tripathi]  
 Rāpa family of Kondavidu 238  
 Rāpakaś 199  
 Rāstrakūṭas 56, 198, 518  
 Reddis of Addanki 482, 888, 889  
 Reddis of Kondavidu 889



# INDEX

## WITH ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

*N.B.* — The figures by the side of the names represent the number of the paragraph in the text, except where the letter *p* is prefixed which means *page*. The years denote A.D.

(d) == drama

अ

- अकालजलद 652
- अकालवर्ष 57
- अक्षयसूरि 521
- अक्षरनाम 196, 306
- अक्षरीय कालिदास SS  
[See Article by Hardutt Sarma in *IHQ*, X 478, *COJ*, III, 186]
- अक्षयकुमारशास्त्रिन्  
कामवैभव (in prose) [*SB JI*]
- अक्षयवटाभिश्र (विप्रचंद्र)  
पुष्पोपहार
- राधामाधवविलास  
सोनकुमुमाजलि  
[*Vidy JI*]
- अक्षरगुंफ 903
- अक्षयशास्त्रिन्  
भागवतचपूर्टीका [*Rice*, 250]
- अक्षरमालागथ 506
- अक्षोभ्यति 214
- आखिलाङ्गनायकीदडक 28, 550
- आखिलांडशर्मन् 920
- अगस्त्य [CC, I 1]
- अगस्त्य 126, 481, 889, 926
- अगस्त्यरामायण 373-B

- अभिकुमार 893
- अभिपुराण 794
- अभिवर्ण 13, 25 [*CC*, I 3]
- अभिवेश p 26
- अभिस्त्रव [*CC*, I 3]
- अभिस्त्रोत्र by सहदेव [*Tan*, No 23141]  
असेरनाथबधोपाध्याय  
मरकतश्तक  
[*Vidy JI* Selections on various topics]
- अंक 50
- अंकावली 373
- अगाद *Pady*
- अगधराष्ट्र [CC, I. 4]
- अगराज 55
- अंगहार 945
- अगहारलक्षण 923, 1064
- अंगारकस्त्रोत [*Tan*, No 19098]
- अगरेजचट्रिका by विनायकभट्ट  
[CC, I 5. Composed in 1801]
- अचल *Skm*, *Sarng*, *Kvs*
- अचलदास *Skm*
- अचलनृसिंह *Skm*
- अचलशद 904
- अचलसिंह *Kvs*, *Skm*
- अचिच्छेव *Subh*, 400
- अच्छान्दीसित 154, 269

- अच्युत *Sang, Kvs*, 314  
 अच्युत (कृष्णशतककर्ता) [CC, I, 5]  
 अच्युत (मार्गीरथीचपूकर्ता)  
     [Printed, Bombay Composed in  
     1815]  
 अच्युतचरित 243, 1075  
 अच्युतदेवराय 124, 139, 216  
 अच्युतराय (गोदक) 154, 301, 311,  
     911, 928  
 अच्युतरायाभ्युदय 139, 490  
 अच्युतलीला 170, 338  
 अच्युतशतीक 121  
 अच्युतशर्मन् 544  
 अच्युताष्टक 273  
 अच्युतेद्राभ्युदय 146  
 अच्युतोत्तर 815  
 अजयपाल 116  
 अजाग्नोपास्थ्यान 178  
 अजायिक्लोपास्थ्यान  
     by जयकृष्ण 268  
     by सातिरामवर्मन् 1056  
 अजितन्यायरत्न [SB JI]  
 अजितप्रम 235  
 अजितशातिस्तव 283  
 अजितसेन 843  
 अजितार्पण 823  
 अजनापवनजय 668 (d)  
 अंजलिवैमवस्तोत्र [Opp, 1178]  
 अङ्गोक *Skm*  
 अणुमध्विजय 214  
 अणुरत्नमडन [CC, I 4 Died in 1461]  
 अष्टुलक्ष्मी 373 A  
 अण्णयाचार्य 206  
 अण्णयाचार्य (श्रीशैल) 530
- अण्णयाचार्य (वाघूल) 546  
 अण्णयाचार्य (सुरपुर) 789  
 अण्णाजी बालकृष्ण [*Mani JI*]  
 अण्णाशाश्विन् 777  
 अतर्व्याकरणनाव्यपरिचिष्ट (d) 764  
 अतद्वचदिका (d) 700  
     by जगन्नाथ  
     by विद्यानिधि [*Oudh*, V 8, VIII 6]  
 अतिमालुष्टत्व 207  
 अतिमुक्तचरित्र 104  
 अतिरात्रयज्वन् 154, 779  
 अतिरूपचरित 501  
 अतीत p 2  
 अतुल 67  
 आदितिकुडलाहरण (d) 661  
 अद्भुतरग (d) 786 [Printed, Bombay.]  
 अद्भुतदर्पण (d) 162, 779  
 अद्भुतपुण्य *Subh, Sang*  
 अद्भुतफुल (= अद्भुतपुण्य)  
 अद्भुतरामायण 373-B, p. 21  
 अद्भुताशुक (d) 494  
 अद्भुतोचररामायण p 21  
 अद्वैत 252  
 अद्वैतरामभिष्ठ (=अद्वैतभिष्ठ=अद्वैतभट्ट)  
     [CO, III 140, 252]  
 अध्यात्मरामायण p 21  
 अध्यात्मरामायणरहस्य by राधाकृष्ण  
     [CC, I 11]  
 अनग *Skm*  
 अनगजीवन (d) 160, 329, 787  
 अनगतिलक (d) 787  
 अनगदीपिका *Bik*, 531  
 अनगब्रह्मविलास (d) 160  
 अनगब्रह्मविद्यविलास (d) 704  
 अनगमगल (d) 787

अनगरण 1073  
 अनगलेखा (d) 451  
 अनगवती (d) 672, 784  
 अनगविजय (d) 163, 180, 715, 787  
 by शिवरामकृष्ण  
 by जगद्गाथ  
 अनगशेखर [*Opp.*, 548<sup>2</sup>]  
 अनगसर्वत (d) 787  
 अनगसेनाहरिनदिनी (d) 672, 783  
 अनगहर्ष 663, 665  
 अनत 923  
 अनत (*King*) 62, 68  
 अनत (श्यबकपुत्र) 305  
 अनत (वीरचरितकर्ता) 202  
 अनत (उदयमातुकर्ता) 251  
 [PR, III 593]  
 अनत (कामसमूहकर्ता) 526  
 अनत (चद्रालोकव्याख्याता) 526  
 अनत (शठमर्षण)  
 साहित्यकल्पवङ्मी [*TC*, VII 7566]  
 अनतकवि 598  
 अनतदास 659  
 अनतदेव *Saṅg.*, 241  
 अनतदेव 400, 778  
 अनतनारायण 1001  
 अनतनारायण (मृत्युजयपुत्र) 153  
 अनतनारायण (चिद्वरजनक) 159  
 अनतनारायण (चिद्वरपुत्र) 159  
 अनतनारायणशास्त्रिन् 298  
 अनतनारायणशास्त्रिन् (पूता) [*Sāv. JI*]  
 अनतपदित 632, 886  
 [COJ, III 141]  
 अनतपदित (श्यबकपुत्र) 886  
 अनतमङ् (नागदेवमङ्गसूत्र) 428  
 अनतमङ् 526

अनतरकाव्य 251  
 अनतराम 767  
 अनतवर्मन् 193  
 अनतशर्मन् 886  
 अनतशायिन्  
 माणिमजरी [*CC*, II 96]  
 अनतसूरि 96, 254, 544  
 अनताचार्य 205, 636  
 अनताचार्य (आचारि) 541  
 अनताचार्य (अष्टावधान) 730, 1060  
 अनताचार्य (उद्येदपुर) 379, 921  
 अनताचार्य (प्रतिवादिभयकर) 489  
 अनताचार्य (यदुगिरि) 546  
 अनताचार्य (V) 145-6, *Many Jl*  
 नाटककथासप्रह  
 [He is the Sanskrit Pandit, Pachayappa's College, Madras His book contains summaries of the plays of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti and three other plays]  
 अनतानदगिरि 271  
 अनतार्य (सिंगयार्यपुत्र) 938  
 अनदाळवार् अद्यगार् p 26  
 अनन्यदासस्ताभिन् 251  
 अनपोतनायक 779, 879  
 अनप्रोल 620  
 अनवेम 888  
 अनर्घनलचरित (d) 84, 781 1682  
 अनर्घाघव (d) 19, 114, 246, 666  
 अनस्याम्बुद्ध्य 354, 733  
 अनासयस्तोत्र 464  
 अनिरुद्ध 904  
 अनिरुद्धचरित 544  
 by देवराज  
 by सावित्रि

- अनिरुद्धचूपू 281  
 अनिरुद्धमिश्र *Kcd*  
 अनिरुद्धशतक [CC, I 16]  
 अनुग्रहचूर्णिका 507  
 अनुप्राप 325  
 अनुभवचित्तामणि 166  
 अनुभवरस 1064  
 अनुभितिपरिणय (d) 764  
 अनुरथमठन 891  
 अनुरागदेव *Slm*, 400  
 अनुरागरस 1064  
 अनुहादचरित 500  
 अनूपसंगीतकृष्ण 1042  
 अनूपसंगीतरत्नाकर 1042  
 अनूपसंगीतविलास 1042  
 अनूपसंहित 237, 1042  
 अलेकार्थसंग्रह 70  
 अलदाचरण 254-F  
 अङ्गपूर्णास्तोत्र 273  
 अन्यापदेशकाव्य 269  
 अन्यापदेशशतक 269  
 by नीलकण्ठ 154  
 by जगद्वाध पडितराज 311  
 by गणपतिशाळिन्  
 by घनश्याम 166
- by मधुसूदन  
 by एकनाथकाश्यप  
 by गर्वाणिंद्र 154  
 Anonymous  
 अन्यायधन्यचरित [*Opp* 6712]  
 अन्योक्तिकठाभरण 269, 373-A  
 अन्योक्तिकान्य 269  
 अन्योक्तिमाला 154, 269  
 by अच्युतदीक्षित  
 by लक्ष्मीनरसिंह  
 अन्योक्तिमुक्तालता 72, 188, 269  
 अन्योक्तिशतक 269  
 by सोमनाथ  
 by मोहनशर्मन् [CC, I 2, 20]  
 by वीरेश्वरमण  
 by दर्शनविजयगणि  
 अन्योक्तिसप्रहाध्याय 269  
 अपरपचराल 581  
 अपराजित *Subh, Pad*, 451  
 अपराजित (लोकटजनक) 655, 822  
 अपराजितरक्षित *Slm, Kzs*  
 अपराधशतक 273  
 अपशब्दाभास 921  
 See कविरहस्य  
 अपदेव *Slm*  
 अपद्यदीक्षित\* 112, 467, 896, 937

\* Appaya Dikṣīṭa's father's father was Ācārya Dikṣīṭa (called Āccāndīkṣīṭa), Ācārya Dikṣīṭa had two wives—the first belonging to an orthodox Śaiva family and the second to an orthodox Vaishnava family of repute known as Sri Vākunṭhācārya vāmī. In the days of Ācārya Dikṣīṭa, more than three centuries ago, inter marriages between orthodox smārta-s and vaishnava were not unknown in South India. He had by his second wife Totarāmbā four sons of whom the eldest was Appaya Dikṣīṭa's father, Rangarājādhvani who, like his father, performed many vedic sacrifices. He is known to have written many works on Advaita Vedānta—the *Advaitavadyāmukura*, the *Vedarāpadarpana*, etc. He had two sons, the elder being Appaya Dikṣīṭa, the younger Ācāraṇa Dikṣīṭa, the paternal grandfather of Nilakantha Dikṣīṭa. Appādikṣīṭa was the original name of our author and the honorific 'appya' was afterwards added to it in recognition of his greatness as a literary prodigy. Ācārya Dikṣīṭa was much praised by King Kṛṣṇadevarāya "When the king, during his visit to Conjevakam,

अप्यन्याचार्य 879	समयप्रदीप
अप्लाचार्य (बीरवङ्गि) 242	कलिप्रभाव
अप्लाचार्य 545, 1063	मणिकुड़ापाख्यान
अप्पाकवि 143, 787	वल्लभविलास
अप्पाडनाथ	श्रीकठपदभूषण
See सालाधरिप्रबन्ध [TC, VII 7562, 7581]	अधर्मविपाक (d)
अप्पातुलसी 1064	अप्यदीक्षितचरित
अप्पादीक्षित 162, 164	जगत्ताथपदितराजचरित
[See Article by V. A. Rama-swami, JOR, III ]	विश्वनाथकविचरित
अप्पाराययशब्दोदय 942	चिरजीवचरित
अप्पावाजपेयिन् 268	[Published in SC, JI, Many JI, II. 181]
अप्पादीक्षित 162	अद्भुतालिका 753
अप्पाशाळिन् (राष्ट्रवडेकर) 489, 487	अद्भुता 196
इदिरा	अविषमथन (d) 70, 877
देवीकुमुदती	अमग्लेष 328
दशापरिणति	अमयकुमारचरित 235
मातृसत्ति	अमयचरण 622
[These are in prose]	अमयतिलकगणि 70
दधीच्युपाख्यान	अमयदेव 101
उदाहमहोसव	अमयस्तुति 291

worshipped God Varadaraja in company with his wife and retinues, Ācārya Dikṣita composed the verse—

काञ्चित्काञ्चनगौरांगीं वीक्ष्य साक्षादिव श्रियम् ।  
वरदस्तस्यापनो वक्ष स्पलमदैक्षत ॥

"Beholding a woman glittering like gold and looking like Lakṣmi, Vataḍa fell into a doubt and looked at his bosom (to see if Lakṣmi were there)" The God mistook the Queen for Lakṣmi, suspected that His consort had quitted her permanent place in His bosom and looked at His bosom to ascertain whether she was there. The king was very much pleased with Ācārya Dikṣita's poetic description which is both original and suggestive of his (the king's) greatness and consequently honoured him with the title *Vakasṭhūlācārya Dikṣita* [V. A. Ramaswami Sastrī's *Introduction to Siddhāntabindu*, Annamalai University, pp 95-108]

Appaya Dikṣita is said to have lived in 1520-1591 according to Adayapalam Inscription. See Y. Mahalingasastri's *Age of Appaya Dikṣita*, JOR, II. 235-287. In his *Introduction to Vākavābhūdaya*, (Md. Srirangam) the date is given as 1562-1626.

अभिज्ञानशाकुंतल

*See शकुंतला*

अभिधानचित्तमाणि 70

अभिधावृच्चिमातुका 826, 848

अभिनंद (जयंतस्तु) *Kus* 160

अभिनंद (शतानदस्तु) 59

अभिनय 550, 945

अभिनयदर्शण 963

अभिनयभूषण 900

अभिनयमुकुर 1064

अभिनयलक्षण 1064

अभिनयशास्त्र 958

अभिनयादिविचार 1064

अभिनवकादंबरी 163, 456, 486

अभिनवकालिदास (काश्यप) 621, 787

[*Tan*, VIII 3594]

अभिनवकालिदास (नृसिंहकवि) 523, 938

अभिनवकालिदास (माधव) 523

अभिनवकालिदास (गोपालशास्त्रिन) 523

अभिनवकालिदास (कृष्णसूर्ति) 819, 521,  
787

अभिनवकालिदास (बेहाल) 521

अभिनवकौत्सुभमाला 291

अभिनवगीतगोविद 264

अभिनवगुप्त 316, 809, 886, 945, 955

अभिनवगुप्तरत्नाकर 1094

अभिनवगोपालुल्लिदिनीचरित (d) 1060

अभिनवचंपूरामायण [*Rice*, 746]

अभिनवचारकीर्ति 298

अभिनवताळमंजरी 1064

अभिनवनारा (रागा ?) यणचंपू

*See लक्ष्मणदान्त* [Printed, Nasik  
Composed in 1868]

अभिनवभागवत (*BTC*, 156)

अभिनवपंप 86

अभिनवभवभूति 938

अभिनवभारत

*by नरसप्तमात्रिन्* [250 *TC*, VI  
7327]

अभिनवभारतचंपू 521

*by श्रीकठ* 526

अभिनवभारती 955

अभिनवरागमंजरी 1061

अभिनवराघव (d) 721, 779 840

अभिनवरामसद्राश्रम p 21

अभिनवरामानुजाचार्य 214

अभिनवरामायण

*by लक्ष्मणदान्त* 511

*by वेंकट* 737

*by नरहरि, Rao*, 926

अभिनवरामाभ्युदय 137

अभिनववासवदत्ता 485

अभिनववृत्तरत्नाकर 1094

अभिनवशंकर 272, 272

*See धीरशकर*

अभिनवशृंगाररसमंजरी 920

अभिनवहिंतोपदेश 251-1

अभिमन्यु, *Slm*

अभिमन्युनाटक (d) 780

अभिमन्युशेष्ठि [DC, XXVII 7396]

अभिमानमहीथर 514

आभिराम (मह) 185, 618, 682, 649,

666

आभिराम(डिडिम)\* 185, 187  
 [TC, III 8828]  
 आभिरामकामाक्षी\* 187  
 अभिरामकाव्य 252  
 See रमानाथ  
 अभिरामगोलाभिन् [CC, I, 26]  
 गगादेवीस्तोत्र  
 अभिरामचिवलेख (d) 783  
 अभिरामपञ्चपति *Sarng*  
 अभिराममणि (d) 779  
 अभिरामराघव (d) 779, 879  
 by अनपोत  
 by माणिक  
 अभिरामवर 209  
 अभिलिपितार्थचिन्तामणि=(मानसोळास)  
 अभिषेकनाटक (d) 586  
 अभिसारिकावचितक (d) 635, 955  
 अभिसारिकावधितक (d) 635  
 अभीतिस्तव 121  
 अमर 110  
 See अभरचद्र

अभरखडन [PR, II 197]  
 अभरकवि  
 गौरीशकरकीर्तिकाव्य [Ulwar 919]  
 अभरकीर्तिसूरि  
 ऋतुसहारव्याख्या  
 [Composed in 16th century  
 A.D. CO, III 16, II 234]  
 अभरचद्र (जिनदत्तशिष्य) 110  
 अभरचद्र 110  
 काव्याम्भाय  
 वनमाला  
 अभरदत्तमित्रानदचरित 440, 501  
 अभरनाथशतक  
 by कृष्णसिंहठकुर [MM, II 7]  
 अभरप्रभसूरि 283  
 अभरमडन  
 by कृष्णसूरि 900  
 अभरसदेश [Opp. II 7805]  
 अभरसिङ्ग *Kvs*  
 अभरविलासकाव्य  
 See देवराम [CC, III 7]

\* In para 187 supra Abhirāma Kāmākṣī is described as the daughter of Sabhāpati (son of Abhirāma). That is an error. Kāmākṣī or Kāmakoti is the son of Sabhāpati and father of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. In the genealogy at page 222 read Kāmākṣī for Kamakṣī. This Kāmākṣī was the son of Sabhāpati, and composed the inscription of Venkatapatiṛāya, King of Vizianagar, in Śaka 1510 (see IA, XLVII 81).

Abhirāmakāmākṣī praises Dindūma in her introductory verses thus

प्रशस्येते यस्य विकुण्ठवादिप्र मे डिगिडम पृथ नाम ।

अणीयस्ति स्तोतुमस्य ममेकिं कर्थं प्रगल्मा कविसावैमौमम् ॥

Abhirāma was also known as Dindūmaprabhu (see IA, XLVII, 98) and she might therefore be the daughter of this Abhirāma Dindūmaprabhu (the 1st in the geneology given in page 222) who married Rājanāṭha I and who was mother of Arṇagirināṭha I (see para 185).

In para 187 read Abhirāma (Dindūmaprabhu) of Kāśyapagoṭra had a son Sabhāpati and a daughter Abhirāmanāyikā. This Abhirāmanāyikā married Rājanāṭha I. Sabhāpati had three sons Gaṇapāṭya, Kāmākṣī or Kāmakoti and Swayambhu Gaṇapāṭya's son was Kāmaya and Kāmaya's son was Somanāṭha. Kāmākṣī or Kāmakoti had two sons Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. Abhirāma-Kāmākṣī, wife of Rājanāṭha I, wrote *Abhirāma-Rāmādhūyudaya*, a poem in 24 cantos on the story of Ramayana (TC, IV, 5202).

असरेंद्रमोहनभाष्टाचार्य [JSSP, XIX 65]  
 असल *Sarng*  
 असरक 242, 482  
 असरुकशतक 301 [MM, II 9-14]  
 अमाल्य शंकुक  
     See शंकुक  
 अमामस्तामिचरित 99, 235, 949  
 अमितगति 364, 519  
 अमीर् 1088  
 अमीलियागळति (d) 747  
 अमृतकतक p. 25  
 अमृततरंग 68  
 अमृतदत्त *Skm, Subh*, 58  
 अमृतदेव *Subh*, 58, 400  
 अमृतमारती [*Sanskrit Jl, Cochin*]  
 अमृतमजरी by काशीराम [CC, I. 28]  
 अमृतमथन (d) 727  
 अमृतमथनकाव्य 730  
 अमृतलहरी 311, 880  
 अमृतवर्णन 58, 373  
 अमृतानन्द 34  
 अमृतानन्दयोगिन् 876, 920  
 अमृतामिषेक [*PR*, II 116]  
 अमृतोदय (d) 698, 755  
 अमोच *Skm*  
 अमोचदेव *Skm*  
 अमोचराघव (d) 531, 779, 879  
 अमोघवर्ष 57, 816  
 अबक *Subh*  
 अबरीषचरित 254  
 अबादिशती 542  
 अबाषक 273  
 अबालचरित 440  
     See अम्माल्, 160  
 अबास्तव 309  
 अबिकादत्तव्यास 254-D

अबिकापरिणय 253  
 अबुजबलीदडक 242, 505  
 अंबुजबलीपरिणय 242  
 अबुजबलीशतक 242  
 अबेद्धकर् (*G K*) 468  
 अमालाचार्य 160  
 अम्माल्माण (अबाल्माण) 160, 718  
 अशुवर *Skm*  
 अशुमालिचरित 501  
 अशुवर्मन् 181  
 अयश्चणक (d) 727  
 अयोध्याप्रसाद 886  
 अच्यपार्य 668  
 अच्यलुनाथ 786  
 अच्यादीक्षित 153  
 अच्यामाण (d) 160, 718  
 अरविद *Kus, Skm*  
 अरसीठक्कुर *Sarng* 117  
 अरिष्टशातकर्णि 305  
 अरिकेसरिन् 259  
 अरिसिंह 110, 111, 117, 685  
 अरिसिंहदेव 306  
 अरुणगिरिकवि 940  
 अरुणगिरिनाथ 27, 28  
 अरुणगिरिनाथ I 184-5  
 अरुणगिरिनाथ II 188  
 अरुणरामायण 373-B  
 अरुचर्तीविजय 783  
 अर्कमह *Subh*, 307  
 अर्णट *Subh, Sarng*  
 अर्णलाल्लोत्र [*Opp, II 1727*]  
 अर्चाभगवदध्यानयोग 919  
 अर्जुन (चक्रदासपुत्र) 455  
 अर्जुनचरित 825  
 अर्जुनभरत 993  
 अर्जुनगिरि p. 42

अर्जुनरावणीय 171  
 अर्जुनराज 668  
 अर्जुनवर्मीदेव 397, 308, 314  
 अर्जुनवर्मन् 678  
 अर्जुनदिभतसार 994  
 अर्णोंराज 75  
 अर्थचित्रमणिमाला 247  
 अर्थपंचक (d) 235, 720  
 अर्थवर्मन् *Subh* 400  
 अर्थसग्रह 501  
 अर्थशास्त्र 423  
 अर्थशेष 327  
 अर्धनारीस्तोत्र 184, 273  
 अर्धनारीश्वर 152  
 अर्मक *Subh*  
 अर्मकशक्ति 271, 566  
 अहंदास 546  
 अलक 848, 872  
 अलकदत्त [Mentioned in *SriLantha-carita* (xxv 78)]  
 अलसिंग 545  
 अलकार 72  
 अलकारकथानिधि 359  
 अलकारकर्णीस्तरण 906  
 अलकारकारिका 920  
 अलकारकुलप्रदीप 906  
 अलंकारकौमुदी 920  
 अलकारकौस्तुभ 151 223, 906, 939  
     by वेंकटाचार्य 910, 920  
     by श्रीनिवास 920  
     by कल्याण मुख्याण्य 939  
     by विष्वेश्वर 910  
 अलकारकम्भमाला 920  
 अलकारग्रन्थ 920  
 अलकारचन्द्रिका 920

अलकारचन्द्रोदय 886  
 अलकारचित्रमणि 920  
 अलकारचूडामणि 70, 843  
 अलकारतिलक 885, 920  
     by वाग्मट [70, 2543]  
     by श्रीकरमिश्र  
     by मातुदत्त  
 अलकारनिकष 920, 932  
 अलकारपरिष्कार 920  
 अलकारप्रकारण 920  
 अलकारप्रकाशिका 920  
 अलकारमकरद 912, 941  
     by कोल्हपुरिराजशेखर  
 अलकारमजरी [*Tanq*, No 5129]  
     Anonymous 941  
     by सुखलाल 888  
     by मुर्खीद्रव्यति 934  
     by निमल (?) 920  
     by तिरुमलमट्ट\*  
 अलकारमजूशा 920, 937  
 अलकारमणिदर्पण 920  
     by वेंकप्प्य ग्रन्थानि  
     by सप्तकुमारवेंकटाचार्य  
 अलकारमणिहार 211, 933  
 अलकारमयूख 920  
 अलकारमहोदधि 111  
 अलकारमाला 919  
 अलकारमीमांसा 900  
 अलकारमुक्ताबळि 906, 920  
 अलकाररत्नाकर 878, 920, 937  
 अलकाररहस्य 920  
 अलकारराचव 666, 897  
 अलकारलक्षण 920  
 अलकारबादार्थ 880, 920

\*The names Nirmala (OO, I 88) and Trimalla are in correct

अलकारवातिक 814  
 अलकारविचार 920  
 अलकारविमर्शन 871  
 अलकारविमर्शनी 191  
 अलकारविषय 920  
 अलकारवृत्ति 920  
 अलकारशतक  
     by जयदेव [*Opp.*, II 2763]  
 अलकारशास्त्रविलास 917  
 अलकारशिरोभूषण 920  
 अलकारशिरोमाणि [*Rice*, 280]  
 अलकारशेषर 920  
 अलकारसम्रह 920  
     Anonymous  
     by अमृतानन्द 211, 876, 790  
     by श्रीगिवासपरकाळ  
     by रागचार्य 493  
 अलंकारसमुद्रक 920  
 अलकारसर्वस्व  
     Anonymous 941  
     by रघ्यक or मख 72, 100, 870, 871  
     by औबलार्य कृष्ण 920 [*TC*, VI 7186]  
 अलंकारसार 920  
 अलंकारसारोद्धार 862  
 अलंकारसुधानिवि 125, 144 (a)  
 अलकारसुधासिधु 842  
 अलकारसूत्र 740, 814, 920  
     by चट्रकारतकालिकार  
     by मंसुक  
 अलकारसूक्ष्मसंगति 930, 939  
 अलकारसूर्योदय 666, 837  
 अलकारात्मकमणिका 920  
 अलकारेश्वर

[quoted by Sivarāma in *Com  
on Vāsavadāṭṭī*],  
 अलकारेन्दुशेषर 915  
 अलकारोदाहरण 191  
 अङ्गट=अलक 848  
 अङ्गायुधीन् खिल्जी 880, 928, 1038  
 अवकर्णिकौशेक (d) 727  
 अवतार 286  
 अवदान 446  
 अवदानकल्पलता 68, 446  
 अवदानशतक 446  
 अवदुष्टवरित 196  
 अवधानविधान 768  
 अवधानसरस्ती 787  
 अवधूत *Subh*  
 अवधूत (भगवद्भक्तिस्तोत्रकर्ता) [*CC*, I 93]  
 अवधूतराम [*CC*, III 144, 148]  
     समारजन  
     सिद्धदूत  
 अवतिवर्णन् *Skm*, *Subh*, 56, 384, 581  
     665, 827,  
 अवंतिसुदरी 377  
 अवंतिसुदरकिथा 459  
 अवंतिसुदरीकथासार 468  
 अवलोकित *Subh*  
 अवसरसार 68  
 अवस्थासम्रह [quoted by *Mallinātha*  
     in *Māghatikā*, vi 29]  
 अविक्रीतचरित 501  
 अविनाशसामिन् 787  
 अविमारक (d) 587  
 अविलम्ब 904  
 अविलंबसरस्ती *Pady*  
 अविलंभितसरस्ती 374  
 अव्यापिदुर्बल 515

अशोकमह 1064  
 अस्मकवच 815  
 अश्वघोष 33, 276, 624  
 अश्वतर 965  
 अश्वत्थसेनयाग 545  
 अश्वदेव *Suh*  
 अश्वघाटी  
 by जगदार्थ 311  
 [Printed in *Kavyaratnakara*,  
 258]  
 अश्वमेष्यचंपू [Opp, II, 2585]  
 अश्वमेष्यनाटक (d) 780  
 अश्विनीमहाराज 1064  
 अष्टकसरयू [Oudh, V, 4]  
 अष्टप्रदलकमल 655  
 अष्टमुजाष्टक 121  
 अष्टमहाश्चैत्यलस्तोत्र 286  
 अष्टमीचंपू 175  
 अष्टरत्न [CC, I, 35]  
 अष्टशोकी 207  
 अष्टावकीय 487  
 अष्टोचर 257  
 अष्टोत्रश्चत्प्रथलस्तोत्रः:  
 [Tanj No. 10604]  
 अष्टोत्रसहस्र 257  
 असग 235  
 असड 318  
 अस्त्रांवस्त्रव 919  
 अस्त्रियग *Subh*  
 अहर्गणाटक (d) [CC, I, 37]  
 अहस्यामोङ्क 175  
 अहस्यासंकदन (d) [Opp 4105]  
 अहोवल (आत्रेय) p 28  
 अहोवलन्दृशि 486

अहोविल 753, 1041  
 अहोविलसूरि 546  
 अलियरामराज 132  
 आ  
 आकृत्वरीय कालिदास 378-A  
 आकाशपालीय शालूक *Skm*  
 आकाशपोली *Skm*  
 आस्त्यान p 2  
 आस्त्यानक 775  
 आस्त्यायिका 447  
 आस्त्यायिकी 286  
 आगमरामायण 373-B  
 अभिजन्तदिका 200  
 अग्नाधिराज्यस्वागत 82, 200  
 अग्निसाम्राज्य 180, 200  
 आचार्यगण 506  
 आचार्यगोपीक *Skm*  
 आचार्यचरित्र 727  
 आचार्यदङ्क 505  
 आचार्यदिग्बिजय 682, 725  
 आचार्यमह *Subh*  
 आचार्यविजय 271  
 आचार्यविजयचंपू 122  
 आचार्यश्चामदेशिक (=श्रीचैत्यताताचार्य) 786  
 युगलशुलीय (prose 10 chapters)  
 दुर्गेश्वरदिनी (prose)  
 [MBh Jl. 195]  
 आचार्यसप्तशती  
 by R. गोपालसूरि [Printed Puduk-  
 kota, on the life of वेदात्मदेशिक]  
 आज्ज्ञेय 964, 972  
 आज्ज्ञेयभरत 972  
 आज्ज्ञेयविजय (d) 779

आंजनेयविजय 541  
 आब्ध्यनाथ 752  
 आब्ध्यराज 594  
 आडाळ (गोदा) 205  
 अत्मविद्याविलास 1049  
 आत्मबोध  
 भक्तिकल्पद्रुम  
 गौडपादोल्हास  
*See* गुरुरत्नमाला  
 (He wrote his commentary on Guru  
 ratnamālā in the Kamakoti Mutt in the  
 time of Mahādeva V (Sankaracārya)—the  
 59th Acarya (1704-1746))  
 आत्माराम (मोरे) of Bombay  
 सूक्तिकलाप  
 दशाष्टकी [SB JI]  
 आत्मविलास  
*See* शम्भुपद्धित  
 अत्मसमर्पणस्तुति 254F  
 आत्माराम 298 618, 649, 876  
 आत्मेयमट 329  
 आत्मेयश्रीनिवास 314  
 आदर्शगीतावलि 1064  
 आदिकाव्य p 18  
 आदित्यक Subh  
 आदित्यकर्णपूर्त 25  
 आदित्यदत्त (मदत) Subh  
 आदिलकर्मन् 172  
 आदिलकृष्ण 329  
 आदिलस्तोत्ररत्न 143  
 आदिनाथ 867  
 आदिनाथकवि [Tanj, No 17669]  
     महाकालसहिता  
 आदिनाथचरित्र 235  
 आदिनारायण 544  
 आदिपुराण 57, 528, 668

आदिभरत 945  
 आदिभरतप्रस्तार 1064  
 आदिवण्शठकोप 210  
 आदिशकर 270, 271  
 आत्मपूर्ण 206  
 आनद *Pady*  
 आनद (आनंदकाव्यकर्ता) 333  
 आनद (भाधवानलकर्ता) 439  
 आनद (बिल्हणभ्राता) 62  
 आनद (=थो आनद)  
 आनद (=आनदधर)  
 आनद (शमुजनक) 172  
 आनद (शमुपुत्र) 72, 820  
 आनद (राजानक) 76, 858  
 आनदकदच्चपू 528, 544, 546  
 आनदकाव्य 389  
 आनदकोश (d) 786, 879  
 आनदगजपति 899, 919  
 आनदगान 1064  
 आनदगिरि 271  
 आनदच्छ्रोदय (d) 781  
 आनदताडवर्णन [Opp, 4737]  
 आनदतिलक (d) 711  
 आनदतीर्थ 218  
 आनददमोदर 542  
 आनददेव *Sarng*  
 आनददेवयार्णवङ्गम 28, 55  
 आनदधर (=आनद) 441, 476  
 आनदपूर्ण p 42  
 आनंदबूर (A. Borooah) 649  
 आनदबूद्धावन 222, 223, 542  
     by परमानंददास  
     by कविकर्णपूर्

आनदवृन्दावन  
 by केशव  
 by माधवानद  
 आनदबोधेन्द्रसरसती p 21  
 आनदभद्राकिनी 286, 314, 703  
 आनदमदिरास्तुति 286  
 आनदमहोदधि 220  
 आनदमेष 825  
 आनदयज्ञन् 158  
 आनदरगच्छ 546  
 आनंदराघव 278  
 आनदराघव(d) 152  
 आनदरामायण p 22  
 आनदरायमसिन् 165, 761  
 आनदलतिका 376  
 आनदलहरी [CC, I. 48, III 11]  
     by गोपालकवि  
     by शकराचार्य  
     by अभिनवनारायणेन्द्रसरसती  
 आनदवर्धन 804, 805, 825  
 आनदवल्हीस्तोत्र 156  
 आनदविलास [CC, I 81]  
 आनदसजीवन 1064  
 आनदसागरस्तव 154, 286  
 आनदसामिन् Subh  
 आनदसुदरी (d) 166, 563  
 आनदाचार्य Pady  
 आपदेव Skm  
 आपिदेव Skm  
 आबोधाकर 78, 92, 166  
 आरब्यथामिनी 422  
     [SSP, XVII]  
 आराधनकथाकोश 275  
 आराधनस्तव 919  
 आराध्यकर्पूर Subh

आरूर भद्रातिरि 80  
 आरोग्यमद्वत Subh  
 आर्तिस्तव 729  
 आर्तिहरस्तोत्र 162  
 आर्थक 593  
 आर्यचरित 441  
 आर्यप्रमा  
     [Sanskrit journal, Vedavel Tora  
     Manbhumi Dist ]  
 आर्यम 22, p 55  
 आर्यदेव Subh  
 आर्यक्षित 593  
 आर्यसूर 35, 277  
 आर्यसूर्य 96, 785  
 आर्यसेन 446  
 आर्यतिष्ठती 305  
 आर्यानिश्चतीमुत्तक 305, 903  
 आर्याद्विष्ठती 405  
 आर्यनैषवध 81  
 आर्यमन्तरी 268, 314, 541  
 आर्यमाला  
     by अनन्ताचार्य [CC, II. 10]  
 आर्यमृष्टामाला  
     by मधुरकवि [CC, I 54]  
 आर्यारामायण p. 20  
     by बालामा 384  
     by सूर्यपडित 96  
 आर्यालिकाराष्ट्रतक 81, 245  
 आर्यावर्णनमालिका 542  
 आर्याविज्ञनि 268  
     by रामचन्द्र  
     by विश्वनाथ  
     by सीताराम  
 आर्याविलास 380

आर्याचिलासकान्य 881  
 आर्याशतक 143, 312  
     by विष्णुशर 312  
     by नीलकण्ठ 248  
 आर्यासप्तस्ति [Tanj, No 11320]  
 आर्यासप्तशती 180, 312, 903  
     by रामबालिर्  
     by गोवर्धन 305  
     by विष्णुशर 305  
     by अर्जुतमंन् 886  
 आर्यास्तोत्र [CC, I 53]  
     by आनदतीर्थ  
     by वक्षमाचार्य  
     by विद्वलदीक्षित  
     by शक्राचार्य  
 आर्यगीता p 25  
 आवृतिक (जहु=जहु) Skm  
 आवृतिकद्रव्य Skm  
 आवलकृष्ण Sarng, Skm  
 आषाढ़र (रामाजीपुन) 143, 831, 875  
 आषाढ़र(सहस्रपुढ़) 875  
 आश्चामित्र Pmt  
 आश्चूतोषसेनगुप्त (M A ) of Faridpur  
     पिक्कूत  
     सारसतीर्थीतिस्तोत्र SB II  
 आशुतोषावदान [Spv, III 102  
     by कालिपाद 743  
     on the life of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji]

आसह 318  
 आश्वर्यचूडामणि (d) 664, 1007  
 आश्वर्यमन्तरी 451  
 आश्वर्यरामाचरण 252  
 आसफ़विलास 311  
 आसेचनकारामायण 352  
 आस्तिक 1002

आस्थानभूषण 873 B  
 आहवमङ्ग 89  
 आहार्य 945  
 आहादलहरी  
     by जानीमहापात्र [Bu, 227]  
 आहादकराजानक Subh  
 आळवदारस्तोत्र 210  
     See यामुनाचार्य  
 आल्वार् 305  
 आल्वार् अथ्यगार् (जग्गु) 494  
     (=वक्तुलभूषण)  
 मञ्जुलमंजीर (d)  
 (on Rāmāyana)  
 प्रतिहाकौटिल्य (d)  
     (on the prologue to Mudrā-  
         rākṣasa)  
 शुकवाणी  
     (in praise on Śri Kṛṣṇa)  
 भारतसंग्रह  
     (on thestry of Mahābhāraṭa)  
 उपाख्यानरत्नमजूषा  
     (like Kseme dra's Cārucaryā)

इ

इच्छक Subh  
 इतिहास p 1  
 इतिहासतमोगाणि 200  
 इदिरपरिणय (d) 165, 777  
 इदिराभ्युदय  
     by राघवाचार्य 254  
     by रघुनाथ 544  
 इद्गृह 322, 328  
     by जंतुकवि  
     by विनयविजयगाणि  
 इदुमह Subh  
 इदुमती (d) 784

इंद्रमतीपरिणय (d) 169, 777  
 इंद्रमतीराघव (d) 169  
 इन्दुलेला (d) 672, 784, 877  
 इन्दुलेला *Subh*, 374  
 इन्द्रकवि *Sarng*  
 इन्द्रजननी p 2  
 इन्द्रजित् 262, 922  
 इन्द्रज्योतिस् *Skm*  
 इन्द्रदत् *Subh*  
 इन्द्रदेव *Skm*  
 इन्द्रधुम्नापवर्ग 355  
 इन्द्रवर्मन् 193  
 इन्द्रशिव *Skm*  
 इन्द्रसिंहतथागत *Subh*, S.  
 इन्द्रहसगणि 440, 501  
 इन्द्राणीयुप्त 595  
 इन्द्राणि अकृष्ण 288  
 इन्द्राणिदेवराय 667  
 इन्द्रिङ्गिनरसिंह 124  
 इष्टाराम 62

क

इसचनीतिकथा 439  
 इक्षलहरी 355  
 इक्षानदेव 290, 761  
 इक्षानदेव *Subh*  
 इंशरकृष्ण *Subh*  
 इंशरदत् 592  
 इंशरदत्तमहाक्षत्रय 592  
 इंशरदास 904  
 इंशरदीक्षित p 24  
 इंशरपुरी *Pady*  
 इंशरमद् *Skm*  
 इंशरमनोरथमायास्तोत्र 111  
 इंशरविलास 354, 359

ईश्वरस्तक 286  
 ईश्वरस्तर्मन् 713, 787  
 ईश्वरस्त्रमति 253  
 ईश्वरसेन 592  
 ईहामुग 561, 563

उ

उक्तिगर्भ 792  
 उत्तिरत्नाकर 235  
 उग्रग्रह 904  
 उच्चल 191  
 उच्चलचत्रिका 220  
 उच्चलनीलमणि 220, 931  
 उच्चलानदचपू 356  
 उच्चलशकर 271  
 उज्ज्वलगीति 1064  
 उणिण (*V.K.*)  
 उणिणकण्णपिषारक (*K.P.*)  
 [VC II]  
 उणिणनंबूत्रिप्राह (of Ottoor) 180  
 उयामसुंदर etc [UP II]

उज्जीयकवि, *Sarng*  
 उज्जीष्महोदय 784-5  
 उज्ज्वृति *Subh*  
 उतम्य 792  
 उत्कट *Sarng*  
 उत्कलिकाप्राय 502  
 उत्कलिकावल्लरी 220  
 उत्तमराय 253  
 उत्तरकांड 541  
 उत्तरकुमारचरित 440  
 उत्तरचपू 265, 520, 541  
 by ब्रह्मपदित  
 by राधकमह

उत्तरच्चपू by भगवत  
 by यतिरोज  
 by शक्राचार्य  
 by हरिहरानन्द  
 by वेकटाच्छ्वरिन्  
 by गरल्पुरिशास्त्रिन्  
 by राघवाचार्य  
 उत्तरच्चपूरामायण 162  
 उत्तरच्चरित 529, 779  
 उत्तरनैषध 80  
 उत्तरपुराण 228  
 उत्तरराधकीय 252  
 उत्तररामचारित (d) 715  
 by रामवर्ष्युवराज  
 by मध्यमूर्ति 166, 246, 648  
 [K C Chatterjee, Commentaries  
 on *Uttararamacarita*, *IHQ*,  
 (1933), 577]  
 उत्तररामचरितकाव्य 650  
 उत्तररामायण 180, 544  
 उत्तररग्माहात्म्य 211  
 उत्तरलेखा 451  
 उत्पलदेव 286, 837  
 उत्पलराज 61, 395  
 उत्सुगोदय 825  
 उत्सेकामजरी 922  
 उत्सेकावहम 240  
 उत्सुष्टिकांक 561, 563  
 उदयगिरि विल्पनबड्यार् 130  
 उदयन 78  
 उदयनकथा 501  
 उदयनचरित 501, 575, 783  
 उदयनराजकाव्य 668  
 उदयनराजचरित 440  
 उदयनाचार्य 76, 199, 297

उदयप्रभसूरि 112  
 उदयमानुकाव्य 254  
 उदयसज 195, 442  
 उदयसिंह 844  
 उदयसुन्दरी 478  
 [See *J C Ghosh, Gleanings,  
 Annals*, XIII 197]  
 उदयाकर 27  
 उदयाकरमिश्र 330  
 उदयादिल 99 *Skm*  
 उदात्तकुजर (d) 569, 877  
 उदात्तराघव (d) 663, 672, 955  
 उदारकाव्य 31  
 उदारराघव  
 by चर्णीसूर्यकवि 252  
 by नारायणशास्त्रिन् 736  
 by शाकस्यमङ्ग 123  
 उदाहरण 548  
 उदाहरणगथ 506  
 उदाहरणमाला 125  
 उदितोदयचरित 235  
 उद्ग्रातुदशानन (d) 746  
 उद्देष्ट 169, 323, 695  
 उद्धवचरित 254  
 उद्धवदूत 323  
 by रुग्गोस्तामिन्  
 by माधव 323  
 उद्धवसदेश 220, 323  
 उद्धृतवृक्षोदर (d) 790  
 उद्धृट 272, 802, 820, 925, 953, 955  
 उद्धृटविवेक 830  
 उथानपत्रिका  
 (*Sanskritjournal Tiruvadi, Tan-  
 jore*)  
 उथोतकार 318, 470

उच्चम 373  
 उच्चाविवारियर् 173  
 उन्मत्तकविकलश 706  
 उन्मत्तप्रहसन (d) 252  
 उन्मत्तराघव (d) 70, 686  
 Quoted by Hemacandra  
 by भास्कर 137, 686  
 by महादेवशास्त्रिन् 779  
 उपदेशशतक  
 by गुप्तणिक  
 उपदेशसमूच्चय  
 by सोनफूलोपाध्याय  
 [MM, III 19 Subhāśita]  
 उपमन्यु 792  
 उपमासुधानिधि 928  
 उपमितभावप्रपञ्चकथा 235, 433  
 उपरूपक 561, 562, 563  
 उपर्वष 6  
 उपवेद p 78, 983  
 उपेन्द्रनाथसेन (रायचतुर्षुरीण)  
 पछिच्छवि  
 मकरदिका  
 कुदमाला  
 कविवरमभूति  
 [These are all in prose, the first three  
 being novels He lived at Rayarakhati,  
 Barisal, a few years ago SB Jl.]  
 उप्या 377  
 उपाख्यान p 2  
 उपाख्यानरत्नमजूता  
 See आल्वारस्थंगार्  
 उपाख्यानरत्नमाला 255-K  
 उपयामिसारिका (d) 591  
 उपयालकारिक 792  
 उपादेवी 254-K  
 उमानदनाथ 314  
 वृत्तवार्तातिक 1100  
 119

उमापरिणय 249  
 उमापतिघर 254  
 उमापति (निर्वलनाथपुत्र) 373  
 चद्रचूडचरित  
 [Written under a king Cānakva-  
 candra Skm JASB (1865), 143,  
 ZDMG, XV 142, CC, I 70]  
 उमामहेश्वर 928  
 उमामहेश्वर p 24  
 उमामहेश्वरमट्ट 373  
 उम्बेक 643  
 उम्बीघरमट्ट Subh,  
 उम्भाघराघव 118  
 उम्भाप्य 563  
 उम्भिगनाष्टक  
 by कामेश [CC, I. 70]  
 उलोक (इलोक) Skm,  
 उब्बट 848  
 उषाचरित 254  
 उषानिश्चद (d) 781  
 उषानिश्चद  
 by गोविंदराय 254  
 उषापरिणय (d)  
 by कृष्णदेवराय 132  
 by श्रीनिवासाचार्य 730, 777,  
 by रुद्रदेव  
 उषापरिणयचपू 13, 2544, 692  
 उषारागोदय (d) 681  
 उषाहरण  
 by हर्षनाथ 132, 254, 777  
 by त्रिविक्रम 163, 214  
 by वामनमट्टवाण 128  
 उषामिलाष 1047

ऊ

ऊरमंग 579  
 ऊर्जित *Subh.*  
 ऊर्वशी 450  
 ऊर्वशीसार्वमौष (d) 790  
 ऊर्वशीपुरुषवसवाद 549

ऋ

ऋतुवर्णन  
 by विश्वभर [MM, II 18]  
 ऋक्षपालित *Skm*  
 ऋचेद p 1  
 ऋजुपाठ [*Opp*, II 8173]  
 ऋश्वृति 764  
 ऋतुक्रांडाविवेक 1031  
 ऋतुसहार 309, 944  
 ऋद्धिचद्र 235  
 ऋषमदेवचरित 869  
 ऋषि (=महर्षि)\*

ए

एकदिनप्रबन्ध 156  
 एकनाथ 53, 55  
 एकनाथ (जनार्दनशिव्य)  
 एकनाथ (काश्यप) 269  
 एकनाथमागवत [*Opp*, 3592]  
 एकषष्ठ्यलकारप्रकाश 923  
 एकालरदीक्षित 444, 789  
 एकाम्ब्रनाथ 238, 516, 518, 544

एकावली 928

[MM, II 1]

[For a critique by Kasturi Raṅgā  
 cārya of Myōore, see *MBJ* 1905]

एकावलीप्रकाश 902

एकाभावत्सोत्र 217

एकोजी 157

एकोत्तरिकस्तोत्र 377

एकोराम 318

एदयत् (बनन्पाहि) 180

एर्णेनाग 100

ऐ

ऐदवानद (d) 673

ऐदव्याकरण 945

ऐश्वर्यकादविनी 351, 314

ओ

ओक [M P Oak, Puna]

सूक्तिसुधातरंगिणी

ओंकठ *Skm*

ओमरकाव्य 499

ओष्ठशतक [CC, I 76]

औ

औक्तिक 792

औचिलविचारचर्चा 69, 844

औत्कल *Padv*

औपकायन 792

औमापत 963, 990

और्ब *Subh*

\*The following geneology of the PAYYUB BHATTATIBI (Patteri) family is of much interest [Between 1800-'500 A D] Rṣi I (*m* Gauri) had three sons, Bhavadvāsa, Śāṅkara and Parameśvara I. This Parameśvara had five sons, Rṣi II (Maharṣi) (*m*. Gopālīkā) Bhavadvāsa, Vāsuḍeva, Subrahmanyā and Śāṅkara. Of these, Rṣi III had 4 sons Parameśvara II and Vāsuḍeva (see para 170). And Parameśvara II had a son Rṣi III and his son was Parameśvara III.

Rṣi II (Maharṣi) is mentioned by Uddānda in his Kokilasandesa (See parae 169-170)

See *Int to Tativalmudi* by V A Ramaswami Sastrī (Annaamalai University) 87-92

## क

- कल्पाद्विरमाहस्य [Rec 82]  
 ककुत्स्थविजय 541  
 कक्षोल *Skm*,  
 कंक *Pady*  
 कंकण 402, *Skm*, *Subh*,  
 कंकण [CC, II 15]  
 मृगाक्षतक  
     कारण्यलहरीस्तव  
     [In CC, I 86 the name is wrongly given as कविकलक]  
 ककणबंध 341  
     by सुदर्शनाचार्य 922  
 ककणबधरामायण 97, 943  
     by कृष्णमूर्तिशास्त्रिन्  
     by चर्लभाष्यकार्लशास्त्रिन्  
 ककणबर्ष 402  
 कच्छतक 504  
 कच्छवंश 81, 245, 353  
 कच्छपेश्वरदीक्षित 941  
 कटकराजवशावलि [Mack 92]  
     [On the Genealogy of Outcast kings composed in 1821 ]  
 कंठ 514  
 कठाभरण 6  
 कतत्र 598  
 कथा p 2, 447  
 कथाकुसुममजरी 441  
 कथाकोष (anonymous) 435  
 कथाकोश (=शकुनरत्नावली)  
     by वर्षभानस्परि [Bk 330]  
 कथाकौतुक 370, 439  
 कथाकौसुदी [IO, 470, 471, 815]  
     by पतुर्युजमित्र

- [An abstract of several parvans of Mahābhārata]
- कथानाथ 354  
 कथापञ्चक 441  
 कथापूरक [CC, I 78]  
 कथाप्रकाश 422, 435  
 कथामहोदधि 484  
 कथामृत p 2  
 कथामृतानिधि 428  
 कथारत्नकोश 477  
 कथारत्नसागर 111, 114  
 कथारत्नाकर  
     by हेमविजयगणि [Printed Bombay]  
 कथार्णव 430, 441  
 कथालतामजरी 441  
 कथावली 441  
 कथासर्त्तसागर 420  
 कथासार p 2  
 कथासार [Opp 2780]  
 कनककीर्तिगणि 318  
 कनककुशलगणि 288  
     रोहिणी-अशोकचन्द्रकथा  
     गुरुप्रियमूलनिकथा  
     [Printed Bombay]  
 कनककुशलकाव्य 254  
 कनकजानकी (d) 661  
 कनकधारास्तोत्र 273  
 कनकलता (d) 492  
 कनकलाल 27, 35  
 कनकलेखा (d) 28, 688  
     [TC, VI 7120]  
 कनकावतीमाधव (d) 563  
 कनकवल्लीपरिणय (d) 777  
 कनकवल्लीमाधव (d) 880  
     [=कनकावतीमाधव (d) mentioned in SD, CC, I 79]

कनकसुन्दर  
*See* माधवानल  
 कनकागी (d) 727  
 कनकावली [Opp, II 979]  
 कनिष्ठा [Kanishka] 34  
 कदर्पकेळि (d) 786  
 कदर्पचक्रवर्तिन् 44  
 कदर्पदर्प (d)  
     by रामराय 289  
     by श्रीकंठ 523, 621  
     by श्रीकृष्ण 787  
 कदर्पविजय (d) 787  
 कदर्पसमव (d) 783, 879  
 कंदालयार्थ 920  
 कन्यामाधव (d) [I, VII 756]  
     by सुत्रशास्त्र  
 कन्यालालशालिन् [SC, II VC II]  
 कन्यालालपचतीर्थ 779  
 कन्यालालशर्मन्  
     काशीश्वरस्त्रेषु [Sury I]  
 कपर्दिन् Subh,  
 कपालकुड़ला 499  
 कपालेश्वर Skm  
 कपिल 778  
 कपिलदामोदर Subh  
 कपिलहृषि Subh, Sarng  
 कपिललाभिन् Subh  
 कपीनामृष्पवास 360  
 कपोलकवि Sarng  
 कपफणाम्बुद्य 56  
 कमलगुप्त Skm  
 कमलनयनदीक्षित Kad  
 कमलमालिकास्त्रोत्र 341  
 कमलोचन 1064

सर्गातचिन्तामणि  
 गीतपुकुद or गीतामृत  
 [Cat CP No 1353, 6150, CC, I  
 685]  
 कमला 164, 877  
 कमलाकठीरव (d) 167, 782  
 कमलाकर (चतुर्भुजपुत्र) 236  
 कमलाकर (रामकृष्णपुत्र) 252, 316, 318,  
 859 [Wrote Nirṇayāśinḍhu in 1616  
 and not 1612]  
 कमलाकर (राजानक) Subh  
 कमलाकरदेव [Opp 4106]  
     आनदविलास  
 कमलायुध Skm, Subh, Sarng  
 कमलाविलास (=नदिघोषविजय) (d) [CC,  
 I 276]  
     by शिवनारायणदास  
 कमलिनीकलहस (d) 52 695  
 कमलालयमाहात्म्य [See Tanj, VI. 7285]  
 कपनीप्रतापमडन (d)  
     by बिंदुमाधव [Printed Poona]  
 कबलक भद्रत Subh  
 कबल 965  
 कसनारायण 904  
 कसनिधन  
     by राम [in 17 Cantos PR, III  
 855, 393]  
 कसवध 152  
     by राजचूडामणि  
 कसवध (d)  
     by शेषकृष्ण 692  
     by हरिदास 741  
     by दामोदर 692  
     mentioned by पतजलि 554

कसवधचपू  
 by सुदरराज 721  
 by केरलवर्मन् 179  
 कसातक 778  
 कथ्यट *Subh*  
 कथ्यट 29, 825 848  
 करजधनजय *Skm*  
 करजमहादेव *Skm*, *Sarng*  
 करजयोगेश्वर *Skm*, *KVS*  
 करण 945  
 करमाष्टक [CC, I 81]  
 करिगिरिदडक 505  
 करिंगपर्लि नंबूदि 823  
 करणाकर 516  
 करणाकदळ (d) 879  
 करणानंद  
 भायिनीविलासटीका [NP, II 120]  
 करणारसतरगिणी 494  
 करणानंदकाव्य  
 by हरिवशगोसामिन् [CC, I 82]  
 करणालहरी 311  
 कर्कराज *Skm*  
 कर्कोटकस्तुति 291  
 कर्कोल *Skm*  
 कर्णकुत्तहल  
 by हरेकेशमिथ [CC, I. 82]  
 कर्णदेव 63, 70  
 कर्णपराक्रम (d) 880  
 कर्णभार (d) 584  
 कर्णभास्करसवाद (d) 254-E  
 कर्णभूषण 898  
 कर्णसतोष 1101  
 कर्णसुदरी (d) 68  
 कर्णसुशा (मधुरिपुचरित्र)  
 [Uktwar 897]

कर्णाटकभट्ट *Subh*  
 कर्णाटदेव 400, *Skm*  
 कर्णनद 544, 1101  
 कर्णमृत 298  
 कर्णार्जुनीय [TC, VI 7257]  
 (Here Sātyaki praises Arjuna and  
 Kṛṣṇavarmā praises Karpa)  
 कर्णावतस  
 by होषितकभट्ट [Bk, 235]  
 कर्णोत्पल *Sarng*  
 कर्दमराज 477  
 कर्द्रकवि *Sarng*  
 कर्मजरी  
 by रजनीवल्लभ 254  
 कर्मजंजरी (d)  
 by राजशेखर 659  
 [IHQ (1928), 562]  
 कर्मरसमंजरी 923  
 कर्मलहरी [CC, III 15]  
 कर्मस्तव 286 286  
 कर्मरामायण 373-B  
 कल *Subh*  
 कलक (ककण ?)  
 कलघ 396 *Sarng*  
 कलशक 69  
 कलाकलाप 110  
 कलाकौष्ठदी 544  
 कलाकुर 1028  
 कलाकुरनिवध 1047  
 कलावर 863 (a)  
 कलानदक (d) 708  
 कलापिविलाप 490  
 कलाविलास 68  
 कलामर्तु 459  
 कलावती (=श्रीचैलताताचार्य)  
 शिस्तरिणीश्वतक [MB /]

कलावतीकामरूप (d) 783  
 कलाशाल [Rice 292]  
 कलिकेळि (d) 786, 877, 869  
 कलिंग CC, I 84  
 कलिताङ्गदवनाटक (d) [Tanj, No 23845]  
 कलिदास  
   पशुबंध [UP JI, X]  
 कविदूषण 166  
 कलिराजवर्णन [CC, I 84 from Bhavisyatpurāna]  
 कलियुगकालिदास 523  
 कलिविजय (d) 727  
 कलिविडवन  
   by नीलकृष्ण 78, 154  
 कलिविडवन [Tanj, VI 3285]\*  
 कलिविधुन (d) 727  
 कलिविलासमापिदर्पण 492  
 कलोत्सववती 562  
 कल्कि (=T नरसिंहव्यग्र) 254-R  
 कल्पदत्त SKM  
 कल्पनाकल्पक (d) 782  
 कल्पलता 768  
 कल्पवङ्गी 563  
 कल्पवङ्गीकृष्ण 544  
 कल्पितकादवरी 373 B, 456  
 कल्प्यण 298  
   गीतगांधर  
 कल्याण  
   (mentioned in श्रीकृष्णरित)  
 कल्याणकल्पद्रुम 1064

कल्याणगिरिमाहात्म्य 85  
 कल्याणचपू 544  
 कल्याणदत्त Subh  
 कल्याणनैषध 80  
 कल्याणपुरजन (d) 782  
 कल्याणमदिरात्तोत्र 276  
 कल्याणमङ्ग (गजमङ्गपुत्र) 318  
   मेघदूटीका [CC, I 86  
     He was patron of Bharatasena]  
 कल्याणमङ्ग 439, 1073  
   अनगरग  
 कल्याणराजचरित 254  
 कल्याणरामशालिन् 492  
 कल्याणरामायण 252  
 कल्याणराय  
   कृष्णश्रयस्तोत्र [PR, V 336]  
 कल्याणवङ्गीकल्याण 544, 547  
 कल्याणविष्णुस्तोत्र 273  
 कल्याणमुख्यण्य 939  
 कल्याणसौगंधिक (d) 922  
 कल्याणीपचक 494  
 कल्याणीपरिणय (d) 777  
 कल्याणोपाध्याय 863-A  
 कल्हट Subh  
 कलिनाथ (चतुर) 1004, 1024, 1027  
 कलहण 184  
 कवचकुडलाहरण (d) 584  
 कवनेदुभदली 255-K  
 कविककण 314  
 कविकठपाश 918, 921

\* [An anonymous poem. Here in the colophon श्रीकमलालयमाहात्म्ये गजचलाकृष्ण-विडवन नाम प्रथमोऽव्याय. Apparently it is part of a bigger and interesting work, which is worth looking for. It contains a complaint lodged against the officers in charge of elephant stables of king Shahji of Tanjore describing their frauds and iniquities.]

कविकठहार [OXI, 185]  
 कविकठभरण 68, 268, 844  
 कविकर्णपूर (=परमानन्दसेन) 223  
 कविकर्णसायन 194  
 कविकर्पटिका 921, 922  
     by वार्द्धक्र  
     by शंखधर [MM, II 9]  
 कविकल्पलता (=कायकल्पलता) 96, 868  
     921  
 कविकल्पलतिका 921  
 कविकाव्यवि चार 491  
 कविकुजर 438, 521, 525  
 कविकुजर (=षड्क्षर) 254-H  
 कविकुसुम Skm  
 कविकेसरिन् 251  
 कविकोविद 514  
 कविकौतुक—(कविकौतूहल) 921  
     by विष्णुदास  
     by कांतिचद्रमुखोपाध्याय  
 कविकौमुदी 269  
 कविकौमुदीचक्र 514  
 कविगजाकुश [Opp, 2785]  
     [Quoted in Kāvyaśākha Kāmadhenu  
 कविगृह 924  
 कविचक्रवर्तिन् Skm  
 कविरत्नचक्रवर्तिन् [of Kāśī, Sury, JI]  
 कविचन्द्र (कविकर्णपूरपुत्र) 921  
 कविचन्द्र 318  
     See मञ्ज्याकाव्य  
 कविचक्र  
     कटाक्षषोडशी [TC, V. 6226]  
 कविचद्रोदय 306  
 कविचितामणि 907, 1043  
 कविजनविनोद [CC, I 87]

by वरदराज  
 कवितामृतकूप 314  
     [DC, XX 8023]  
 कवितारत्नाकर (गद्य)  
     [Arsha Library Vizagapatam]  
 कवितारत्नाकरकाव्य [Opp, II 8178]  
 कवितार्किक (वाणीनाथपुत्र) 199, 786  
 कवितार्किकसिंह 777  
 कवितार्किकसिंह (बैकट्नाथ) 122  
 कवितावतार 921  
 कवितावली [CC, I 87]  
 कविदर्पणवेदांगमुनि 214  
 कविपाण्डित 786  
 कविपरमेश्वर 228  
 कविपुत्री 566  
 कविप्रभु 1074  
 कविष्ठुद  
     भावपत्राशिकाकाव्य [PR, V 364]  
 कविमह 378  
 कविभूषणकाव्य 289  
 कविभूषण  
     अद्भुतार्णव (d) [CC, III 2]  
 कविमह 135  
 कविरत्न (N C) 613  
 कविरत्न 318, 923  
     सरोजकालिका  
 कविरत्न Paay, Skm, Subh  
 कविरत्नचक्रवर्तिन् (of Kāśī) [Sury JI]  
 कविरहस्य 792, 924  
 कविराज 66, 86, 303, 306, 330, 655  
 कविराज 546  
     मृगवाचपू  
 कविराजनारायण Skm  
 कविराजमाधवमह 86

कविराजमार्ग 54  
 कविराजमिश्र *Pady*  
 कविराजन्यास *Skm*  
 कविराजसोम *Skm*  
 कविराजस 348  
 कविराजसीय 348  
 [Edited with translation and index by  
 Y Mahalinga Sastry, COJ (1935)]  
 कविलक्षण 905  
 कविवल्लभ 252, 783  
 कविवल्लभचक्कवर्तिन् 55  
 कविवादिशेखर 154, 254, 544  
 कविविमार्ग 921  
 कविविमर्श 568, 828  
 कविवैद्यपुरदर 205  
 कविविधिका 110, 866  
 कविविधिरोम्युषण [Opp, II 3021]  
 कविलेखर (=ज्योतिरीश्वर) 685  
 कविसजीविनी 9201  
 कविसमयकडोल 938  
 कविसमयचिलास 515  
 कविसावर्मीम *Pady*  
 कविसावर्मीम  
 by स्पृतिरजनकाव्य [Rice 246]  
 कविहृदय 568  
 कविहृदयरजिनी 210  
 कवीद्र p 42  
 कवीद्रकस्पद्म 378  
 कवीद्रकर्णामरण 347  
 कवीद्रचंद्रोदय 378-B  
 कवीद्रद्वाराय (=दिवाकर) 45, 287  
 कवीद्रहचनसमुच्चय 362  
 कवीद्रविद्यानीषि [CC, I 88]  
 कवीद्राचार्यसरसती 45, 378-B, 468  
 हसदूत [Tay, VII 2895]

कवीद्रामरण 312  
 कवीश्वर 373-B, 441, 476  
 कवीश्वर SS, Smt [CC, I 88]  
 कस्तूरि रगनाथ (वाघुल) 724  
 कस्तुरिकान्योक्तिमाला 494  
 कस्तूरीतिलकपचाशत् [Taylor I 236,  
 360]  
 काकदूत 322  
 काकमृशुडिरामायण 373-C  
 काकशतक 761  
 See महिषशतक  
 काकान्योक्तिमाला 494  
 काकोजि (=गगाधराध्वरिन्)  
 काकुत्स्थविजय 254, 541  
 See ककुत्स्थविजय  
 काचनमजरीकल्याण (d)  
 (=श्रीरागराजचरित) [TC, VI 7429]  
 काचनमाला 727  
 काचनाचार्य 52 677  
 काचीनाथ 1074  
 काट्यवेम 618, 620, 621, 622, 888  
 889  
 कात्यायन 6  
 कादबरी 166, 454  
 [Ed by P S Vaidya]  
 कादबरीकथासार 60, 456  
 by विकमदेव  
 bv आसिनद  
 by न्यबक  
 कादबरीकल्याण (d) 456, 688  
 कादबरीनाटक (d) 889  
 कादबरीराम 661  
 कादबरीसप्रह 456  
 कादबरीसार 60  
 कादबर्येसार 456

कातनाथ 902  
 कातिचन्द्रसुखोपाध्याय 921  
 कातिपतिशर्मन्  
 मुकुदभुरली [Sarada II]  
 कातिभती 727  
 कातिमतीपरिणय (d) 161, 939  
 कापालिक Skm  
 कामकलाविलास (d) 790  
 कामकोटि 137  
 कामकोटिपीठ\* 270  
 कामघटकथानक 440  
 कामदत्त (ता॑) (d) 563, 783 [SD, RS.]  
 कामदेव (King) 86  
 कामदेव 792, 964  
 कामदेव Skm  
 [mentioned in भोजप्रबध]  
 कामदेवाक (d) 88  
 कामधेनुकांय [PR, IV 25]  
 कामग्राम्भृत 76 [TC, VI 7183]  
 कामभजरी (d) 727  
 कामराज 253, 314, 659, 757, 886, 903  
 कामराज Sarng  
 कामलीला 374  
 कामविलास (d) 787  
 कामवैभव  
 by अक्षयकुमारशास्त्रिन् [SB, II]

कामशास्त्र 1065  
 कामशास्त्र 1074  
 Anonymous  
 by ईश्वरकामित  
 by सिल्हभृत [CC, I 98]  
 कामशास्त्रिन् (कोल्दूह)  
 [Lived about 50 years ago in the Court  
 of Vijayarāma Gajapati and Ananda  
 Gajapati of Vijayanagaram]  
 कामसम्बोहन 373-D  
 कामसूत्र 587, 646  
 कामहरस्त्र 919  
 कामावतार [Oxf, 143]  
 कामाक्षी 383  
 कामाक्षीपरिणय (d) 777  
 कामाक्षीविलास 254  
 कामाक्ष्यषक 273  
 कामिनीकात (विद्यारत्न)  
 [of Barisal SC, II]  
 कामिनीकामुकोङ्गास (d) 787  
 कामेश्वर (पोडमर्टि) 579  
 कामोदयसिद्धि [TC, VI 7254]  
 कारण्यलहरी  
 See ककण  
 कार्तवीर्यचरित 254 [CC, I 95]  
 कार्तवीर्यप्रबध 544  
 कार्तवीर्यविजय 713

\* On the present head of the Must Candraśākharaśāraswati the present author (M Krishnamacharya) composed this Rathabandha

श्रीमान् कामपि चिन्मयाद्वयरुचे कोटि परामावहन्  
 कौटिल्य श्रुतिविद्विषां प्रकटयन् चन्द्रार्घमौलेरयम् ।  
 आकारान्तरमद्भूतिरधुना यस्यास्ति पीठो वज्ञे  
 काढ्वीधामनि कामकोटिख्येतो जयियाचिर मात्सर ॥  
 [श्रीकामकोटि-चन्द्रवेच्छा ]

कार्तवीयोदय 254, 373-A  
 कार्तिकेयविजय 254  
 कार्तिकोस्सवदीपिका 211  
 कार्पटिक [Quoted in *Ancil*]  
 कार्पण्यपुजिका [CC, I 96]  
     by रूपगोसामिन्  
 काल 923  
 कालमैरवाष्टक 273  
 कालमेधाधरित् 216  
 काळहस्ति 144  
 कालिकाचार्यकथानक 22, 235, 437  
 कालिकातकौतुक (d) 786  
 कालिकैलि (d) 786  
 कालिकेलियाता (d) 787  
 कालिदास 12-24, 282, 309, 331, 615  
 कालिदास (अक्षरीय) 372 373-A]  
     [ZDMG (1883), 545  
     See अक्षरीय कालिदास  
 कालिदास (=श्रमुकालिदास) 252  
     [CC, I 98]  
 कालिदास (रामार्थविद्वुत्)  
     त्रिपुरसुदर्भस्तुतिकाव्य  
 कालिदास  
     मातृकामुपमालास्तुति [Vidy J]  
 कालिदास (बलभद्रपुत्र)  
     कुडप्रबध [PR, I 114]  
 कालिदास (विद्याविनोद) 196  
     [of Katalipada, E Bengal Died 1937]  
     शिवराजचरित् [JSSP, X]  
 कालिदासचत्रिका [Opp, 6725, 6883]  
 कालिदासत्रयी 24  
 कालिदासनदिन Skm  
 कालिदासनाचाश्चत् [Opp, 5508]  
 कालिदासप्रशसा 855

कालिदासप्रहसन (=लबोदप्रहसन) (d) 24  
 कालिदासभिश्र (मौथिल) 1095  
     [MM, II 216]  
 कालिदीमुकुद 542  
 कालीकांतशिरोमणि  
     हितोपाख्यान [Luke Hitopadesha]  
 कालीपादतर्कचार्य 84, 743  
 सलानुभावमहाकाव्य  
 युगङ्गांगुलीय  
 निझरस्तन्त्रमण  
 आशुतोषावदानमहाकाव्य  
 देवताप्राप्ति 743  
     [Translation of Rabindranath Tagore's work. SPV II 6, 50, III 81, 191]  
 कालीप्रसाद 323  
     वृत्तरत्नावलीचत्रिका [CC, II 1]  
 कालीश्चद्रमहाचार्य (of Barisal) [SC J]  
 कालीसहस्र 769 [Printed Cocanada]  
 कालीस्तोत्र 309  
 काले (Kale M R) 262, 622  
 काल्यकौतूहल (d) 786  
 कविरीगद्य 484  
 कावेरीमहिमादर्श 494  
 काव्य (उपरूपक) 563  
 काव्यकटकोडार 921  
 काव्यकल्पलता 1 0  
 काव्यकलाप 544, 921  
 काव्यकलारहस्य 359  
 काव्यकलानिधि 900, 940  
 काव्यकमधेनु 877  
 काव्यकेदार [Oudh XVII 14]  
 काव्यकौतुक 888, 955  
 काव्यकौतूहल 921

काव्यकौसुदी 918, 921  
 काव्यकौस्तुम 905  
 काव्यखडन [CC, I 101]  
 काव्यचन्द्रिका 921  
     by रामचन्द्रन्यायवागीष  
     by कविचन्द्र  
 काव्यचिता 743  
 काव्यजीवन 1100  
 काव्यतत्त्वविचार 921  
 काव्यदर्पण 151  
     by मनोधर [MM, II 17]  
 काव्यदाकिनी 898  
 काव्यदीपिका 921  
     by कांतिचन्द्र [Opp II 8182]  
     by गोविंद [Opp, II 919, 1048  
         1812]  
 काव्यपरिष्कृद 921  
 काव्यपरीक्षा 852  
 काव्यप्रकाश 116, 848, 905  
 काव्यप्रकाश  
     महेश्वरव्याख्या  
     [Ed Cal San. series with a fine analysis  
       in English and introduction Printed  
       Bombay ]  
 काव्यमनोहर 285  
 काव्यभीमांसा  
     by नारायणशास्त्रि 727  
     by राजधेश्वर 828  
 काव्यरत्न 906, 921  
 काव्यरत्नाकर  
     by वेशाराम [CC, I 102]  
 काव्यरसायन 921  
 काव्यलक्षण 921  
 काव्यलक्षणविचार 921  
 काव्यलक्षणप्रह 921

काव्यलक्ष्मीप्रकाश  
     by शिवराम [PR, II 190]  
 काव्यलीला 906  
 काव्यविलास 768, 909  
 काव्यवृत्तरत्नावलि 921  
 काव्यसग्रह 372  
 काव्यसरणि [Quoted in Vyākhyāratika]  
 काव्यसारसग्रह 151  
 काव्यसारसग्रहतय 921  
 काव्यसुमाषित  
     [Bendall's List, 527]  
 काव्यसूत्रवृत्ति 919  
 काव्यात्ममणोधन 496  
 काव्यादर्श 464, 816  
     by सोमेश्वर 116  
     by दण्डिन्  
     [Ed with com. by Kṛṣṇa Deva Sastrī,  
       Ed with com by D T Tatacarya,  
       UP JI]  
 काव्यानुशासन 70, 339  
     by बाघट 869  
     by हेमचन्द्र 866  
 काव्यामृत 852  
 काव्यामृतकाव्य 852  
 काव्यामृततरगिणी 864, 921  
 काव्याम्नाय 110  
 काव्यार्थगुफ 888  
 काव्यार्थचूडामणि 921  
 काव्यालकार 827  
     by रुद्रट 881  
     by मामह 815  
 काव्यालंकारसग्रह 856  
     by नरसिंहाचार्य  
     by उद्धट 820  
 काव्यालकारसारलवृत्ति 826

काव्यालकारसूत  
by यास्कमुनि 920  
by वामदेव 819  
[Ed. with com. by Malati Sen, COJ  
1935]  
काव्यालोक (=व्यालोक) 825  
काव्यालोक 888  
by हरिप्रसाद  
काव्यालोकन 866  
काव्येन्दुप्रकाश 757, 903  
काव्योपदेश 921, 928  
काव्योपोद्धात 919  
काव्योङ्कास 021  
काशिकावृति 54, 819  
काशीवीतकान्य  
by चन्द्रदत्त (मैथिल)  
[Oudh VIII 20, CC, I 103,  
Mitra, No 2313, MM, II 22  
where extracts are given]  
काशीनाथ  
बृदावनयमकटीका  
[Printed Bombai]  
काशीनाथ (काशीर) 253  
स्वक्षिप्तकादबरी 456  
काशीनाथ  
किरातार्जुनीयटीका 53  
काशीनाथ  
यदुवशकाव्य 46  
रामचरित 59, 252  
काशीनाथ (=अप्पातुलसी) 1064  
काशीनाथमिश्र 253  
See वैदेहीपरिणय  
काशीनाथशास्त्रिन् (of Ujjain)  
[SC II, VC II]  
काशीनाथशास्त्रिन् (पेरि) 787

काशीपति [TU, IV 7596]  
सङ्गीतग्राधरव्याख्या  
काशीपति 777, 787, 1064  
काशीपति (स्मृतिरीढ़ि)  
आशा etc.  
[SMA I/II]  
काशीराम 473  
See अमृतमजरा  
काशीरामण 937  
काशीविधनाथस्तोन 279  
काश्मीराधिपति 883  
काश्यप 955, 966  
कासार 205  
किकिरीमाला 746  
कितवोष्टाम [Ulmas 1056]  
by लक्ष्मण।वार्य  
किपच (d) [CC, I 56]  
किरणवक्षी 923  
किरातप्रबध 175, 251  
किरातव्यायोग (d) 180  
by वत्सराज (6705)  
किरातार्जुनीय 49, 89, 184, 490  
किरातार्जुनीयचपू 541  
किरातार्जुनीयव्यायोग (d) 53, 715  
किरातार्जुनीयसप्रह 600  
by नरसिंहाचार्य  
by दोरसामि अयगार्य 62  
किशोरक Subh  
किशोरचरित 544  
किशोरविलाम 542  
कीकराज 1034  
कीचकवध 328  
कीरदूत 323  
by रामगोपाल  
by वरदाचार्य

कीर्तनचितामणि (In praise of Caitanya)  
 [Hpr, I 68]  
 कीर्तनपदस्तोम 1064  
 कीतिकोषुदी 111, 116, 855  
 कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय [CC, I 108]  
 कीर्तितरगिणी [CCI I 21]  
 कीर्तिघर 952, 955  
 कीर्तनारायण 86  
 कीर्तमुक्तावली 311  
 कीर्तिराज 329  
 कीर्तिलता 403  
 कीर्तिवर्मन् 67, 751  
 कीर्तिविजयगणि 440  
 कुक्षिभरि (d) 786  
 कुक्षिभरमेश्वर (d) 790  
 कुचपचाशिका 314  
 कुचशतक 314  
 कुचलकवि 316  
 कुचिमार 792, 1067  
 कुचिमारतन्त्र 1067  
 कुचेलवृत्त 175  
 कुचेलोपाख्यान 178, 1056  
 कुज Skm  
 कुजराज (कुञ्जराज ?)  
 कुजविहारचक्रवर्तन् 646  
 ब्रजकौतुक [TC, V. 6220]  
 कुचिकुट्टन् तविरान् (रामकर्मन्) 715  
 कुञ्जिणि K S [MB JI]  
 कुञ्जिणितविरान् 544  
 कुट्टबधास्त्रिन् (B A)  
 सध्या etc [Many JI]  
 कुट्टनीमत 60, 810  
 कुड्डप्रबन्ध [PR, I 114]  
 by कालिदास (बलभद्रपुत्र)

कुन्तहलपद्धित  
 श्रीकृष्णसरोजभ्रमरी  
 कुत्सितकुसीदक (d)  
 by रगाचार्य (R)  
 [Many JI I 8]  
 कुन्तक 809, 845  
 कुन्तीदेवी 374  
 कुन्तुनाथचरित्र 105  
 कुन्तेश्वरदौल 32  
 कुदमाला (गदा)  
 by उपेन्द्रनाथसेन  
 कुन्दमाला (d) 628  
 [Ed. with com by Jayacandra Sastri  
 with tr and notes by Vedavyas and  
 Bhanudi, Bombay ]  
 कुबेर 792  
 कुबेरचरित 254  
 कुबेरपुराण 103, 849  
 कुबेरस्तव 919  
 कुञ्जकुटीर 904  
 कुञ्जराजदब्य Skm  
 कुमारकण्ठमृत 542  
 कुमारस्वान्  
 गीतगोविंदब्याख्या [CC, III 38]  
 कुमारगिरि 620, 888  
 कुमारगुप्त 10, 16  
 कुमारचरित्र 235  
 कुमाराङ्गिडिम 138  
 कुमारतात्त्वाचार्य 306, 526, 699  
 [VC JI]  
 कुमारतात्त्वाचार्य  
 See लक्ष्मीकुमार 212  
 कुमारतात्त्वाचार्य  
 (=अपर्याप्तामृतदास of Kanci)  
 चंपमारतटीका [TC, III. 3532]

कुमारताताचार्य\*

(चतुर्वेदिशतकतु of Tirupati)  
पारिजातनाटक (d) 146, 306

कुमारदत्त 400, *Subh*

कुमारदत्त 38

कुमारदास 38, 462

कुमारदेव

*See* शालिवाहनसप्तशती

कुमारधातुसेन 38

कुमारनरेंद्रसाह

*See* मुदितमदालस (d) [CC, I 461]

कुमारपाल 70, 116

कुमारपालचरित 70, 113

कुमारपालप्रबंध 70, 321

कुमारभट्ट 38

कुमारभट्ट *Subh, Sarng*

कुमारसार्गवीय 544, 884

कुमारलालचर्मन् (K. K.) [VC, JI]

कुमारविजय 254

by रामसूरि

by शिवचारितरेणु

कुमारविजय (a) 28, 166

कुमारविजयचण्ठ 543

कुमारविष्णु 459

कुमारवेदांतदेशिक 879

कुमारीकाशिकानदसिंह (of Purnea)

[VC, JI]

कुमारसमव

by उद्घट 821

by कालिदास 26, 285

by अरमोजि 544

कुमारसमवचण्ठ 158

कुमारसमवविमर्श 28

कुमारखामिन् 31, 927

कुमारसेन 28

कुमाराभ्युदय 543

कुमारिल 643

कुमारीविलसित 234

कुमारोदय 28, 543, 728

कुमुदचद्र (d)

by यशश्वन्द [CC, I 111]

कुमुदनन्दन 44

कुमुद *Sanny*

कुमुदानद

(महिकाव्याव्याख्या) [CC, 111]

कुमुदिनी 491

कुमुद्धती (d) 783

कुमकर्ण 297, 929, 1004, 1021

कुमकर्णविजय 82

कुम्भकार (गौड़) 20

(Quoted in *Auc*)

कुमनाटक (d) [CC I 111]

कुमामिषेकचपू 88

कुमीवतकथा [PR, I 114]

कुरगी 587

कुरुक्षेत्रगाथातुकरण 205

कुलदेव *Skm*

कुलनाथ

महिकाव्याव्याख्या [OC, I 112]

कुलप्रबन्ध 359

कुलपञ्जीकार्य [CC, I 112]

by महेश्वरमिश्र

कुलबलदेव 305

कुलशेखर 65, 205, 278, 451

\*TC, II 2274 In para 146 he is described as of Kāncī It is wrong He belonged to Tirupati)

Delete in the foot-note the words " His life is described in a poem by Rangasami Tatasacrya of Kumbakonam "

कुलशेखरदेव 338  
 कुलशेखर आवार् 278  
 कुलिचुरि [Mentioned in Hārāvali]  
 [PR, II 59]  
 कुलोत्तुगचोळ 207  
 कुवलय (मालव) (mentioned in Auc.)  
 कुवलयविलास [TC, VI 6924]  
 कुवलयनद 143, 529, 896, 927 *UO/JI*  
 व्याख्या  
 by जगुर्वेकटाचार्य 494  
 कुवलयानदखंडन 143, 862  
 कुवलयमालाकथा 235  
 कुवलयोमाद 941  
 कुवलयामोदिनी [Opp 1219]  
 कुवलयावती (d) 784 [JO, 1183]  
 कुवलयाश्चरित (d) 694  
 कुवलयाश्चमदालस (d) [CC, III 38]  
 by वशमणि  
 कुतलयाश्चविलास 513  
 कुवलयाश्रीय (d) 709  
 कुशकुमुदतीय (d) 779  
 कुशल (सेमकरपौत्र)  
 घटकर्णरटीका [CC, I 118]  
 कुशलभतप्रसगाकाष्ठ [CC, I 118]  
 कुशलवच पू 541  
 कुशलविजय (d) 162, 779  
 See वेकटकृष्ण  
 कुसुमदेव 400  
 कुसुमबाणविलास (d) 787  
 कुसुममजरी (d) 451  
 कुसुमशेखरविजय (d) 55, 877, 880  
 कुसुमस्तब्ध 220  
 कुसुमाकरशमर्न (पद्धिय)  
 ईशाहानगीतम्  
 पश्चाचाप [Suryy JI]

कुसुमायुध 514, 889  
 कुसुमावचय 782  
 कुहनामैक्षव (d) 786  
 by अवलुनाथ alias तिरुमलनाथ  
 [TO, VI 7184]  
 [In para 786 the name कुहनामैरव  
 is wrong Ed. Vizianagaram by  
 K Rangacarya]  
 कुन्हन राज 544  
 कुन्हकुहन तंचिरान् 180  
 कूटसदोह [*Oudh* 886]  
 by रामानुज  
 कूटोद्भारकाव्य [CC, I 144]  
 कूरनारायण 207, 286  
 कूरविराम 529, 883, 922  
 कूरविरामालिंग 526  
 कूरेशविजय 207  
 कूर्मनाथस्तव 919  
 कूर्मपुत्रकथा [Bendalls List, 50]  
 कूर्माडीचरित 254  
 कृतकगौवत (d) 727  
 कृतपुण्यचरित्र 104  
 कृतार्थमाधव (d) 778 [Hpr II, 88]  
 कृत्यारावण (d) 565, 672, 779, 877,  
 955  
 कृपाशकर 271  
 कृपासागरस्तक 210  
 कृशाश्व 553  
 कृष्ण (प्रमाकरपुत्र) 902  
 कृष्ण  
 See शेषकृष्ण  
 कृष्ण (वरदपुत्र) 666  
 कृष्ण (वृसिंहपुत्र) 777  
 कृष्ण (पदितकृष्णक) *Sarng, Subh*

कृष्ण (श्रीकृष्ण) 254  
 नदिचरित  
 कृष्ण 928, 1101  
 वृत्तदीपिका  
 कृष्ण 32  
 मरतचरित  
 कृष्ण (भागवत)  
 शर्मिष्ठाययाति (d) [Rice 264]  
 कृष्ण (रत्नसुन्दर) 110  
 कृष्ण 545  
 पश्चानामचरित  
 कृष्ण (आचार्य) [CC, I 67]  
 हयग्रीवगाय  
 नंदीचरित [Opp, II 310]  
 कार्तवीर्यचरित  
 प्रजापतिचरित  
 कृष्ण 329  
 नलोदयटीका  
 कृष्ण 923  
 साहित्यतरगणी  
 कृष्ण अध्ययनार्थ 541  
 कृष्णकथापुष्पमजरी 287  
 कृष्णकथारहस्य 494  
 कृष्णकपाडित Skm, Subh, Soring  
 कृष्णकवि (नारायण नंत्र)  
 ताराशशक [CC, 117]  
 कृष्णकवि 132  
 उषापरिणय  
 कृष्णकवि 53  
 मारविभ्यारथ्या  
 कृष्णकवि (रघुनाथपुत्र) 346  
 कृष्णकवि 541  
 रघुनाथविजय  
 कृष्णकविराज 224

कृष्णदेव 1090  
 कृष्णकविशेख्वर 784  
 कृष्णकर्णीद्र 215, 338  
 कृष्णकर्णमृत 290, 298  
 कृष्णकान्त  
 See सत्काव्यकल्पद्रुम  
 कृष्णकिंकर 816  
 कृष्णकर्णमृतमहार्णव 213  
 कृष्णक्रीडित 251, 702  
 कृष्णकू (कौ) तूहल 225  
 [See Annals, XIII 1-16]  
 by रामचन्द्रभट्ट 702  
 Anonymous  
 कृष्णकूतूहल (d) 702, 778  
 by P C Dwani  
 कृष्णकौरमिश्र  
 श्युककाव्य  
 [On the early history of the Sikhs  
 Printed Lahore]  
 कृष्णगीत 298, 1001  
 by सोमनाथ  
 Anonymous  
 कृष्णगीत 176, 77, VI 7275  
 by मानदेव  
 कृष्णगोपालभक्त  
 [Of Asna, Raipur Revised Siddakalpa-  
 druma, lived 1843 1936]  
 कृष्णचद्रदासमहापात्र  
 मोदभजूषा  
 (A collection of poems, SC Jl VI 95 )  
 कृष्णचद्र 330  
 कृष्णचन्द्रभट्ट (K C.) (d)  
 कृष्णचन्द्राभ्युदय (d) 733  
 कृष्णचद्रदय 251  
 कृष्णचपू 542, [77, VI 6932]  
 by शेषसुधी (बानाल)  
 by परशुराम

**कृष्णचरित**  
 Anonymous 251  
 by उमापतिष्ठर 306  
 by मानवेद 251  
 by अगस्त्य 126, 451, 481

**कृष्णचरितामृत** 251

**कृष्णताङ्गवस्तोत्र** 273

**कृष्णनृतबी** 745

**कृष्णदत्त [Opp., 201]**  
 (Quoted in सर्गीतनारायण)

**कृष्णदत्त (काशीनाथजनक)**

महानाटकटीका

**कृष्णदत्त**

गीतगोपीपति  
 [MM, II 38 Composed in 1780]

**कृष्णदत्त (मैथिल)** 297, 694, 709, 999  
 [MM, II 45]

**कृष्णदत्त (सदारामपुत्र)** 251

**कृष्णदत्तशर्मन् (काश्यप)** [Sury, II]

**कृष्णदत्तशर्मन् (ओळा)** [Sury, II]

**कृष्णदत्तालकार** 922

**कृष्णदास**

कलाबतीकामरूप (d) 787

**कृष्णदास** 96

मेघदूतव्याख्या 318

गीताप्रकाश 1064

गीतगोविदव्याख्या 29

**कृष्णदास (गगय)** 544

**कृष्णदास**

कर्णनद 544, 1101

**कृष्णदीक्षित**

रघुनाथभूपालीय [Rice 286]

**कृष्णदूत** 323

**कृष्णदेव**

प्रस्तारपत्तन 1098

**कृष्णदेवराय** 124, 132, 237

**कृष्णद्विवेदिन्** 868 (a)

**कृष्णद्वैपायन** p 31

**कृष्णनवद्विपाह [UP JI]**

**कृष्णनाटक** (d)

**कृष्णनाथ (सार्वभौमभृष्टाचार्य)**

आनन्दातिलक 711

रामायणसार 322

**कृष्णनाथ (न्यायपंचानन)** 618, 711

**कृष्णपरकाल\*** 211, 933

**कृष्णपंचाशिका**

by नेत्रोपाध्याय

**कृष्णपडित** SS

**कृष्णपंडित**

कपूरस्तवटीका [CC, I 116]

**कृष्णपटित**

कृष्णकर्णमृतटीका [CC, I 116]

**कृष्णपतिशर्मन्** 27, 28

**कृष्णपादामृत**

by कृष्णसार्वभौम [CC, I 121]

**कृष्णपिण्ड Sarng**

\*On this Yati the present author (M Krishnamacharya) composed this Raṭhabanḍha

श्रीमद्भामाकूरागी स्फटिकमणिशतप्रोक्षसदाम दद्यात्  
 पन्था क्षानामृताङ्के श्रुतिधिक्षरणुरो प्राप्तवद्यत् प्रसादात् ।  
 शङ्कावादिप्रहर्षी ललिताश्चित्क्षसद्वाक् च लङ्घप्रतिष्ठा  
 हेयप्रस्तर्यस्थापतितिभिरप्ता वन्दितां पारदग्मि ॥  
 [श्रीवार्गीशपरकालयतिवर]

कृष्णपारशव (of Paitambi) [IC, JI]  
 कृष्णप्रेमामृत 225  
 कृष्णबालकीडा [VC, JI] 291  
 कृष्णब्रह्मतन्त्रपरकाळसामिन 211, 933\*  
 [of Hosadurga, Mysore]  
 परकाळगुहविजय  
 [JI Mys Sans College (1925) Composed in 1914]  
 कृष्णभक्तिकाव्य 251  
 कृष्णभक्तिचादिका (d) 251, 301  
 by अनंतदेव  
 [PR, V 436, Nepal Library]  
 कृष्णभक्तिचरित 778 II 24  
 कृष्णभक्तिरसायन (d) 373-B, 767  
 कृष्णभट्ट Sarng  
 कृष्णभट्ट  
 बहुतुवर्णन [CC, III 140]  
 कृष्णभट्ट 27  
 रघुवश्वारुद्धा  
 रामगीता [CC, II 23]  
 कृष्णभट्ट 1102  
 छंदोव्याख्यासार  
 कृष्णभट्ट (होसिंगराममङ्गलपुत्र)  
 See दुष्टभनकाव्य  
 कृष्णमाधवनामृत 251, 301  
 कृष्णभूषण 546  
 कृष्णमाचार्य (R) 318, 488  
 कृष्णमाचार्य (कपिस्थल) 493  
 कृष्णमाचार्य (यवार्) UP JI  
 कृष्णमाचार्य (R V) 473, 477, 496,  
 610, 612 [Sah JI, VC, JI]  
 कृष्णमित्राचार्य 28, 863-A  
 कृष्णमिश्र 750  
 प्रबोधचत्रोदय (d)

कृष्णमिश्र  
 वीरविजय ईहामृग (d) [CC, I 595]  
 कृष्णमिश्राचार्य 863 A  
 कृष्णमूर्ति 254  
 ९८ सर्ताविलासकाव्य  
 कृष्णमूर्ति (वासिष्ठ) 787  
 कृष्णमूर्ति (सर्वशास्त्रिपुत्र) 97, 319, 521  
 कृष्णमूर्तिकुमार 787  
 कृष्णमेनव (P R) [VC, JI]  
 कृष्णमोहन 338  
 कृष्णयज्वन् 937  
 कृष्णराज 286, 1102  
 कृष्णराजकलेदय 546, 747, 988  
 कृष्णराजगद्य  
 by श्रीनिवास [Mys 7]  
 कृष्णराजगुणालोक 200  
 कृष्णराजचप् 165  
 कृष्णराजजयोत्कर्ष 344  
 कृष्णराजप्रभावादय 200, 344  
 कृष्णराजशोडिडिम 938  
 कृष्णराजविजय 252  
 कृष्णराजवोडियार् 200, 287, 411, 486  
 कृष्णराजाम्बुद्दय 200, 546  
 कृष्णराजेन्द्रयचोविलास 546  
 कृष्णराजोदयचप् 200  
 कृष्णराम 81, 245, 353  
 कृष्णराम  
 शतरजनी [On chess, Bul 707]  
 कृष्णराय 704  
 कृष्णरात्रु (Mrs) 441  
 कृष्णलीला (d) 767, 778

\*In para 498 delete words "among in 1934" misprinted.

- कृष्णलीला  
 by मदन 251, 316  
 by कृष्णमिश्र 251  
 कृष्णलीलातरगिणी 251, 289, 301  
 by नारायणतीर्थ  
 by रामराय 289  
 कृष्णलीलामूषण 251  
 कृष्णलीलामृत 246, 301  
 कृष्णलीलाविनोद 251  
 by मोतीराम [Oudh IV 9]  
 कृष्णलीलाविलास 251, 1001  
 by प्रभाकर  
 by शेषदीक्षित  
 by पुण्यकोटि  
 कृष्णलीलाशुक 5, 290  
 कृष्णलीलासार 251  
 कृष्णलीलास्तव 224  
 कृष्णवर्मन् 1095  
 कृष्णविजय  
 by रामचंद्र  
 by शकरमारार् 169  
 कृष्णविजयचंपू 542 [TC, VII 7581]  
 by वीरेश्वर  
 by कृष्णशास्त्रिन्  
 कृष्णविजय (d) 242  
 by श्रीनिवास (वाधूल)  
 कृष्णविलासकाव्य 373 H  
 by शंकर 254, 542  
 by प्रभाकर  
 by शेषदीक्षित  
 by सुकुमार 169  
 by गुरुस्यमूनाथ 141  
 कृष्णविलासगीतप्रबन्ध  
 by नारायणमिश्र 1047  
 कृष्णविलासचरितमहार्णव 251
- कृष्णविलासच्चपू 517  
 by लक्ष्मणकवि  
 by नरसिंह  
 कृष्णशतक 290  
 कृष्णवृत्त 1100  
 कृष्णशतक 180  
 कृष्णशर्मन्  
 रसप्रकाश [CC, I 117]  
 कृष्णशर्मन् 863-A, 901, 1064  
 पदमजरीकाव्य [CC, I 117]  
 कृष्णशर्मन् (गोत्तामि)  
 [of Pindigheva Sury J]  
 कृष्णशास्त्रिन् (मागवत) 546  
 कृष्णशास्त्रिन् (परित्तियूर) p 25, 492  
 कृष्णशास्त्रिन् 542  
 See कृष्णविजय  
 कृष्णसरसती [Hpr IX, 16]  
 हरिमत्तिकत्पलतिका  
 कृष्णसार 1098  
 कृष्णसार्वभौम (तातायपुत्र) of Navadurga (1866) [CC, II 23]  
 ख्युनाथविजयच्चपू  
 अनन्दतिलक (d) [IO, VII 4203]  
 कृष्णसिंहठकुर [MM, II, 7]  
 अमरनाथशतक  
 कृष्णसुधी (उपद्रष्ट)  
 कृष्णसुधी (शिवरामपुत्र) 940  
 कृष्णसूरि 659  
 कृष्णसूरि (नृसिंहपुत्र)  
 द्रौपदीपरिणय (d) 777  
 कृष्णसूरि (शतघरि) 900  
 कृष्णस्तवोमन्थ 919  
 कृष्णस्तुति 218, 291, [TC, VI 7127]  
 कृष्णाचार्य *Ked*

कृष्णाचार्य [Opp, II 310]  
 हयग्रीवगद  
 कृष्णाधरिन् 153  
 सूर्य अव्यादीक्षित  
 कृष्णानन्द 544  
 सुदर्शनचपू  
 कृष्णनदकद 542  
 कृष्णनद मध्याचार्य  
*See* अत्यन्त्याकरणनाव्यपरिशिष्ट  
 कृष्णानन्दलहरी 301  
 कृष्णानन्दवाचस्पति 764  
 कृष्णानन्दव्यास 1064  
 कृष्णाभ्युदय (d) [Tanj, VIII 3673]  
 by लोकनाथभट्ट (of Kāncī)  
 कृष्णाभ्युदय 251, 529  
 by यलयवद्विश्वनिवासराघव  
 by वरददेविक (आत्मेय)  
 कृष्णामृततरागिका 251, 301  
 कृष्णामृतमहार्णव 251  
 कृष्णायन 251  
 कृष्णाराम 1100, 1101  
 कृष्णार्यास्तुति 721  
 कृष्णार्जुनीय 251, 254  
 कृष्णालकारदर्पण 981  
 कृष्णावतारचरित [DC, XXVII,  
     10108]  
 कृष्णावतारदडक 544  
 कृष्णाष्टक 273  
 कृष्णास्तुति 932  
 कृष्णाहिककौषुदी [MM, II 34]  
 by बिल्वमगळ  
 कृष्णोदत 251  
 केकावली 314  
 वेतन 464

केदारनाथत्रिपाठिन् (of Benares)  
 मधुरालाप [Sury Jl]  
 केदारनाथमिश्र [of Bharatapur, MB Jl]  
 केदारनाथमुखोपाद्याय [SC Jl]  
 केदनीलनारायण Shm  
 केरट्टपीप Shm  
 केरलकाल्पिदास 179  
 केरलवर्मन् 179  
 [Died in 1921. For his letters and  
 exquisite poetry, see SC Jl]  
 केरलाभरण 160, 537  
 केरलीयशकरविजय 271  
 केरलोपति 65, 67  
 केलिकवि 314  
 मधुवर्णन  
 विरहणीविलाप [ /, 115 59]  
 केल्लरैवतक (d) 563, 877  
 कशल्ल Shm  
 केशप्रसाधनकाव्य  
 [Arsh Library, Visagapatam]  
 केशव Shm  
 केशव 852  
 काव्यामृत  
 केशव (उपाधाय)  
 मुद्राराशसन्व्याख्या [CC, II 106]  
 रामाभिषेक 252  
 केशव (मद्वकेशव) 542, 544  
 आनदबृंदावन  
 दृक्षिहचपू  
 प्रह्लादचपू  
 केशव  
 सगीतरत्नाकरव्याख्या  
 केशव (अनन्तपुत्र) 1004  
 लावण्यलहरी [PR, VI 28]  
 केशव (हरिश्चमद्भूष्ठ) 895

- केशवकृपालेश्वलहरी 733  
 केशवकोणीयनाथोक *Skm*  
 केशवच्छत्रिन् *Pady*  
 केशवचरित [CC, I 121]  
 [A poem describing the life of Kusavadeva, King of Multan]  
 केशवचरित (d) [Mentioned in Nātaka canḍrikā]  
 केशवदीक्षित *SS*, 373-A  
 केशवनाथ 777  
 केशवनारायणवाट्टवे (M A) (वासिष्ठ)  
 सस्कृतमुक्ताहार  
 [Born 1896 Professor of Sanskrit, Sri Parasuram College, Poona Forstry poems, see *Manjusū Jl* and *MV Jl*]  
 केशवपंडित 158  
 केशवमट 373  
 प्रस्तावमुक्तावलि  
 केशवमट  
 आनदलहरटीका [But 245]  
 केशवमट  
 रामधतक [CC, I 127]  
 केशवमष्टाचार्य *Pady*  
 केशवमर्मन्  
 मार्गवतकथासम्भव [CC, I 127]  
 केशवशास्त्रिन् 781  
 केशवसूरि (मारदाज) 254-B  
 केशवसेन 400  
 केशवसेनदेव *Skm*  
 केशवस्तव 919  
 केशवसामिन् 28  
 केशवादिल्ल 329  
 केशवार्क 702  
 केशवादिल्ल [PR, III 895]  
 नलोदयटीका
- केशवार्क 257  
 नेशबोपाध्याय 632  
 केठिप्रिय  
 See वीरहरिप्रतापकाव्य  
 केलीरहस्य 314, 928  
 कैयट (=कप्ट)
- कैलासचब्दमहाशय 496  
 कैलासनाथ  
 See नाथकथामजरी  
 कैलासयात्रा 733  
 कैलासचौलवर्णन 175  
 कोक *Skm*, *Sarng*  
 कोकसदेश 323  
 कोकसमव  
 अमृकटीकाकर्ता  
 कोकिल  
 (Mentioned in मोजप्रबन्ध)  
 कोकिलसदेश 122, 169, 323  
 by अणगराचार्य 255-K  
 by वरदाचार्य  
 by वैकटाचार्य  
 by गुणवर्णन  
 by उद्धृ  
 by नरसिंह  
 कोकोक 1074  
 कामकला [CC, III, 20]  
 कोङ *Skm*  
 कोऽच्छिणतविरान् 180, 323, 715  
 कोटिजित् 24  
 कोटिविरह 175  
 कौडपंडित [CC, II 102]  
 महेशमहोत्सव  
 कौडसूरि 787  
 कोदडरामव्य 280

कोमटिप्रोल 482  
 कोमटिवेम 482  
 कोमलमारुत 254-J [MB, JI]  
 कोमलाबाकुचशतक 254-A  
 कोमलादडक 504  
 कोलनायिकारूयान 378-B  
 कोलाहल *Skm*  
 कोविदानद  
 [Of Āśādhara quoted in 1<sup>st</sup>-  
 verukā]  
 कोसलमोसलीय 163  
 कोसलानदकाव्य  
 [Poem in 21 Cantos by Gangādharā-  
 mītra, Utikala Brahmin of Sambhalpur  
 On the history of Paine Raj family  
 of Chauhan dynasty of Chātisgarh  
 Division O P Orissa Feudatory States  
 Gazetteer, 285 JBORS, XX 140]  
 कोसलिका (d) 672  
 कोहल 561, 562, 958  
 कोहलरहस्य 958  
 by पद्मितराज [Oudh, XV 144]  
 कौञ्जिन्यप्रहसन (d) 746  
 कौतुकचित्ताभणि  
 कौतुकमजरी [CC, I 181]  
 कौतुकरत्नाकर (d) 199, 686  
 कौतुकसर्वत (d) 786  
 कौन्तेयवृत्त 254  
 by विद्यावाणीश  
 कौमुदी 714  
 कौमुदीकाव्य 544  
 कौमुदीमहोत्सव (d) 575, 587, 626  
 कौमुदीमित्रानद (d) 672  
 कौमुदीसुधाकर (d) 740, 788  
 कौमुदीसोम (d) 492

कौशालिका (d) 784  
 क्रमदीपिका 291  
 क्रमस्तोत्र 886  
 क्रियागुप्तक 182  
 क्रियागोपनरामायण 346, 692  
 क्रियासदोहकाव्य [CC, I 133]  
 क्रीडाचब्र *Sarng*  
 क्रीडामिराम (d) 774  
 क्रीडारसातल (d) 563, 880  
 क्रीडावलीकाव्य [CC, I 133]  
 by योगनद  
 कूरसापत्न्य (d) 727  
 कृतकैन्तेर्य (d) 727  
 कुष्ठकीचक (d) 727  
 क्षत्रचूडामणि 479  
 क्षतियरमणी 498  
 क्षमार्पणस्तव 919  
 क्षमाशोडिशी [Taylor I 100]  
 by पराशरभद्र [Oudh, V 4]  
 क्षितिपालमङ्ग 53  
 क्षितीश *Skm*  
 क्षितीशचब्दच्छोपाध्याय 255-H  
 क्षितीशचब्देव 255-C  
 क्षियाक *Skm*  
 क्षीरनदीस्तव 210  
 क्षीरसामिन् 272, 779, 840  
 क्षीराभिष्वयन् 735  
 क्षुद्रगीतप्रबध 1064  
 क्षेत्रनाथदास (डागालि)  
 मीष्मचरित [In prose SB, II]  
 क्षेमकर्ण 1027  
 क्षेमगुप्त 402  
 क्षेमकर 429, 1099  
 क्षेमचंद्रबोध (d) [CC, I 184]

क्षेमराज (राजानक) 281  
 क्षेमवृद्धि *Subh*  
 क्षेमहसगण 867  
 क्षेमानदवाजपेय *Ked*  
 क्षेमीश्वर 669  
 क्षेमेद्र\* 68, 195, 419, 446, 670, 883  
 क्षेणिघरमिश्र 833

## ख

खण्ड 510  
 खडप्रशस्तिकाव्य [*CC*, II 27, 513, 667]  
 by हनुमान्  
 by नरसिंह  
 खडहस्य p 25  
 खंडराजदीक्षित  
*See* गोदालहरी  
 खडवलाकुलोद्भवराजवर्णनम्  
 by छोटीज्ञा [*MM*, II 35]  
 (a poem on the kings of the Darbhanga State)  
 खडेरायबसवयर्तीत्र 373  
 खरनिधन 254  
 खलावहेलन 256

## ग

गगक 68  
 गगवशानुचरित 174  
 गगायुणादर्श 531  
 गगातरग 491  
 गगातरगिका (d) 563, 877  
 गगादत्त (=गगाधर) *Subh*  
 गगादास (वैष्ण 667, 1096, 524  
 गगादेवी 126, 127 377

गगाधर 992  
 रसपञ्चाकर  
 [Here गगाधर is an error for गगाधर]  
 गंगाधर *Subh, Skm*  
 गंगाधर (=गगादास)  
 गगाधर  
 [mentioned in *VIK*, XVI 95]  
 गंगाधर 165 [*CC*, I 137]  
 कृष्णराजचंपूकर्ता  
 वसुमतीचित्रसेनकर्ता  
 रसपञ्चाकरकर्ता  
 विश्वेश्वरस्तुतिपारिजातकर्ता [*Oudh*, VII 28]  
 सूर्यशतकटीकाकर्ता  
 आनदलहरीटीककर्ता  
 सर्गीतरत्नाकरव्याख्याकर्ता  
 गगाधर (अगस्त्यमाणिनेय) 687  
 गगाधर (दत्तात्रेयपुत्र) 1517, 544, 687  
 गगाधर (धूर्जर) 687  
 गगाधर (दाहल) 165  
 गगाधर (त्र्यबकपुत्र) 165  
 गंगाधर (सदाशिवपुत्र) [*CC*, I 129]  
 by गंगास्त्रोत्र  
 by मणिकर्णिकास्त्रोत्र  
 by रामस्तुति  
 गंगाधरकवि 165  
 गंगाधरनाथ *Skm*  
 गंगाधरमूलभ 687  
 गंगाधरमिश्र  
*See* कोसलानंदकाव्य  
 गंगाधरमिश्र 52

\* Kṣemendra's views on Sanskrit Grammar were criticised by Dhāneśvara in his *Bṛasavataprakṛtyā* (*Omf* 555) as Kṣemendrakhandana. See Belwalkar, *SSG*, 99 and P. V. Gode's article in *PO*, I iv 80.

गंगाधरवाजपेयिन् 165  
 गंगाधरविजय 254  
**गंगाधरसर्मन्**  
 रसुनाथशतकम् [Printed *Gaya*]  
 गंगाधरशालिन् (मानवष्टि) 3511, 496  
 गंगाधराष्वरिन् (समरपुगवपौत्र, वाधूल) 14  
 165\*  
 by भोसलवशावळि  
 by कुवलयानदटीका 143  
**गंगाधरसर्मन्**  
 रघुनाथशतक  
 [Printed *Gaya*]  
**गंगानन्द** 878  
**गंगानन्द** [*MM*, II 62]  
 गंगानथ शा 254-T  
**गंगाप्रसादशालिन्**  
 चद्रभूषणोपस्थ्यान  
 [Sarada *J*] in prose  
**गंगामकितरंगिणी** [*CC*, I 141]  
 गंगामातीरथ (d) 877  
**गंगाराम** (गंगाधर) *CC*, I 138  
 305, 1004  
**गंगाराम** 296  
 गंगारामजडी 886 *IO*, 176, 290  
**गंगाराममिश्र** *Kad*  
 गंगालहरी 311  
 गंगालहरीशतक 311  
 गंगावतरण 154, 781  
**गंगावतार** 254  
 गंगावतारचंपू 538  
**गंगाविलास** 544  
 गंगाविलासचंपू  
*See* गोपालर्पणित

**गंगाविष्णुशर्मन्**  
 (of Alipur, Calcutta) [*Sury J*]  
**गंगास्तव** 397, 737  
 by धीरजयदेव  
 by कविकर्णपूर  
 by देवेश्वर  
 by हरिभास्कर  
 by गंगाधर  
 by सत्यप्रहानदतीर्थ  
**गंगात्तोत्र** [*CC*, I 140]  
**गंगाष्टक** 272 309  
**गंगोत्र** 674  
 रामायांशतक  
**गंजपतिवारश्री नारायणदेव** 1048  
**गञ्जनीमहम्मदचरित** 196  
**गंजाधरलाल** 325  
**गंजेन्द्रगाटकर्** (A B) 468)  
 गंजेन्द्रचंपू 544  
 गंजेन्द्रमोक्ष 140, 170, 175  
 गंजेन्द्रब्यायोग (d) 256  
 गंजेन्द्रसिंह 373  
 गडगोपाल *Subh*, *Suring*  
 गडीनक 69  
 गडीस्तोत्र 277  
 गणनाथ 886  
**गणनाथसेन** (कविराज)  
 [*Vidy J*]  
 छदोविवेक [*SMM J*]  
**गणपति** *SS*, *Pmt*  
 [He was probably the father of the poet  
 Bhānukara]  
**गणपति** *Skm*, *Subh*  
**गणपति** 600, 661

\*He was the son of Devasamhamakhin and grandson of Samaratpungava Dikṣit  
 of Vādhulagotra. No (1) is only a preface to No (2) above. In *Tan* VII. 897  
 there is a formula for chess play

- गणपति (रामपुत्र)  
 चौरपद्माशिकाटीका 10, 175  
 गणपति (घनेश्वरपुत्र)  
 गणभक्तिरङ्गिणी [CO, I, 141]  
 गणपति (काकतीय) 1008  
 गणपतिदेव 926  
 गणपतिव्यास  
 (धारार्थसकाच्च) [SA (1882) 108]  
 गणपतिशर्मन् 64  
 गणपतिशालिन् (of Trivandrum)  
 गणपतिशालिन् [पैज्जनाङ्ग] 254  
 श्रीकृष्णाक्षरमालास्तुति  
 सज्जनरजन  
 शुश्राजससति  
 तुरगवातक  
 कटाक्षशतक  
 तटातकपरिणय  
 वृत्तमणिमाला  
 अन्यापदेश  
 ध्रुवचरित  
 रसिकभूषण  
 भूतेशालक  
 सूर्योष्टक  
 महामायाशक  
 गणपतिशालिन्  
 अन्योक्तिमुक्तावली  
 [Sury 7]  
 गणपतिस्तुति 291  
 गणरब्लमहोदधि 113, 182  
 गगाध्यक्ष *Shm*  
 गणेश 328, 753  
 गणेश [CO I, 143]  
 गणेश (अनन्तभृपुत्र) 867, 886  
 गणेशचरित 166  
 गणेशपण्डित [CO I 312]  
 See हरिविनोदकाच्च  
 गणेशप्रसाद  
 गङ्गालहरी [Oudh, XII, 38]  
 गणेशभट्ट (धर्माधिकारिन्) *Ked*  
 गणेशशालिन् (सुकडीकर)  
 [He lived recently at Kalavira,  
 Bombay SC II]  
 गद 290  
 गदाधर *Shm*  
 गदाधर 76  
 गदाधर 922  
 रसपद्माकर  
 [Here the name गङ्गाधर is wrong]  
 गदाधर  
 by बृहत्तारतम्यस्तोत्र  
 [JASB (1870) Pro 312]  
 गदाधर चक्रवर्तिन् 862-A  
 गदाधर (वैद्य) *Shm*  
 गदाधरतर्काचार्य [SS, I 148]  
 देवीमाहात्म्यटीका  
 गदाधरनाथ *Shm*  
 गदाधर नारायण *Shm*  
 गदाधरभट्ट 273  
 रसिकजीवन  
 [IHQ, X 479, COJ, III 350  
 About 1660 A.D.]  
 गदाधरमिश्र (उत्कल) of Sambhalpur,  
 See कोसलानंदकाच्च  
 गदाधरविद्याभूषण  
 (of Ichapuri, Ganjam) [Sury 7]  
 गदायुद्ध (d) 579  
 गदासिंह 52  
 गदकर्णमृत 100, 480  
 गदकाच्च 446  
 गद्याचितामणि 479

[A. Venkatesubbiiah, "Autho rs of Raghavapandaviya and Gadyacintamani" <i>J B R A S</i> , (1927) 124]	गाथासप्तशनी 305 गाधिवंशवर्णन 902 गानस्त्रवमज्जरी 1064 गायकपारिजात 1064 गायत्रीभुजङ्ग 509 गायत्रीमाला 919 गायत्रीरामायण 37 3-C गारी 373 A गिरिजाकमलाविवाद 343 गिरिजानाथमिश्र (Of Khaṇakuna, Gnyā)
गथतय 306	अमरान्धोत्ति &c [Suy II]
गथरामायण 242	गिरिजाप्रसादज्ञार्मन् (Of Jeypore)
गथषदक 506	संस्कृतकवय [Essays in prose on Sanskrit poets, MG II]
गथादर्श 501	गिरिधरदास, 252, 922 रामकथामृत [NII 156]
गथवर्षार्थनास्तोत्र 220	गिरिधरललशर्मन् (Of Jhalawad, Rajputana called Abinava-Bhavabhūti) [Mai] II
गथवर्षराज 1064	गिरिखुंदरदास 251
गंदिनक 69	गिरीशस्तुतिसूक्तिमाला 482
गधिमाहात्म्य 254-F	गीतगङ्गाधर 298, 1001 by कल्याण by राजशेखर by चंद्रशेखरसरस्वती
गथामुक्तिभास्कर 213	गीतगङ्गाधर (—सङ्कीर्तगङ्गाधर)
गथाप्रशस्ता	
गथाथात्रा [OC, I 149]*	
गरल्पुरिशालिन् 520	
गहुड 55	
गहुडदङ्क 12, 505	
गहुडपञ्चक 121	
गहुडसंदेश 289, 323	
by रामराय by नरसिंहाचार्य (कोच्च)	
गर्व [Quoted in Sīlkanthacarita XXV 56]	
गर्गदीन 941	
गगाभट 214	
गगाभट (दिनकरपुत्र) 888	
गगाभट <i>Ked</i>	
गग्नदेव <i>Sarm</i>	
गग्नोक <i>Skm</i>	
गाथा p 1	

\* The following verse composed by the autho r of this book (M. Krishnama charya) is a summary of all the stories given in the Gayā Mūhūrtmya on Gayākṣetra

श्रीअं सश्रुतसत्यवाङ्मत्तगय श्यायेदुदाधिरिण

यो नः कल्यशिलावटान् सदसर्वी सन्तारकान् सन्तती ।

प्रादात्सार्थपदो जनार्दन इति श्यासाय पिण्डं वहन्

दत्त जीवति यो ददात्सपुनरावृत्तिं तिरस्वामपि ॥

[Ed by Maharudrappa Belgam]	Devappa,	[Cat OP No 1350-2] गीतमुकुन्द [गीतामृत] See कमलोचन
गीतगणपति 709		गीतराधव 298
गीतिग्रीष 298		by हरिशङ्कर by प्रभाकर (KCD)
by रामभट्ट		by रामकवि
[Of 129. With Ātmālāma's com NW 618]		गीतबीतराग 298
गीतगोपीपति		गीतशङ्कर 153
by कृष्णदत्त*		by भीममिश्र
गीतगोविन्द 220, 225, 295, 296, 335, 859, 998		by अनन्तनारायण
गीतगोविन्द [for commentaries, see MM, II 2]		by हीर [Oudh VIII 200 MM V 52 It is written as गीतसङ्कर in CC I 154]
गीतगौरी by तिरुमल [Rice, 2700 The name is given as Sitāgauvīvivāha in Jodhpur MSS collection, No 204]		गीतशतक 298
गीतगौरीपति 298		गीतसुन्दर 1049
गीतगौरीश 884		गीतामृत
गीतदिगम्बर 299		See कमलोचन
गीतदोषविचार 1064		गीतावलि 1064
गीतपञ्चाशिका 1039		गीताचार्य 200
गीतप्रकाश 1048, 1064		गीताचार्य (चक्रवर्ति) 546
गीतमजरी 915		गीतिशतक
गीतमहानट 1058		See सुन्दराचार्य
गीतमाधव by रेवाराम		गीतोपनिषत्सापनडिडम (d) [Arsha Press, Vizagapatam]

[Composed in 1780 He also wrote a commentary on Gita-Govinda]

\* [This Krsnadasa received a village (Pachaharaha) as a grant, from the King of Nepal. There is a rumour that Krsna datta was ordered to be hanged for using foul words about the king of Nepal. The King, while on bed, remembered a Hindi poem which he could not understand. In the morning he called the Pandit to explain it. But the Pandit was waiting for the arrival of the sad time. On hearing, he went to the King and the King remembering his past order, and desiring to cancel it, asked what prayascitta should be done for cancelling his order. Thereupon the Pandit told him, that he should offer 10 thousand Rupees, one village, one Elephant and a Salagram to a learned Brahmana. So the King did and gave him the above mentioned village. That village is still in the hands of his generations, residing at Hatarba village, P O Jhanjharpur, Dharbhanga] MM II 47

गीर्वाणेन्द्र 154, 254, 787  
 गीर्वाणबोधकाव्य  
     by दीननाथ CO I 154  
 गीर्वाणशठगोपसहस्र 357  
 गुणिडचाविजय 1047  
 गुणहरामस्तमि शास्त्रिन् 541  
 गुणचन्द्र 672  
 गुणभद्र (जिनसेनशिष्य) 47, 57, 228,  
     320  
     धन्यकुमारचरितकर्ता  
 गुणमाला (d) 563, 955  
 गुणरत्नगणि 868  
 गुणरत्नाकर 937  
 गुणवर्धन 323  
 गुणवर्मचरित  
     by माणिक्यसुन्दर  
     [Bendallis Last, 69  
 गुणविजयगणि 27, 667  
 गुणविनयगणि 262, 513  
 गुणाकर, Sarvaj, Pady  
 गुणाकरभद्र, Skm  
 गुणाकरसूरि 283  
 गुणाद्य 305, 413, 417  
 गुणिदेवाचार्य 373  
 गुपती 451  
 गुप्तिक  
     See उपदेशशतक  
 गुरिजालशायिन् 886  
 गुरु Skm  
 गुरुकुमारचक्रवर्तिन् SPV  
 गुरुगणरत्नाकर 234, 235, 513  
 गुरुतरङ्गिणी [Opp 6572]  
 गुरुनाथकाव्यतीर्थ 318, 468  
 गुरुनाथ परामर्श  
     [DO. XXVII, 10105 in praise of  
     Abhinavagupta Last verse in  
     prakrt is thus  
     ज्ञानम् काणम् कुणम् तोणम्

जीवम् ताणम् सिवत्तणम् ।  
 वाचा हिणो विआजेणम्  
     निब्बी पुणो सदेशम् ॥  
 गुरुपरम्पराप्रभाव 254-F  
 गुरुप्रसन्नभद्राचार्य 254  
 गुरुबालचित्तरज्जन p 25  
 गुरुलमाला  
     by सदाशिवब्रह्मेन्द्र  
     (Printed Madras With commentary  
     by Ātmabodha composed in 1720 AD)  
     [Sadāśiva was pupil of Paramasivendira  
     55th Ācārya of Kūmakotipītha (1584-  
     1588 AD) Ātmabodha was pupil of  
     Advayātma Prakāśa 58th Acarya (1692-  
     1704 AD) Ātmabodha wrote also  
     Bhaktikalpadruma and Gaudapādolāśa]  
 गुरुराज  
     बृन्दावनाख्यानस्तोत्र [Inuu, 274]  
 गुरुराजाचार्य  
     (of Kallapurū N(J))  
 गुरुरामकवि 52 154  
 गुरुवशकाव्य 254 270  
 गुरुवायुपुरेशस्तोत्र 19  
 गुरुविजय by कृष्णभिथ  
     (On the hto of Uānudias'oklava II  
     47th Ācārya of Kūmakotipītha  
     (1200-1247 AD) mentioned by  
     Ātmabodha)  
 गुरुस्यंभूताथ 141, 544  
 गुरुस्तोत्र 213  
 गृह 346  
 गृहकौशिक 727  
 गृहवृक्षवाटिकाकाव्य  
     quoted in SD  
 गैवर्णविजय  
     by वालकवि  
 गोकुल (=उत्प्रेक्षावल्लभ) 240  
 गोकुल चन्द्र 305  
 गोकुलचरितामृत [CO, III 34]

गुरुवाल्मीकिभाषप्रकाशिका, p 24  
 गुरुविजय, 271  
 गुरुविविजय, [Opp 5522]  
 गूडलङ्घार  
 [MM II 55]  
 गोकुलनाथ, 693, 755, 863-A  
 गोकुलनाथ  
     रसमहार्षव [MM II, 60]  
 गोकुलनाथ  
     काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या  
     [MM II 26]  
 गौतमीयकाव्य  
     [Printed, Bombay]  
 गोदानन्द *Smt*  
 गोतिथीयदिवाकर *Skm*  
 गोदापरिणय 544, 721, 777  
     by श्रीशैलश्रीनिवास  
     by केशवनाथ  
     by सुन्दरराज  
 गोदालहरी  
     by खण्डराजदीक्षित  
     [UU I 159]  
 गोदावरीस्तव 737  
     गोदावर्मन् 170  
 गोदावर्मयशोभूषण 940  
 गोदावर्मयुवराज 714  
 गोदावर्मरविवर्मणी 695  
 गोदास्तुति 121  
 गोनन्द 387  
 गोनन्दन *Sukt*  
 गोपदेव  
     (गोपालनृसिंहपुत्र) 886  
 गोपभट्ट (गोभट्ट)  
     *Skm, Sarmg*  
 गोपादित्य, *Shubh, Surng*, 388  
 गोपाल (बेणुगापालपुत्र) 779  
 गोपाल (महादेवपुत्र) 544  
 गोपाल 293, 297

गीतगोविन्दव्याख्या  
 हृष्णकर्णामृतव्याख्या  
 माधव्याख्या  
 गोपालकवि  
     —आनन्दलहरी [OO I 160]  
 गोपालकृष्ण 542  
 गोपालचम्पू 222, 542, 903  
     by जीवराज  
     by किशोरविलास  
     by विश्वनाथसिंह  
 गोपालचरित 219, 257  
 गोपालचिन्तामणि 354, 733  
 गोपालदण्डक 505  
 गोपालदास 306  
 गोपालदास (वैद्य) 243  
 गोपालदास 235  
     वल्लभाख्यानक  
 गोपालदेव *Sarmg*  
 गोपालदेव 941  
 गोपालनायक 1038  
 गोपालपण्डित  
     गङ्गविलासचम्पू [OO II 28]  
 गोपालभट्ट (हरिवंशभट्टपुत्र) 886  
     [MM II 60]  
 गोपालभट्ट *Pady*  
 गोपालभट्ट 306  
     सदानन्दगोविन्द  
 गोपालराजानक [OO I 161]  
     दीनाक्रन्दनस्तोत्र  
     शिवमालाकाव्य  
     महाराज्ञीस्तव  
 गोपालराय 306, 787  
 गोपालराय (जिनविल्लि) 337  
 गोपाललीला 225, 251  
 गोपाललीलार्णव (d) 692, 787  
 गोपालविजय 257  
 गोपालविलासचम्पू [OO I, 163]

गोपालविवेक 251  
 गोपालविश्वाति 121  
 गोपालशर्मन् 280  
 गोपालशर्मन् (गोडबोल)  
     [Of Kolhapur, *Sarada JI*]  
 गोपालशास्त्रिन् 501  
 गोपालशास्त्रिन् [नडिमिटि] 254-P  
 गोपालशास्त्रिन् (N)  
     (*Vidy JI*)  
 गोपालार्थ 484  
 गोपालाचार्य (कौशिक) 529  
 गोपालाचार्य (A V) 317  
 गोपालाचार्य (वाधूल) 758  
 गोपालानन्द 28, 885  
 गोपिकानीति 927  
 गोपिकोन्माद, 251  
 गोपीक *Slm*  
 गोपीचन्द्र *Slm*  
 गोपीचन्द्रनाटक 255-A  
 गोपीचन्द्रशर्मन् [SC JI]  
 गोपीचन्द्रन (d) 782  
 गोपीनाथ 27, 76, 225, 252, 373  
     786, 863-A  
 गोपीनाथकविराज (of Benares)  
 गोपीनाथ (राष्ट्रिय) 123  
 गोपीनाथ  
     (Probably Godavary district  
     IO, VI 7184]  
 गोपीनाथकविभूषण 1043  
 गोपीनाथदेवशर्म  
     (Principal, Govt Sans College,  
     Benares SB JI)  
 गोपनियथपण्डित *SHar*  
 गोपीनाथस्थ  
     नैषधव्याख्या [IO, VI 7301]  
 गोपीरमण [OO I 164]  
 आनन्दलहरीदीका

गोपीवल्लभ  
     by नरपति MM II 55  
 गोपेन्द्रतिष्पभूपाल ८19, 1020 1064  
 गोपेक *Slm*  
 गोपेधर (व्याकरणतीर्थ)  
     [SB II Stories in prose]  
 गोभट *Slm*  
 गोलोकनाथवन्दोपाध्याय  
     (of Jiyauaklu)  
 हीरकजूबिली  
     (on Diamond Jubilee)  
 देव्यागमनकाव्य [*Vidy JI*]  
 गोवर्धन 251, 254, 316, 1095  
 गोवर्धन (घनश्यामपुत्र) 167, 542  
 गोवर्धन (नीलावरपुत्र) 305  
 गोवर्धनकाव्य  
     by जगन्नाथ [*Ulhar* 914,  
     The poem is शुभाङ्क]  
 गोवर्धनधृतकृष्णचरित 254  
 गोवर्धनमठ 270  
 गोवर्धनमिथ  
     Slm नन्दिनी  
 गोवर्धनविलास 732  
 गोवर्धनश्रोतिय  
     द्वौपदीविलाहरणकाव्य  
     [Orf, 121 PR III 394]  
 गोविंद 610, 787  
 गोविंद  
     [Mentioned in Srikanthamarti  
     XXV 77]  
 गोविंद *Slm*, *Paly*  
 गोविंद (केशवपुत्र) 865  
 गोविंद 1030  
     रागताळ्पारिजातप्रकाश  
 गोविंद 1051  
     सङ्गीतशास्त्रसंक्षेप  
 गोविंद (राजाचार्यपुत्र)  
     गोपाललीलार्णव(d)[*Tuny*, VIII 3577]

गोविंद (लक्षणपुत्र) 253  
 गोविंद (श्रीनिवासपुत्र) 251  
 गोविंदकविभूषण 785  
   समृद्धमाधव (d)  
   [CC III 144]  
 गोविंदकवीक्ष्यर  
   —संविटप्रकाशकाव्य  
   (14 Cantos) [PR, VI 34]  
 गोविंदच द्र 73  
 गोविंदचरित 177, 251  
 गोविंदज्योतिर्वित् 350  
 गोविंददास 224, 298, 546  
 गोविंददीक्षित 148  
 गोविन्दनाथ  
   शङ्कराचार्यचरित [Tau, VII 3222]  
 गोविंदनाथ 253 271  
 गोविंदविहावली 222  
 गोविंदभट्ट 199, 373  
 गोविंदमत्रिन् 149  
 गोविंदमिश्र 76  
 गोविंदराज (कौशिक) p 22  
 गोविंदराष्ट्र 254  
 गोविंदराम 28  
 गोविंदलील 251  
 गोविंदलीलमृत 224  
 गोविंदवल्लभ 691  
 गोविंदस्वामिन् Skm  
 गोविंदाजी 373, 884  
 गोविंदान्तर्वाणि 253  
 गोविंदाभिषेक 177, 292  
 गोविन्दामृत 752  
   प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयव्याख्या  
   [Printed TSN]  
 गोविंदरण Skm  
 गोशोक Skm  
 गोशीनगरवर्णन 175  
 गोशी 563  
 गोष्ठीनाथस्तव 210

गोष्ठीपुरेश 308  
 गोष्ठीमिश्र RSJ  
 गौड Pmt  
 गौडपादोङ्कास  
   [mentioned by Atmabodha]  
 गौडयादव 904  
 गौडवाहो 392, 641  
 गौडविजय (d) 563, 877  
 गौडमिनंद 60  
 गौडोर्वशकुलप्रशस्ति 75  
 गौतमपाण्डेय  
   गङ्गापञ्चक (Sw y J)  
 गौतमबुद्ध p 58  
 गौतमस्तोत्र 229  
 गौरचद्र 498  
 गौरनार्य 908, 1019  
 गौरमोहन 314  
 गौराह 219  
 गौराङ्गगोदेशदीपिका 223  
 गौराङ्गस्तवकस्त्रतरू 220  
 गौरी 373-A, SS, Pady  
 गौरी कल्याण 253  
 गौरीकात 347  
 गौरीचरित 254  
 गौरीदास 323  
 गौरीदिग्म्बर (d) 707  
   [MM II 55]  
 गौरीनाथस्तोत्र 125  
 गौरीपतिमिश्र KCD  
   [Lived in Benares about 1640  
   A.D.]  
 गौरीपरिणय 155, 544  
   by चक्कवि  
   by पेण्डिट वेङ्कटसूरी  
   by कंदुकूरिरामेश्वर  
   by भट्टनारायण  
 गौरीपरिणय  
   by गोपालशास्त्रिन् [SMM JT]

गौरीमायूरचम्पू 162  
 गौरीविलास 727  
 गौरीशङ्करकीर्ति  
 by अमरकवि  
 [Ulwai 919 Written in 1788]  
 गैरिखंवरमज्जरी  
 ग्रन्थमालिकासोत्र 213  
 ग्रन्थज्वरचरित 494  
 ग्रहेश्वर *Skm.*, 632  
 ग्राधिक 556, 557, 558  
 ग्रैवेयकबंध 769

## घ

घटकर्पर 167, 236, 316  
 [Climb by Saratchandra Chitravastu]  
 घटकर्परविवृति 836  
 घटिकाशत 160  
 घण्टक *Suh* 824  
 घण्टामाघ 55  
 घण्टावतार 254, 541  
 घनशुरु 787  
 घनवृत्त 319  
 घनश्याम 92, 154, 166, 455, 518,  
 519, 639, 649, 658, 752 [JOR  
 III 31]  
 घनश्रामचन्द्रशस्त्रिन् [Sury JI VI]  
 घनश्यामचन्द्र  
 ग्रात्मार्थनास्त्रव [Sury JI]  
 घाटे *R S* 649  
 घासीराम 373, 922  
 घृतकुल्या  
 [Nepal Library A farce in 250 verses  
 Manuscript is dated samvat 1731]  
 घोष 378  
 घोषपुरीमहाराजीचरित  
 by नीलकण्ठशर्मन् 248  
 [Trav 191 He died in 1935]

घोषयाता

by शीतलचन्द्र 779  
 च  
 चकोरसन्देश 323 714  
 by पेरुसूरि  
 by बासुदेव  
 बेहुटकवि  
 चक (मुक्ताकण भ्राता) 69  
 चककवि 115  
 चक्रपाणि (कलाकौमुदी) 544  
 चक्रपाणि *Pauly, Skm., Kis*  
 चक्रपाणिकवि *Mhas*  
 [He was the brother of Hari Kavi,  
 author of *Subhāstahārāvali*]  
 चक्रपाणिकाव्य 254  
 चक्रपाणिदीक्षित 464  
 चक्रपाणिविजय 254  
 by स्वाभिदत्त  
 चक्रवर्तिन् (*SH G*) 610  
 चक्रवर्ति अश्यक्षार 529  
 चक्रवर्तिगीताचार्य 491  
 चक्रवर्तिचत्वारिंशत् 490  
 चक्रवर्तिनीशुणमणिमाला 247  
 चटक 272, 820  
 चण्डकौशिक 166, 649  
 [K A Nilakanta Sastry, Mahi  
 pala of Chandakausika (JOR VI  
 191), Sri C V Kumareswamy  
 Sastry, Chandakanika (JOR VII  
 25) Critique by R V Krishnamra  
 charya in *Manjubhaasini* 1905 ]  
 चण्डपाल 513  
 चण्डमाधव *Skm.*  
 चण्डमाश्ताचार्य 254-T  
 (He was Professor in the Mission  
 College, Mylapore, Madras)  
 चण्डशिक्षामणि 298  
 चण्डसिंह 282

चण्डालचन्द्र *Shm*, 401  
 चण्डालरङ्गन 786  
 चण्डालविद्या 374  
 चण्डिकादण्डकस्तोत्र 282, 309  
 चण्डिकासम्पति  
 (*IO I* 136, *II* No 1517)  
 चण्डीकान्त महाकाव्य 254  
 चण्डीकुचपद्माशिका 282  
 चण्डीकुचसम्पति 282  
 चण्डीदण्डक [*IO III* No 2829];  
 चण्डीचरित (d) 282  
 चण्डीचरितचन्द्रिका 282, 709  
 चण्डीदण्डक 505  
 चण्डीदास (863-A, 855, 880  
 (काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या) [Printed  
*Sasas Bha Series, Benares]*  
 चण्डीशतक 282, 457  
 चण्डुपण्डित 73, 76  
 चतुरङ्ग 350 [*Tuny VII* 4232]  
 चतुरचूडामणि  
 by दाशिराज [*MM II* 36]  
 चतुरदामोदर 1034  
 चतुरथी 1024  
 चतुरसभाविलास 1066  
 चतुर्दण्डप्रकाशिका 150, 1038  
 चतुर्माणी 590  
 चतुर्मुज 904  
   रसकल्पद्रम  
 चतुर्मुज 1095  
   वृत्तरत्नाकरव्याख्या  
 चतुर्मुज p 42  
   रामायणव्याख्या  
 चतुर्मुज 236  
   हरचरितकाव्य  
 चतुर्मुजयित्र 308  
 चतुरसुन्दरी *TSS*  
 चतुर्वर्णसार 268  
 चतुर्विचातिका 332, 477  
   128

चतुर्वेदि शतक्रतु 306  
 चतुष्वित्वगर्भ 340  
 चतुर्लोकी 203  
   [*TC V* 4574]  
 चत्वारिंशद्वागनिरूपण 1064  
 चन्द्र [*Ring II* 16]  
 चन्द्र (=चन्द्रगोमिन) 260  
 चन्द्रा (ब्रेताम्बर) *Saing*  
 चन्द्रक 625, 691, 955  
 चन्द्रकला (d) 784, 881  
   by नारायणकवि  
   by विश्वनाथ  
 चन्द्रकला [*UP JI* (1936) 10]  
 चन्द्रकलापरिणय (d) 777, 938  
 चन्द्रकलाविलास 346  
 चन्द्रकान्त 783  
 चन्द्रकान्तात्काळचूर 254, 740, 920  
 चंद्रकातशापिडल्य (of Multan)  
   (*Sury JI*)  
 चन्द्रगुप्त 21  
 चन्द्रगुप्तमौर्य 565  
 चन्द्रगोमिन 260, 1625  
 चन्द्रचन्द्र *Shm*  
 चन्द्रचूड 254  
   कार्तवीर्योदय  
 चन्द्रचूड 373  
   प्रस्तावचिन्तामणि  
 चन्द्रचूड (भट्ट पुरुषोत्तमपुत्र) 269  
 चन्द्रचूड *Pady, SS*, 373  
 चन्द्रचूड  
   See चन्द्रशेखरविवाह  
 चन्द्रचूडचरित 254  
 चन्द्रज्योतिस् *Shm*  
 चन्द्रट *Shm*  
 चन्द्रतिलक 235  
 चन्द्रदत्त 294  
 चन्द्रदत्त  
   See काशीगीतकाव्य

चन्द्रदत्त ज्ञा [MM II 22]  
 चन्द्रदास 251  
 चन्द्रदूत 323  
     by विनयप्रभ  
     by कृष्णचन्द्र  
 चन्द्रदेव, *Sanyog*  
 चन्द्रदेव  
     होलिकोत्सव [OC II 36]  
 चन्द्रधरशर्मन्  
     [Accounts in prose of authors,  
*MG Jl.*]  
 चन्द्रनाथचरित 230  
 चन्द्रप्रभ 235, 254  
 चन्द्रप्रभचरित  
     by वीरनन्दन्  
     by यशोदेव  
 चन्द्रप्रभचरित 354  
 चन्द्रप्रभमहत्तर 235, 440  
 चन्द्रप्रभविजय 235, 254  
 चन्द्रप्रभा (d) 784  
 चन्द्रप्रभा (गदा) Anonymous 506  
     by विशुशेखर 249  
 चन्द्रप्रभाचरित 733  
 चन्द्रप्रभाविजय 102, 254  
 चन्द्रप्रभस्त्रामिचरित 235  
 चन्द्रप्रभर्माय 102, 254  
 चन्द्रभूषणोपाल्यान (prose) (*Sarada Jl.*)  
 चन्द्रमणिशिल्पि (of Multan) (*Sury Jl.*)  
 चन्द्रमौलि 495  
 चन्द्रमौलीश्वरस्तोत्र 273  
 चन्द्रयोगिन् *Slm* 260  
 चन्द्ररेखाविद्याधर (d) 782  
 चन्द्ररेखाविलास (d) 787  
 चन्द्रलक्ष्मोत्पेक्षाशतक 314  
 चन्द्रलेखा (d) 176, 659  
 चन्द्रलेखाविजय (d) 673  
 चन्द्रवंश 254, 740  
 चन्द्रविजयप्रबन्ध 254

चन्द्रविलास (d) 687, 782  
     by गङ्गाधर  
     by रुद्रशर्मन्  
 चन्द्रव्याकरण 260  
 चन्द्रशेखर 526  
     अभिनवभारत  
 चन्द्रशेखर 1064  
     भारतसारसङ्ग्रह  
 चन्द्रशेखर (लक्ष्मीनाथपुत्र) 1096  
     छन्दोमज्जरीटीका  
     पिङ्गलभावोद्योतवृत्तमौर्किक  
 चन्द्रशेखर 441  
     सूर्जनराजचरित  
 चन्द्रशेखर (जनमित्रपुत्र) 199  
 चन्द्रशेखर (विष्णुपण्डितपुत्र) 55, 618,  
     667  
     शाकुन्तलटीका  
     माघटीका  
     हनुमचाटकटीका  
 चन्द्रशेखर (चयनी) 778  
 चन्द्रशेखर  
     श्रीहरिस्तोत्र  
 [He was Editor Sarada Died 1985—In  
     this small poem, a citrakāvya, the  
     conjugation marks लट्, लिद् etc are  
     imbedded *Sarada Jl*, Prayag I 187]  
 चन्द्रशेखर (घनश्यामपुत्र) 166, 167  
     See डमसुक  
 चन्द्रशेखरचरित 351  
 चन्द्रशेखरचरित्र  
     by दुखभजन  
         (19 Century)  
 चन्द्रशेखरविलास 158  
 चन्द्रशेखरविवाह  
     by चन्द्रचूड 373-A  
         [OC I 182]  
 चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन्  
     [of Phalang. *MB Jl.*]

चन्द्रशेखरविलास (d)  
 [Tanj No 23846]  
 चन्द्रशेखरशास्त्रिन् (कविरत्न)  
 नाशुषाचरित्र  
 [He was sometime Principal  
 Ayurvedic College, Rishikul,  
 Haldwai and lives at Bilaneri]  
 चन्द्रशेखरगर्मन् (जैतलीय) (Sury J.)  
 चन्द्रशेखरसरस्वति 298, 1001  
 चन्द्रस्खाभिन् Shim  
 चन्द्रगदचरित्र 254  
 चन्द्रादित्य 29  
 चन्द्रपीडचरित्र 456  
 चन्द्राभिषेक (d) 626  
 चन्द्रालोक 396  
 चन्द्रावली 314  
 चन्द्रिका (d) 177, 939  
 चन्द्रिकाकलापीड (d) 716  
 चन्द्रिकाचारीण (MB J.)  
 चन्द्रिकाजनमेजय (d) 781  
 चन्द्रोदय 401  
 चन्द्रोदयवर्णन 314  
 चपलदेव Shim  
 चपेटाहतिस्तुति 211  
 चमेटाहतिस्तुति 211  
 चमत्कारचन्द्रिका 223, 270, 349  
 by ब्रिकार्णपूर  
 by विश्वेश्वर  
 by नरोत्तमदास  
 चमत्कारसरणि 250-D  
 चम्पक 184  
 चम्पकचरित्र 254  
 चम्पकअंथिकथा  
 [Bendalls Last, 51]  
 चम्पकअंथिकथानक 235  
 चम्पकायोक्तिमाला 494  
 चम्पकेशाचार्य  
 हरिकर्णामृत DC XXVII 7027  
 चम्पू 512

चम्पूकाव्य  
 by केशवभट्ट [MM II 6]  
 चम्पूजानकीपरिणय 915  
 चम्पूभारत 216  
 चम्पूघव 541  
 चम्पूरामायण 176, 293, 541  
 by सीतारामशास्त्रिन्  
 by भोजदेव  
 by शिवराम [TC VI 7387]  
 चम्पूसंक्षेप 526  
 चर्चास्तुति  
 by कालिदास [Ruce 270]  
 चर्पटीनाथ Subh  
 चविलाल्लसूरि 922  
 चाट Subh  
 चाटावरा 254-D, 373  
 चाटपुष्पाङ्गलिल्लव 220  
 चाटुरलमाला  
 See पुष्पति [TC VI 7221, DC  
 XXI No 12749]  
 चाटुरलाकर 373  
 चाटुल्लोका 373  
 चाटुषष्टिस्तव [TU No 2260]  
 by आचार्यनागर्जुन  
 [IHQ (1926) 689 made up from  
 Tibetan work]  
 चाटुस्तव [TC VI 6985, V Nos  
 4982, 4292]  
 चाणक्य 423  
 चाणक्यकुसुमकाव्य  
 See राममोहन  
 चातकसदेश 323  
 चातुरीचन्द्रिका (d) 787  
 चासुण्डराय 70  
 चासुण्डीमङ्गलमालिका 287  
 चासुण्डप्रहसन (d)  
 by K. L. V Sastri

- [Printed Madras A modern social satirical farce]
- चारित्रवर्धन** 27, 28, 55, 76, 88, 318  
*Annals* XV 109 Lived somewhere between 1173 – 1885 A D , On his identity with Vidyādhara, See *COJ* III 87]
- चारित्रसुन्दरगणि** 235, 321
- चारुकीर्ति** 235
- चारुचन्द्रधाय** (चतुर्दुर्वीण) B A  
 सुदर्शनचरित  
 एकवीरोपाख्यान (novel) [SB JI]
- चारुचन्द्रवन्द्योपाध्याय**  
 श्वीचरित  
 नैषिकबहुचारी  
 भद्रमोमा  
 [In prose MG JI III]
- चारुदत्त** 576, 602
- चारुमती** 450
- चिक्केवराज** 1040  
 चिक्केवराजवंशप्रशंसित  
 [TC IV No 3919]
- चिक्केवरायवंशावलि** [Ed Mysore]
- चिद्राज** 478
- चितिनिग्रह** 727
- चित्तप** Skm
- चित्तविलास** 249
- चित्तवृत्तिकल्याण** (d) 759
- चित्तोक** Skm
- चित्र** 562
- चित्रकाव्य** 324, 338
- चित्रकाव्य**  
 by आणेश्वर  
 [SSP Library, Calcutta Composed in the Court of King Krishna Chandra of Nuddea CC III 78]
- चित्रकाव्यानि** (*Vadhu* JI)
- चित्रकूट** (d) 254-F
- चित्रकृष्णोदन्त** 494
- चित्रचमत्कारमजरी** 942
- चित्रचम्पू** 546
- चित्रचम्पू**  
 See चित्रकाव्य
- चित्रचूडामणि**  
 by प्रदीपसिंहा  
 [Opp II 423]
- चित्रताळा** 562
- चित्रदीप** 727
- चित्रधरोपाध्याय**  
 चित्रमासा  
 शृङ्गारसरणि  
 [MM II 39, 70]
- चित्रपद** 1064
- चित्रबन्वरामायण** 150, 666, 837
- चित्रभासु** 53, 250, 251
- चित्रभासुकाव्य** 254
- चित्रभासुशतक** 1863  
 See रत्नकण्ठ
- चित्रभारत** 69, 670
- चित्रमजरी** 152, 922
- चित्रमीमासा**  
 See चित्रधर उपाध्याय [MM II 39]  
 by अप्पयदीक्षित 143, 311, 877
- चित्रमीमांसाखण्डन** 899
- चित्रमीमासादोषधिकार** 154
- चित्रलाकर** 154, 338
- चित्रलेखा** (d) 784
- चित्रलेखा** 457
- चित्रसेनपद्मावतीकथा** 486
- चित्राह्निद** 792
- चित्रोत्तलाबलस्वितक** (d) 672, 783
- चित्सुखाचार्य** 271
- चित्सूर्यलोक** (d) 356, 766  
 by नरसिंहकवि  
 bv मात्तृकैलग्निकान्तर्गत

- चिदम्बर (अनन्तनारायणपुत्र) 92, 338,  
527
- चिदम्बरगुरुमाहात्म्य  
[*TO* III No 2370]
- चिदम्बरनाथचरित  
[*Opp* 67, 32]
- चिदम्बरविलास 527  
[On sculptures on Cidambaram  
Gopura, 946]
- चिद्रगनचंद्रिका 309
- चिद्विलास 271
- चिन्नरसिद्धि (रणीमहामी) 766
- चिनबोम्मभूपाल 56, 142, 1001
- चिन्तामणि (गदा) 727
- चिन्तामणि (देवज्ञ) 1098
- चिन्तामणि
- मेघसन्देशव्याख्या 318
  - चिन्तामणि (हरिहरपुत्र) [*UU* I 189]
  - चिन्तामणि (शेष) [*UU* I 189]
- चिन्तामणि
- by चिन्तामणि prose  
[*IHQ* (1930) 573]
  - चिन्तामणियोतिर्वित् 1097
  - चिन्तामणिभट्ट 430
  - चिन्तामणिविजय 544
  - चिन्तामणिर्मन् (of Naigunda)  
[*SB* JI]
  - चिन्तामणिस्त्वराज
  - चिन्तामणिस्तोत्र  
[*TO* II No 1415]
  - चिन्ताहरणभट्टाचार्य
    - योषिद्विनयन (prose) (*SMM* J)  - चिन्तेचेवनाथक 145
  - चिन्तमा (poeters)
  - चिप्पटजयादित्य 58
  - चिप्पटदेव 373
  - चिरञ्जीव 542, 768, 909
  - See* रामदेव
- चिरन्तनशरण *Shm*
- ची आक *Subh*
- चूडाचन्द्रविजय [*Opp* 5974]
- चूडामणि *Shm*
- चूडामणिकाव्य
- See* श्रीवर्वदेव
  - [*IHQ* (1930), 573]
- चूडामणि (d) 563, 955
- चूलपङ्क्त 459
- चूर्णक 326, 502
- चूर्णिका 502
- चूलितकभट्ट *Subh*
- चेजामुनारायण 168
- चेल्लरपुरीशतक [*TO* II No 4199]
- चैतन्य (=कृष्णचैतन्य) 219
- चैतन्यचन्द्र 251
- चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 223
- चैतन्यदासपूजक 297
- चैत्रज्ञ (d) 722
- चोक्नाथ [रामभद्रजनक, नारायणपुत्र,] 100  
*Tan* XIX xxv]
- चोक्नाथ (सुदर्शनपुत्र) 161
- चोक्नाथ (तिपात्रितुप्र) 161, 544, 787
- चोक्नाथनाथक 145
- चोरकाव्य 373 (h)
- चोलचम्पू 130, 194
- चोलभाण 160
- चोलवंशावलिचरित 194, 443  
[*JOR* III 256]
- चौष्णी 123
- चौरप्राशक 64
- चौरसुन्दर 64
- चौर्यासिप्रबन्ध 440, 501
- च्युत 3445
- छ
- छत्रकर
- सुरारिव्याख्या [*MM* V 2]
- छत्र 1002

छत्रपतिसाम्राज्य (d) 738  
 छन्दकवि 192  
 छन्दकल्पतरु  
     by राघवद्वा [MM II 1]  
 छन्दश्छटामण्डन 245  
 छन्दश्श्रितमण्डन 81  
 छन्दकल्पतरा 1101  
 छन्दकोश 1101  
 छन्दकौस्तुभ 1101  
 छन्दपीयूष 1101  
 छन्दप्रकाश 1101  
 छन्दश्चूडामणि 1101  
 छन्दश्लोक 1101  
 छन्दस्सञ्ज्ञा 1101  
 छन्दसिद्धान्तभास्कर  
     by व्यासकेशवर्जननन्दन  
         [MM II 3]  
 छन्दस्सुन्दर 1102  
 छन्दस्सुधा 1102  
 छन्दस्सुधाकर 1102  
 छन्दस्सुधचिह्नहरी 1102  
 छन्दस्सूक्त  
     See पिङ्गल  
 छन्दोनुशासन 70, 869, 1102  
 छन्दोमजरी 243, 1075  
     Anonymous  
     by गोपालदास  
     by गङ्गादास  
 छन्दोमाला 1102  
 छन्दोमुक्ताचाली 1102  
 छन्दोरत्नाकर 1102  
 छन्दोरत्नावली 1102  
 छन्दोविचिति 464  
 छन्दोविचितिसूत्र (TO I 847)  
 छन्दोव्याख्यासार 1102  
 छलितराम (d) 672, 779, 880  
 छविलाल (of Nepal)  
     विरक्ततराहणी [SO JI]

वृत्तालङ्कार  
     [a fine work of prosody reviewed  
     in SU JI V 261]  
 छात्रव्युत्पत्ति  
     by पीताम्बरशर्मन्  
         [JO II 229-30] This is a fine  
         summary of Rāmāyaṇa in 9  
         cantos exemplifying the verse  
         section of his Nārāyaṇigraha of (an  
         elementary grammar). See PK  
         Gode, TO I iv 32]  
 छायानाटक 770  
 छायानाटक (d) 772  
     by विठ्ठल  
 छिन्दशस्ति 75  
 छेष्टुकरी 213  
 ज  
 जकिनीनाटय 959  
 जगजीवन Peuly, 37 3-A  
     वृत्तद्युमणिटीका 1100  
         [TO I 194]  
 जगज्योतिर्मंड 1039, 1072  
 जगत्रकाश 680  
 जगत्रकाशकाव्य 109  
 जगत्रकाशमळ 1039  
 जगत्सिह 199  
 जगदम्बा 544  
 जगदानन्द (d) 764  
 जगदानन्दराय Peuly  
 जगदाभरण 311  
 जगदीश (= जगदीश्वर) 786  
 जगदीशजानीक Kal  
 जगदीशतर्कालङ्कार 768, 863-A  
     हार्यार्णव (d)  
     कुमतिप्रमथन (d)  
         [\*Arsha Library, Vizagapatam]  
 जगदीशचन्द्र (of Jodhpur) (Sury JI)

- जगदीशशर्मन्  
कृष्णोपालम्ब &c (*Sury JI*)
- जगदीशतक  
*See* रघुगजसिद्धा
- जगदीशशर्मन् (of Phalgunj, Hazaribagh) [*SB JI*]
- जगदीशशुल्क (of Shahnabad)  
विपिनचिलाप (*Sury JI*)
- जगदेकमळ 1005
- जगदेकराय 238
- जगद्रु 1029, 1100
- जगद्रुकाव्य 229
- जगद्रुहचरित 235
- जगद्रुविजय 544
- जगद्वर (राजधरपुत्र) 314, 640, 1023
- जगद्वर (गौडधरीत्र) [*UU I 195*]  
स्तुतिकुसुमाजलि
- जगद्वर [*UU I 195*]  
दर्पदलन
- जगद्वर (विद्याधरपौत्र) 28, 297, 639, 646, 641
- देवीमाहात्म्यटीका
- मालतीमाधवटीका
- बासवदत्ताटीका
- मेघदूटटीका
- वेणीसहारटीका [*OO I 195*]
- जगद्वर (भेषाविद्विकम) 473
- जगद्वन्धु चक्रवर्तिन् *SPV*
- जगद्वन्धु पण्डित 422
- जगद्वन्धु मिश्र  
*See* अरव्ययामिनी
- जगद्वरलमालास्त्र 65
- जगद्वायशर्मन् (*Sury JI*)
- जगद्वामसर्मन् [of Dera Ismail Khan]  
नारायणाष्टक &c *Sury JI*)
- जगद्वाय (धरणीधरपुत्र)  
*See* गोवर्धनकाव्य
- जगद्वाय (बालकृष्णपुत्र) 158, 708
- जगद्वाय (पीताम्बरपुत्र) 700
- जगद्वाय (नारायणपुत्र)  
ज्ञानविलासकाव्य [*Tanj, VI 2753*]
- जगद्वाय
- दृसिंहस्तोत्र 311
- जगद्वाय (कावल) 163
- जगद्वाय (रामपुत्र) 1102
- जगद्वाय
- शशिसेनाकाव्य 311
- जगद्वाय
- शङ्खरविलासचम्पू 311
- जगद्वाय 311
- शारभराजविलास
- जगद्वाय अप्यारात्रु 942
- जगद्वाय 954, 311
- वञ्चेश्वरीकाव्य
- जगद्वाय (नारायणपुत्र) 311
- जगद्वाय 311
- मानसिद्धीकीर्तिमुक्तावली
- जगद्वायकाव्य 254
- जगद्वायपञ्चानन  
आनन्दलहरीटीका [*NW 252*]
- जगद्वायपण्डित (श्रीनिवासपुत्र) 787
- जगद्वाय पण्डितराज 311, 863 (a) 819
- जगद्वाय रसाद 254
- जगद्वाय तर्कपञ्चानन  
[quoted in *Udbhataasagalam*]
- जगद्वाय तर्कसाख्यतीर्थ (of Bengal)  
हेमभावपूर्ण [*SB JI*]
- जगद्वायमिश्र (लक्ष्मणपुत्र) 373, 422, 435
- जगद्वायमिश्र दीक्षित (आनन्दमिश्रपुत्र) 922
- जगद्वायमिश्र
- समातरङ्ग [*Oudh, 1318*]
- जगद्वायवल्लभ (d) 691, 1064
- जगद्वायविजय 254
- by मुकुन्दभट्ट [*OO I 196*]

by रुद्रभट्ट [Taylor, I 442]  
 by वेङ्गामास्य  
 जगन्नाथ शास्त्रिन् [CO I 196]  
 वज्रेश्वरकाव्य  
 जगन्नाथशास्त्रिन् (हेसिङ्ग)  
 राधिकोल्लास etc (Sury JI)  
 जगन्नाथ शीघ्रकवि 760  
 जगन्नाथसेन *Pady*, 311, 1095  
 जगन्नाथाष्टक 273  
 जगन्नारायण  
     देवीभक्तिरसोलास [CO I 197]  
 जगन्मणिराज 904  
 जगन्मोहन (d) [Levi App 75]  
 जगन्मोहनकाव्य 313  
 जगन्मोहन  
     देवाबलीचिच्छा 405  
 जगन्मोहन तर्कालङ्कार 639  
 जगन्मोहन  
     नक्षत्रमाला (Nepal Library)  
 जगन्मोहन  
     वृत्तशतक 1099  
 जगपतिमहाराज 942  
 जगुप्पिता 562  
 जघनचपला 374, 401  
 जघननीथलघटक *Sarmg*  
 जंक्षनिल *Skm*  
 जटाधर 1096  
 जटाशङ्करजास्त्रिन्  
     (of Varahi, Ahmedabad Sury JI)  
 जडवृत्त 262  
 जनक *Skm*  
 जनकजानन्दन (d) 779  
 जनकवासिष्ठसबाद *Race* 230  
 जनर्दन 1100  
     वृत्तप्रदीप  
 जनर्दन *Subh*  
 जनर्दन

मेघदूतटीका [*PR* III 19] 27  
 रघुवंशटीका 318  
 [CO I II 199, composed between  
   A D 1192 and 1385]  
 जनर्दन 314  
     शृङ्गारवैराग्यशतक  
 जनर्दनभट्ट 213  
 जनर्दनविद्युथ 1094  
 जनर्दनचतुर्वेदिन्  
     कृष्णस्तव etc (Sury JI)  
 जनर्दनसेन 328  
 जनर्दनव्यास 863 (a)  
 जनर्दनस्तोत्र 289  
 जनश्रव्य 1092  
 जनेन्द्र 318  
 जप्येशोत्सव 545  
 जम्बुद्वीपप्रशस्ति 409  
 जम्बुद्वीपवर्णन 409  
 जम्बूसामिचरित 235  
 जम्भालदत्त 430  
 जयकण्ठ *Skm*  
 जम्पकण्ठ (युवतीसम्बोगकार?) *Skm*  
 जयकिशोरानारायणजार्मन्  
     शरतस्खागत etc (Sury JI)  
 जयकीर्तिसूरि 440, 601  
 जयकुमारत्वरित 228  
 जयकृष्ण 254  
 जयकृष्ण (उपाध्याय) *Kol*  
 जयकृष्ण  
     ध्रुवचरित [CO II 59]  
 जयकृष्ण  
     See आजमिलोपाख्यान  
 जयगुप्त *Subh*, *Sarmg*  
 जयगोविन्द 1100  
 जयङ्कर *Skm*  
 जयचन्द्र 73  
 जयचन्द्रजार्मन्  
     धर्मविवेक

ताम्बूलकाव्य  
शिवस्तव  
बैदिकाख्यायिका (prose) [SU JI]  
जयजयरामानुजाचार्य 900  
जयतिलकसूरि 235, 451  
जयतीर्थ 214  
जयतीर्थविजय 214  
जयदेव 1090  
छन्दशास्त्र  
जयदेव  
See जयदेवचरित  
[S B JI Vidy JI]  
जयदेव (महादेवपुत्र) 674, 887  
जयदेव (भोजदेवपुत्र)  
[Makhanlal Mukherji, *Jayadeva, the poet and mystic*, JI of Dep. of Letters, Calcutta, XXVIII]  
जयदेवचरितकाव्य (Printed Vidy JI)  
जयदेवचरित (d)  
by नीरदेन्दुसच्याल  
[an informal drama on Jayadeva's life with songs, SB JI]  
जयदेवजोसी  
(Of Ramagad, Sikkim)  
सिद्धभैषज्यरत्नाळी  
[An Ayurveda kavya]  
जयदृथ 191, 863 (A) 872  
जयनगरपट्टर 199  
जयनन्दिन् Skm  
जयनारायण (कृष्णचन्द्रपुत्र) 1001  
जयनारायणशास्त्रिन्  
(of Varanasi, Ahmedabad Sury JI)  
जयन्त Pady  
जयन्तचन्द्र 73  
जयन्तभृ 767, 85  
जयन्तविजय 101  
जयन्तिका 494  
जयन्ती 376  
124

जयन्तीत्रतकथा [OC, I 200]  
जयपराजय  
[In prose, Transl of Tagore's work MG JI]  
जयपुरविलास 81, 745, 353  
जयपुरवैभव 359  
जयमङ्गल 44, 866, 1093  
जयमङ्गल 1069  
जयमाधव, *Shm, Subh, Sarng*  
जयमाधव  
मानसोल्लास [Bh 708]  
जय (=महाभारत)  
जयरत्नाकर  
by शक्तिवल्लभ  
[In 11 Kallolas Composed in saka 1714 In praise of Raja Ranabahadur Saha, son of Pñthvinārāyaṇa Saha, MM No 60 863-A]  
जयरथ 191, 872  
जयराम 158, 444, 540  
जयराम [OC, I 201]  
राधामाधवविलासकर्ता  
शिवराजचरित्रकर्ता  
समशतीटीकाकर्ता  
पद्मामृततरङ्गिणीटीकाकर्ता  
जयराम (हरिभास्करपुत्र) 373  
जयराम पञ्चानन 863 (A)  
जयराममहाचार्य *Ked*  
[About 1632, OC I 201]  
जयरामपाष्ठे 542  
जयराममहादेव 780  
जयलङ्घमीसौर्योदय (Nepal Library)  
जयवर्धन *Skm, Subh, Sarng*  
जयशिवरसूरि 28  
जयसागर 235  
जयसिंह 28  
जयसिंहचालुक्य 89  
जयसिंह जगदेकमङ्गल 89

जयमाधव *Skom Subh*  
 जयसिंह सिद्धराज 70  
 जयसिंहसूरि (बीरसूरिशिव्य) 113  
 जयसिंहाचार्य 55  
 जयसिंहाश्रमेश्वरी 919  
 जयसोमगणि 667  
 जयादिस्य *Subh, Skom*  
 जयानक 58  
 जयापीड 393, 820  
 जयीन्द्रोदय 214  
 जयोक *Skom*  
 जय्यट 29  
 जरासन्धवध (d) 715  
 जरासन्धव्यायोग (d) 785  
 जलचन्द्र *Skom*  
 जलचन्द्रसुखवध 1057  
 जल्पकल्पलता 891  
 जल्हण (- कावेलेन्न) *SS*  
 जल्हण (आवान्तिक) 190, 218, 366, 660  
 जल्हण (भारोहक भगदत्त)  
 जङ्ग *Skom*  
 जातकमाळा 277  
 जातकावलि 446  
 जातवेदस् 762  
 जानकीपरिणय (d)  
     by नारायणभट्ट  
     by सीताराम  
     by रामभट्टदीक्षित 160, 705, 777  
 जानकीराघव (d) 779  
 जानकीराघव (d)  
     Quoted in *SD*  
     by Yuvalāja Rāma Simha, son  
         of Jayasinha (about 1625 AD )  
         (Nepal Library)  
 जानकीविक्रम (d) 741  
 जानकीहरण 41  
 जानकीशीत (d)  
     See हरि आचार्य (*Hpr II.* 20)

जानकीशीता (*Oudh VIII* 28)  
     by श्रीहर्ष  
 जानकीराघव (d) 880  
     (*IO I* 18)  
 जानकयानन्दबोधन 252  
 जानाश्रथी 1090 [*IO VI* 6915]  
 जामदग्निविजय 551, 785  
 जामविजय 199  
 जाम्बवतीकल्याण 5, 132  
 जाम्बवतीजय 5  
 जाम्बवतीपरिणय 5, 238  
 जायसेनापति 1008  
 जारजतशतक  
     by नीलकण्ठशर्मिन् [*CC I* 206]  
 जार्जि V 200  
 जाजिदेवचरित 200  
 जाह्नव्यष्टक 222  
 जितमन्यु *Subh*  
 जितन्तेस्तोत्र (*IO I* 300, 918, 971)  
 जितारि *Skom*  
 जिनकीर्ति 235  
 जिनदत्तचरित्र 228  
 जिनदत्तसूरि 110  
 जिनदास 235  
 जिनधर्मप्रतिबोध 71  
 जिनप्रभ 229, 283, 876  
 जिनमद्र 28  
 जिनमण्डन 70  
 जिनरत्न 106  
 जिनराज 76  
 जिनराज हरि 76  
 जिनवर्धनसूरि 867  
 जिनवर्ष 111  
 जिनशतक 323  
 जिनहर्षगणि 666  
 जिनसेन 57, 320, 228  
 जिनांक 106  
 जिनेन्द्रकल्याणचम्पू 668

- जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि 54  
 जिनेन्द्रचरित 110  
 जिनेन्द्रस्तोत्र 70  
 जिनेश्वर 102, 1102  
 जिनेश्वर  
 लीलावतीसारमहाकाव्य [Jess, 43]  
 जियोक (= जयोक)  
 जिष्यु 14  
 जिहाजीर्षा चरित्र 198  
 जीन्दुक *Subh*  
 जीवक *Subh*  
 जीवकचरित 230  
 जीवदेव (कविडिप्पिम)  
 भक्तिभागवत [IO VI 7033]  
 जीवनजी शर्म 542  
 जीवनाथ 920  
 जीवनाग *Subh, Sarng*  
 जीवन्धरचारित्र 47  
 जीवन्धर चम्पू 47, 512  
 जीवन्धुकिकल्प्याण (d) 759, 767  
     by मल्लसोमयाजिन  
 जीवन्धुकिप्रकरण  
     See महेश्वर  
 जीवगोस्खामिन् 297, 220, 222  
 जीवदास (वैद्य) *Slom*  
 जीवदेव 767  
 जीवबोध *Slom*  
 जीणोद्धारणक्रम 206  
 जीवराम 690  
 जीवरामोपाध्याय 1066  
 जीवविद्युथ 84  
 जीवानन्द 27, 28, 44, 53, 55, 316, 318,  
     329, 468, 816  
 जीवानन्दजयेतिर्वित् 781  
 महालवाटक (d)  
 [A play on Devi's greatness  
 Printed Benares]  
 जीवानन्दनाटक (d) 761  
 जीवानन्द विद्यासागर 646, 649, 656,  
     658, 741  
 जीवबोध *Slom*  
 जीवराज 542, 757, 886, 903  
 जीवराज  
 गोपालचम्पू [OC I 208, II. 32]  
 जीवरामाशिक  
 सुरारिविजय (d) 208  
 [OSO 250]  
 जहू 373-A  
 जैत्रजैवातृक (d) 727  
 जैत्रसिंह 118  
 जैनाचार्यविजय 546  
 जैत्रुलाबिद्न् 53, 72  
 जैमिनिभारत 2 43  
 जोगविहारकल्पद्रुम 1064  
 जोगेन्द्रनाथयुतोपाध्याय (of Purnea)  
     [SB J.]  
 जोनक *Subh*  
 जोनराज 53, 188, 370  
 ज्ञानकीर्तन 1064  
 ज्ञानकियाद्वैशतक [OC I 209]  
 ज्ञानधरण चक्रवर्तिन् [SC J.]  
 ज्ञानमुद्धापरिणय 253  
 ज्ञानवरेन् (भद्रन्) *Subh, Sarng*  
 ज्ञानवासिष्ठ 21  
 ज्ञानविलास 163, 311  
 ज्ञानशिव *Slom*  
 ज्ञानसागर 235, 441  
 ज्ञानसुन्दरी (कविरत्न) 382  
 चलभगवपतिभजुङ्गाष्टक  
     वैमनस्यनिष्कासनाष्टक etc [MG J.]  
 ज्ञानस्योदय 323, 767  
 ज्ञानाकुर 544, 547, *Slom*  
 ज्ञानानन्दकलाधरसेन 308  
 ज्ञानानन्दभृ 2 43  
 ज्ञानेन्द्र 27  
 उपोतिरिंद्राभरण 14, p 55

ज्योतिरीश्वर 685, 1071  
 ज्योतिषकभट्टास्कर *Subh*  
 उचालानरसिहस्त्र 919

श

झंझानिल *Shm*  
 झलझलवासुदेव *Savay*

ड

डमस्क 166

[In *Tiny XIX p* xi the commentary is said to be the work of *Candras'ekhavaṇ*, son of *Sabdas'esa* and in Ms No. 3793 that father's name is not given]

डमस्वलभ 618

डोहरक<sup>1</sup>(डोहरक कुडोहर) *Subh*डामर *Subh*

डिण्डम 72, 134, 138

डिण्डीर (डिण्डीन) 69

डिम 561, 563

डिम्बोक (बिम्बोक, हिम्बोक) *Kes Shm*

डिमिका 562

डिङ्गीप्रभा 769

डिङ्गीमहोत्सवकाव्य 200

डिङ्गीसामाज्य 246

डुलोक *Shm*

डोम्बिका 563

डोलागीत 352, 1064

डोलोत्सवादिगीतम्

[*TC VI* 7408 This is in praise of लक्ष्मीद्वारिंह of सिंहाचल in *Vmag District*]

डोलोत्सवदीपिका 1064

ट

टक्कारव 904

टक्कम 272

त

तश्क *Subh*  
 तटके (*VP*) 501  
 तटातकापरिणय 253  
     by शङ्करसुब्रह्मण्य  
     by गणपतिशास्त्रिन्  
     (of *Kumbakonam*)  
 तण्डुलदेव (काश्मीर)  
     (mentioned in *Bhojpurabandha*)  
 तत्त्वगुणादर्श 530, 547  
 तत्त्वबोधनकाव्य  
     by भास्करशास्त्रिन् (*Opp 1838*)  
 तत्त्वमार्ताण्ड 910  
 तत्त्वमुद्राभद्रोदय (d) 379  
 तत्त्वसंग्रहरामायण 20  
 तथागतदास *Shm*  
 तद्वितोषं 1064  
 तनुषुखराम 1072  
 तन्त्र 78  
 तन्त्रशिखामणि 152  
 तन्त्रास्थ्यान 425  
 तन्त्राख्यायिका 425  
 तन्त्रालोकविलोक 191  
 तपतीसवरण 180  
 तपतीसवरण (d) 278  
 तपस्त्रिन् *Shm*  
 तप्तमनशास्त्रिन् 769  
 तरङ्गदत्त (d) 672, 783, 877  
 तरङ्गचती 450, 477  
 तरङ्गिणी (d) 727  
 तरणिक *Shm*  
 तरणिनन्दिन् *Shm*  
 तरळ 655, 980  
 तरळिक *Shm*  
 तरुणभारत 250  
 तरुणभूषण (d) 787  
     by शठगोप (श्रीवत्स)  
     [*IO VI* 7154]

तरुणबाचस्पति 373, 816  
 तरुणीलीलाविलास 514  
 तर्कवाचस्पति 28, 621, 632, 639  
 तर्कलङ्घकर महामहोपाध्याय  
 कौमुदीसुधाकर (d)  
 [Prakarana printed Calcutta]  
 ताताचार्य (तिरुमल) (D T) 360  
 ताच्चु (C K) [MB Jl]  
 ताल्याज्ञिन् 496  
 ताथागतदास Skm  
 ताननिधण्डु 1064  
 तानपाचार्य 1042  
 तानहडीयदङ्क Skm  
 तानभट्ट 1042  
 तापसवत्सराज (d) 663, 955  
 ताम्बूलदान [Tanj No 13677]  
 तारकब्रह्मकथा 441, 501  
 तारकामुरवध 254  
 तारकावलि 545  
 तारकोद्धरण (d) 877  
 ताराकुमार चक्रवर्तिन् 649  
 ताराकुमारशर्मन्  
 कालेजसम्मेलन &c [Vidy Jl]  
 ताराचन्द्र 316, 347, 1094  
 ताराचन्द्र (कायस्थ) 876  
 ताराचन्द्रोदय 199  
 See वैद्यनाथ  
 ताराभुजङ्गस्त्रोत  
 [SPV Jl]  
 तारानाथ (तर्कवाचस्पति) 468, 622, 632,  
 639, 1073  
 तारानाथ तर्कवाचस्पति चरित  
 [Arsha Library, Visagapatam]  
 तारापादभद्राचार्य Susy Jl  
 तारावलि 152  
 तारावलीशतक 162  
 ताराशाश्व 175  
 तारासाधनशतक 260

तरेन्द्र  
 [Quoted in Bhoja prabandha]  
 ताळकलाविलास 1064  
 ताळदशाप्राणदीपिका 1064  
 ताळदशाप्राणप्रकरण 1064  
 ताळदीपिका 956, 1020  
 ताळप्रबन्ध 1064  
 ताळप्रस्तार 1064  
 ताळरक्षाकर 58  
 ताळलक्षण 1064  
 ताळहडीयरङ्क Skm  
 तितोक Skm  
 तिप्पभूपाल गोपेन्द्र  
 तिम्मकवि (कूचिमञ्चि) 485  
 तिम्मगजपति 244  
 तिम्मयज्वन् 251  
 तिम्मरिसि (साल्व)  
 बालभारतव्याख्या  
 [He was uncle of Nadindla Gopal]  
 तिम्ममसूरि 473  
 तिसपतिशालिन् (दिवाकर्ल)  
 (Died about 1924 at Cocanada)  
 तिस्मलराय  
 See गीतगौरी  
 तिस्मलकवि (आल्लरि) 938  
 तिस्मलकोनयाचार्य 252  
 तिस्मलनाथ 786  
 तिस्मलनाथक 142  
 तिस्मलराय 124, 507  
 तिस्मलाचार्य (शठर्मषण) 782  
 (= श्रीशैलदीक्षित)  
 तिस्मलाचार्य 484  
 तिस्मलाचार्य (चिलकपर्ति) 143, 927  
 [I V Veeraraghavaacarya says  
 that he lived near Vizianagaram  
 in Visagapatam]  
 तिस्मल ताताचार्यंशिरोमणि (D T) 360  
 [Son of Desikacarya Born 1892]

शेषपरिशुद्धि	त्रुतातित (= कुमारितसामिन) <i>Skm</i>
भाग्यहटीका	तुरन्तलल ज्ञा [of Mahunatha Sury <i>Jl</i> ]
इत्युचित	तुलजराज 1046
तिरुमलाचार्य (ताळपाक) *	तुलसीदासचति [ <i>Vidy Jl</i> ]
अष्टभाषादृष्टक	तुलसीदूत 323
तिरुमलाम्बा 133, 377	तुलसीदास [T'C II No.1447]
तिरुमलार्थ 297	तुलसीरामगालिन्
तिरुवेङ्कटसूरि 329	(of Mayakoti (Belgaum))
तिलकमञ्जरी 477	भारतभारतीगीत <i>Sury Jl</i> X
तिलकमञ्जरी संप्रह 477	तुलापुरुषदानकाव्य 247
तिलकमञ्जरी दृढरथ्य 254 F	तुल्याजि 157, 158
तिलकमञ्जरी <i>Skm</i>	त्वाणिक 508
तिलभाष्टेष्वर <i>Kod</i>	तूर्णीरस्तव 160
तिवारि (O R) 639	तूर्तीयपुरुषार्थसरणि 923
तीरमुखीयसर्वेष्वर <i>Skm</i>	तेजसिंह [OU I 231]
तीर्थकल्प 283	दृष्टान्तशतक
तीर्थकरण्य 506	<i>See</i> मूर्खशतक
तीर्थप्रबन्ध 217	तेज पाल 111
तीर्थयात्राप्रबन्ध 142, 534	तैरभुक्तकवि <i>Pndy</i>
तुक्का 132	तैल 89
तुक्कोजि 157	तैलप 61, 89
तुज्जोक <i>Skm</i>	तैलपाटीयगाङ्गोक <i>Skm</i>
तुंजीन (र) 69	तोटकाचार्य
तुंबुरनाटक (d)	तृहच्छङ्करविजय
[Mentioned in <i>Sangitādāmodara</i>	तोडमल 692
<i>Lenn App</i> 76]	तोडरमलकाव्य 196

\* [He was son of Peda Tirumalācārya of Bhāradwāja goṭra He composed this work at Tirupati Hills in 1587 It is engraved in three copper plates in the Tirupati Devasthanams The first verse is in Sanskrit and the second verse contains words of Sanskrit and other prakrit dialects This is 2nd verse ,

आयस्व आत भक्ता विशगयपयो देव्व तेल्लोकनाहो  
 प अहं हेपि दन्धे णचिय तिहुण पोमणी हे मुळाळी ।  
 अजो दंचो सताते कुनकृतसहियो माणवो तानवाळी  
 रागाचन्द्राहवतप्पयह दिहुणो बळो वेङ्गेसो ॥

His father Peda Tirumalācārya and his grand-father Annamācārya have composed samskrītā gitās, Songs on Sri Venkatesa, in all the rasas [Printed TTD Press Madras ]

तोरमवीरम 118  
 तोलकाव्य 180  
 तोलनम्बूद्धि 180  
 तोलपाचार्य 699  
 तौत 69  
 लागराज 1050  
 लागराजदण्डक 505  
 लिकालश  
 भाषमज्जरीकाव्य  
 [BTO 160 not now seen in  
 Tanjore catalogue]  
 नितन्त्री 445  
 लिदिवाकर 27  
 लिनेत्र 86  
 लिपात् 491  
 लिपुरदहन (d) 65, 331, 715  
 लिपुरदहन चम्पू 544  
 लिपुरदाह (d) 551 A, 877  
 लिपुरमर्दन (d) 563, 877  
 लिपुरमहिमास्तव 286  
 लिपुरवध 829  
 लिपुरविजय (d) 726, 727  
 लिपुरविजय 125  
 लिपुरविजय चम्पू  
     by लिराक्षयज्वन् 779  
     by नृसिंह 158, 165  
 [Tanj VII 3044 In page 158  
 the name is wrongly given as  
 Srinaila ]  
 लिपुरसुन्दरीकाव्य 359  
 लिपुरसुन्दरीमहोदय 359  
 लिपुरसुन्दरीमानस पूजास्तोत्र 208  
 लिपुरसुन्दरीस्तवराज 359  
 लिपुरसुन्दरीस्तुतिकाव्य [CC. I 99]  
 लिपुरसुन्दरीस्तोत्र 273, 257, 359  
     by जयदेव  
     by राघवाचार्य  
 लिपुरान्तक 199

लिपुरारि *Slm*  
 लिपुरारि (पर्वतनाथपुत्र) 646, 666  
 लिपुरारिनाटक (d) [Opp 1849]  
 लिपुरारिपाल *Slm*  
 लिबद्र 727  
 लिमुवनचन्द्र 816  
 लिमुवनपाल 280  
 लिमुवनपालदेव 59, 116, 771  
 लिमुवनमल्ल 89  
 लिमुवनलाल 967  
 लिमुवनसरसती *Slm*  
 लिमुवनसुभग 291  
 लिमूर्तिकल्याण 486  
 लिम्बमङ्गलस्तोत्र 277  
 लिरलस्तोत्र 277  
 लिलोचन 661, 876, 889  
 लिलोचन *Sarng*  
 लिलोकलाथ 251  
 लिलोचनादित्य 1017  
 लिविकम (विद्याधरचक्रवर्ति शिष्य)  
 लिविकम (वैद्य) *Slm*  
 लिविकम (भागवत) *Subh* 513  
 लिविकम (मेधावि) 473  
 लिविकम (नेमादित्यपुत्र) 513  
 लिविकम (निघण्ठकार) 513  
 लिविकम (रघुनाथपुत्र) 1074  
 लिविकम  
     शतलोकी 518  
 लिविकम  
     कुबलयाश्विलास 513  
 लिविकम  
     व्याजोस्तितक 787  
 लिविकम (पुष्यग्राम) 787  
 लिविकम  
     रामकीर्तिकुन्दमाला 513  
 लिविकमचरित [CC. I, 239]  
 लिविकमपञ्चित 214

त्रिविक्रम सार्वभौम  
त्रिसिंहस्तुति [TO IV No 3653]  
त्रिविक्रमशालिन् 200  
त्रिविक्रमाचार्य 214  
त्रिवेणी 379  
त्रिवेणीस्तोत्र 273  
[TO I 440]  
त्रिशरनटभीम 816  
त्रिष्टुप्पितृलालकपुरुषचरित 70, 433  
त्रैचोक्त्यमल्ल 89  
त्रैलोक्यविजयकथा [CO I 240]  
त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी 457, 477  
त्रैविक्रम (d) 588, 773  
त्रोटक 563  
त्रोटालतन्त्र 984  
त्र्यम्बक (श्रीधरपुत्र) 384  
त्र्यम्बक  
नाटकदीप [CO, I 284]  
त्र्यम्बक (पश्चाभपुत्र) 545  
See नाटकदीप  
त्र्यम्बकमखिन् p 23, 164  
त्र्यम्बकशर्मन् (काले)  
[of Poona SO II]  
त्वरितकविराय *Ked*  
थो आक *Subh*  
थो आनन्द *Subh* 183

## द

दक्ष *Skm*  
दक्ष *Skm, Krs*  
दक्षक *Subh*  
दक्षप्रजापति 964  
दक्षयज्ञप्रबन्ध [Opp 5990]  
दक्षयाग 175  
दक्षयगप्रबन्ध [TO VI 1291]  
दस शिक्षणकाव्य [Opp II 8738]  
दक्षिणमोज 680  
दक्षिणावर्त 318

दक्षिणावर्तनाथ 27, 28, 618  
दक्षिणीरागमाला 1027  
दक्षयागप्रबन्ध [TO VI 7221]  
[Mss R Nos 5284 and 5292  
contain other works of Nārāyaṇa  
Bhattāṭī ]

दङ्क *Slm*  
(= तानहृदीयदङ्क)  
दग्धमरण 401  
दण्डक 503  
दण्डनाथ (= सालुवतिम्म)  
[Tanj in 3705]  
दण्डिन् [Opp 6859]  
अनामयस्तोत्र  
दण्डिन् 459, 568, 800, 876  
दत्त *Slm*  
दत्तक 1066  
दत्तकसूत्र 1066  
दत्तकसूत्रगृह्णि 1066  
दत्तपुत्र  
(भारतकथा)  
[TO IV No 3425]  
by क्षितीशचन्द्र छट्टोपाध्याय  
[JSSP XVIII & XIX  
Translation of Sarat Chandra's  
novel]

दत्तात्रेय 254, 544  
दत्तात्रेय (शनगर) 517  
दत्तात्रेयचम्पू 517 544  
दत्तात्रेयभुजङ्गस्तोत्र 273  
दत्तात्रेयशालिन् 531  
दत्तिल 561, 562, 955, 957  
दत्तिलकोहलौ 960  
दत्तिलकोहलीय 958  
दत्तिलनारदसवाद् 969  
दत्त्युहसन्देश 323

दधिभूषण काव्यतीर्थ  
सीतापरिणय [Vidy J.]  
दनोक *Slm*  
दश्चरित [Tanj No 10482]  
दशमकचरित [Tanj No 10355]  
दमयन्ती 842  
दमयन्तीकथा 512  
See नलचम्पू  
दमयन्तीकल्याण (d) 85  
दमयन्तीपरिणय 78, 501, 544  
दयानन्दखामि 268  
दयावर्धनगणि 440, 546  
दयाशतक 162  
by वेङ्कटनाथ  
by श्रीधरवेङ्कटेश  
दराफ़खान (Daraf Khan, a Mahomedan ascetic)  
गजाषटक (Vidy J.)  
दरिद्रचारदत्त (d) 576, 955  
दर्पदङ्ग 68 [CO I 245]  
by क्षेमन्न  
by जगद्धर  
दर्वट *Subh*  
दर्शनविजयगणि 869  
दर्शनीय 401  
दर्शनीय (= देर्लितिकादर्शनीय) *Subh*  
दशकन्धर 286  
दशकुमारकथा  
by गोपीनाथ [CO I 247]  
दशकुमारचरित 166, 464, 465, 863-A  
दशकुमारचरितशेष 466  
दशकुमारचरितशक्षेप  
by अप्यदीक्षित [See *Kāryamāla* I 91]  
by दुर्गानारायण सेन [SO J.]  
दशकुमारचरितसङ्ग्रह 143, 468  
Anonymous  
by कृष्णमार्चार्य B.V.  
125

दशरथ *Slm, Pady*  
दशरथशर्म सिद्धान्तवागीश (of Soron)  
[SO J.]  
दशरामचम्पू<sup>9</sup> [Opp 7314]  
दशरूप 529, 833  
दशरूपकपदति 833, 922  
दशरूपकविवरण 922  
दशाश्रावकचरित 104  
दशास्तोक 1012  
दशावतारचरित 68  
दशावतारस्तव 256-F  
दशावतारस्तुति 217  
दशावतारस्तोत्र 121, 273  
दशावधान 904  
दशाननवध 252  
दाक्षिणात्य *Slm*  
दाक्षिण्यचरितसूरे 235  
दाताराम 1075  
दानकेळिकौमुदी 162, 220, 563  
by रूपगोस्यामिन  
by महादेवकवीशाचार्यसरस्वती  
[Tanj VIII 3579]  
दानकेळिचिन्तामणि 219  
दानोक *Slm*  
दामक (d) 588, [TC VI 6911]  
दामोदर (= भारवि) 48  
दामोदर *Slm, Kvs, Subh, Pady*  
दामोदर (खडनारायणशिष्य)  
शिवविलासकाव्य [TC VI 7061]  
दामोदर (दीर्घघोष) 1101  
दामोदर  
[mentioned in श्रीकण्ठचरित XXI 68]  
दामोदर (लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र) 10, 30  
दामोदर 667  
महानाटक (d)  
दामोदर  
कंसवध (d) 667  
दामोदर (विश्वनाथपुत्र) 667

दामोदर उपाध्याय (मैथिल) *Kod*  
 दामोदरगुप्त 310  
 दामोदरदेव *Sarng*  
 दामोदरदैवज्ञ  
     सभाविनोद [CO I 251]  
 दामोदरभट्ट (काल) *Kod*  
 दामोदरभट्ट (हवे)  
     अलङ्कारकम्पाला [CO I 250]  
 दामोदरमिश्र 53  
 दामोदरलाल गोखामिन्  
     (of Brundavan)  
     [*Fidy Jl*]  
 दामोदरशास्त्रिन् 49  
 दाराष्ठा 311  
 दारुकावनविलास 314  
 दाशरथि 309  
 दासिराज  
     चतुरचूडामणि [MM II 36]  
 दिग्बावरणजीनाथ गर्दे (Sury Jl)  
 दिविवजय महाकाव्य 93  
 दिल्लीग 17, 470, 818  
 दिनकर 27  
 दिनकर  
     रघुवंशटीका [*Opp* II 201  
         composed in 1385 A.D.]  
 दिनकरदेव *Sarng*  
 दिनबन्धु (साहित्याशास्त्रिन्) *JSSP*  
 दिनेश [*CO* I 253]  
     राधाविनोदकान्थ  
 दिनेशक्षा [Sury XII]  
 दिनेशचरित 243, 1095  
 दिलीपचरित  
     by मधुरानाथशुक्ल [CO I 253]  
 दिवाकर *Pady*, 877, 886  
 दिवाकर (महादेवपुत्र) 55, 318, 1024  
 दिवाकर (उद्धाहुस्तन्दरपुत्र) 541  
 दिवाकर (विश्वेश्वरपुत्र) 237, 541  
 दिवाकर (गोतिथोपदिवाकर) *Slm*

दिवाकर कविचन्द्र 254  
 दिवाकर (युवराज) *Slm*  
 दिवाकरकिशोर *Sarng*  
 दिवाकरदत्त *Slm*  
 दिवाकर महोपाध्याय 45  
 दिवाकरवत्स  
     कद्यमालास्त्रोत्र [*Opp* 1209]  
 दिविर किशोर *Sarng, Subh*  
 दिविरदेवादित्य *Subh*  
 दिव्यलीलावतारस्त्र 919  
 दिव्यकथा p 2  
 दिव्यक्षेत्रमहात्म्य 254-F  
 दिव्यवैष्णविजय 545  
 दिव्यप्रबन्ध 355  
 दिव्यसूरीचरित 205  
 दिव्यसूरीप्रभावदीपिका [*Opp* 8009]  
     by रामानुजमुनि  
 दिव्यसूरीवैष्णव 494  
 दिव्यावदान 446  
 दीक्षित् (R V) 752  
 दीक्षाटनचम्पू? [*Opp* II 2251]  
 दीक्षितकृति [*TO* II no 1440]  
 दीननाथ  
     गीर्वाणबोधकात्म्य [CO I 254]  
 दीननाथशर्मन् (of Multan)  
     कर्ममहिमा (Sury Jl)  
 दीनाकन्दनस्तुति 286  
 दीपक 69, 604  
 दीपचन्द्र 235  
 दीपशतक 581  
 दुकूलहण [*TO* IV No 3731]  
 दुखभजन 254, 351  
     विलोमकात्म्य [MM II 158]  
 दुर्गत *Slm*  
 दुर्गदास 347  
 दुर्गसिंह 86  
 दुर्गसेन *Subh, Sarng*  
 दुर्गदत्त 1100

दुर्गादत्त शमी (गोखामि)  
 [of Amritsai *SO JI*]  
 दुर्गादास 876  
 दुर्गानन्द स्थामिन्  
 [Autobiography in fine prose  
*Vidy JI*]  
 दुर्गानारायणसेन  
 दशकुमारचरितसंक्षेप ०१ कुमारवन्धु  
 [*SO JI*]  
 दुर्गाप्रसादयाति 292  
 दुर्गाभिक्तरंगीणी 403  
 दुर्गामोहनशास्त्रित् (of Bengal)  
 कविताकुमुमज्जरी [*MG JI*]  
 दुर्गाविलासमहाकाव्य  
*See* रामरूपण  
 दुर्गाशक्ति 964  
 दुर्गासहाय 1099  
 दुर्गासैन्दर्यशतक 757  
 दुर्गास्त्रव 919  
 दुर्गेशनन्दिनी 498  
 दुर्धट 58  
 दुर्घटकाव्य 309, 348  
 दुर्जनहृदय 746  
 दुर्भेलिका 563  
 दुर्लभराज 70  
 दुर्वहक *Subh*  
 दुर्वीसस् 286, 305 [*OO I 257*]  
 दुर्बिनीति 48, 414  
 दुलोक *Shm*  
 दुष्करमाला 309  
 [Kuppuswamy Sastry's Rep (1919)  
 Poem in 6 Cantos It deals with  
 all artificial forms of enigmatic  
 poetry]  
 दूतकाव्य 315  
 दूतघटोत्कच (d) 585  
 दूतलक्षण [*Opp 3996*]  
 दूतवाक्य (d) 175, 582

by नारायणभट्ट [*Opp, 2618*]  
 दूतवाक्यप्रबन्ध [*Opp 5997*]  
 दृतवाक्यचम्पू [*TO III No 2475*]  
 दूताङ्गद (d) 116, 771  
 दूताङ्गद (d)  
 by रामचन्द्र  
 [Nepal Library This seems to be  
 a new work]  
 दूतीप्रकाश 310  
 दूतीसवाद (*Vidy JI*)  
 दूनोक *Shm*  
 दृघवत् 706, 777  
 दृश्यकाव्य 549  
 दृष्टान्तशतक [*OO I 234*]  
 (*Vidy JI*)  
 देवकीनन्दन (कविराज) 254  
 [*OO I 258*]  
 देवगणदेव *Suring*  
 देवगिरि 96  
 देवगुप्त 32, 235  
 देवगुप्त *Subh*  
 देवचन्द्र 673  
 देवट *Subh*  
 देवताग्रास  
 निर्झरस्प्रभट्ट  
 It is a translation of Rabindranath Tagore's work *SPV III 96*]  
 देवतानन्दपूज्यपाद  
 राघवोल्लासकाव्य [*OO I 258*]  
 देवदत्त 430, 923  
 देवदास 545  
 देवदुर्गति (d) 786  
 देवनाचार्य 1025  
 देवनाथ [*OO I 259*]  
 देवनाथ  
 मीनकेतृदय 254  
 देवनाथ  
 रसिकप्रकाश 922

देवनाथ तर्कपञ्चानन 863-A  
 देवनाथसूरि 235  
 देवपाल 59  
 देवपाणि 833  
 देवप्रभसूरि p 44, 109  
 देवबोध *Slosh*  
 देवबोध p 42  
 देवबोधि *Samuj*  
 देवभद्र 235, 477  
 देवभूमि 25  
 देवमूर्ति 235  
 देवराज 235  
 देवराजीक्षिति 252  
 [OC XX 7780]  
**देवराज**  
 वरवरमुनिशतक 229  
**देवराज** 55 (1934)  
 माधव्याख्या 55  
 [Printed OC J with Vidyā-mādhabha's commentary]  
**देवराज** (पद्मनाभपुत्र) 41  
**देवराज** (शोषादिपुत्र) 712  
**देवराज**  
 अनिरुद्धचरित 544  
**देवराज** 268  
 आर्यमण्डलीकाव्य  
**देवराज** 226  
 नानकचन्द्रोदय  
**देवराज** (महेश्वरपुत्र)  
 प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयटीका (OC III 56)  
**देवराज** (रघुपतिपुत्र) 544  
**देवराजचरितचम्पू** 199  
**देवराज** देशिक 541  
**देवराजपञ्चाशत्** 121  
**देवराजमहृ** 53  
**देवराजयज्वन्**  
 भारविटीका

[Ed by Kshutishchandia Sastri, Calcutta]  
**देवराजस्तव** 210  
**देवराम** [OC III 7]  
 अमरविलासकाव्य  
**देवराममहृ** p 125  
**देवराय** 129  
**देवविजयगणि** 235, 483  
**देवविमलगणि**  
 See हीरसौभाग्य  
**देवविलासार्थी**  
 by माधवर्सिह [OC I 260]  
**देवशङ्कर** पुरोहित 920, 937  
**देवशङ्करमहृ** 308  
**देवागमस्तोत्र** 275  
**देवावतरण** 254  
 See शिवानन्द  
**देवीचन्द्रगुप्त** (d) 634, 672, 955  
**देवीचन्द्रशास्त्रिन्** (of Jodhpur)  
 [OC JI]  
**देवीचरित** 170  
**देवीचूर्णिका** 507  
**देवीपश्चरन्माला** 273  
**देवीपरिणय** (d) 783, 877  
**देवीप्रसादशुक्र** 742  
**देवीप्रसादशुक्र**  
 होलिकोत्सव  
**बाणीविलास** (d) [Sury JI]  
**देवीपादादिकेशतोत्र** 714  
**देवीभक्तिरसोलास** [OC I 197]  
**देवीभगवत्** p 75  
**देवीभुजङ्गस्तोत्र** 273  
**देवीमहादेव** (d) 563, 877, 880  
**देवीवजय** 728  
**देवीशतक** 825  
**देवीस्तव** 180  
**देवीस्तवनगीतिका**  
 by अजदान्वरण [Sury JI VI]

देवीस्तुति 237  
 देवीस्तोत्र 814  
 देवेन्द्र = (देवणाचार्य) 1026, 1064  
 देवेन्द्रवर्मन् 193  
 देवेन्द्रसूरि 235  
 देवेश्वर *Sarng*, 921  
 देवेश्वर (देवेन्द्र, वारभटपुत्र) 868  
 देव्यकारादिस्तुति (*Vidy JI*)  
 देव्यार्थाशतक 314  
 देशराजचरित 512, 880  
 देशावलीविवृति 405  
 देशिकर्त्तोत्रमध्याष्ठा 753  
 देशिकाभ्युदय 736  
 देशिनाममाला 70  
 देशोपदेश 68  
 देहठीस्तुति 121  
 देहलीशस्तुति [*Opp* 68, 1097]  
 दैस्यारिण्डित *Pady*  
 दैवक 1097  
 दैवजपण्डित 96  
 दैवजसूर्य 96, 544  
 दैवासुर (d) 6  
 दैवोपालम्भ 969  
 दोहुवाचार्य 207  
 दोषोलास [*Opp* II 8863]  
 दोरसामि अव्याहार्य (आयुर्वेदभूषण) 52  
 दोहूर *Sarng*  
 शाद्विदेव 268  
 शुतिधर *Subh*  
 द्रविडाम्नायशतकस्तोत्र  
     [*TO* II No 1453]  
 द्रव्य (आवन्तिक) *Slm*  
 द्रविडायासुभाषितससशती 746  
 द्रौपदीखड़ 510  
 द्रौपदीपरिणय 155, 175  
     by पेरिकालिनाथ (d) 777  
     by कृष्ण (d) 777  
     by नारायण भट्टाचार्य 175

द्रौपदीवज्रापहरण 254  
 द्रौपदीखथंवर (d)  
     by विजयपाल 98  
     anonymous 780, 955  
 द्रौपद्यत्पत्ति 254  
 द्रौहिणि 964  
 द्रग्यमन्वस्तत्व 919  
 द्रात्रिशत्युत्तिलिका 429  
 द्रात्रिशत्सालभजिका 429  
 द्रादशमञ्जरी 280  
 द्रादशमञ्जरीस्तोत्र 273  
 द्रादशविद्यापति 233  
 द्रादशसाहस्री 945  
 द्रादशस्तोत्र 213  
 द्रारिकानाथशर्मन् (of Dacca) [*SC JL*]  
 द्राविंशत्यावदान 446  
 द्रिल्पकोश 75  
 द्रिसन्धान 66, 88, 464  
     by कविराज  
     by दण्डन्  
     by धनजय  
 द्रैपयन *Slm*  
 द्रष्टिनाटक (d)  
     [Scherman's *Or Bibl* IX No  
         4605]  
 द्रष्टव्यधित्र्यधिकाव्य  
     [See paper by E V Viraraghavan in K B Pathak's Com.  
         vol p 367]  
 द्रष्टव्यकाव्य  
     by जिनप्रभ 229  
     by हैमचन्द्र 70  
     ध  
 धजो (ओ) *Slm*  
 धनजय *Slm*  
     [He is said to be the minister of  
         Lakshmanasena *JASB.* (1905)  
         35-40, *PR* II 59]

धनजय (जैन) 102  
 धनजय (विष्णुपुत्र) 808, 833  
 धनजय (वासुदेवपुत्र) 66  
 धनजयविजय (d) 52  
 धनजयविजय  
     by यशोधर 677  
 धनजयविलास 254  
 धनजयसेन *Pady*  
 धनदत्तचरित्र 410, 501  
 धनदेव 374, 400  
 धनदराज 266  
 धनपति *Skm*  
 धनपतिसूरि 271  
 धनपाल *Sing, Skm*  
 धनपाल (सर्वदेवपुत्र) 332, 477  
 धनपाल (धक्काडबोम्बा) 477  
 धनवर्मन् (उपाध्याय) *Subh*  
 धनसार 262  
 धनिक 808, 834  
 धनेशदत्त मिश्र (दिनमणि)  
     [of Patau, *Sury Jt X*]  
 धनेश्वर 282, 666  
 धन्य *Pady*  
 धन्यकुमारचरित 228, 232, 235  
 धन्यशालिभद्रचरित्र 104  
 धन्याष्टक 278  
 धन्यिपुरीमाहात्म्य *Opp*, 6450  
 धरणीधर *Skm SS*, 314  
 धरणीधर  
     See रसवतीशतक [10 2079]  
 धरानन्द 143, 600, 646  
 धर्मकीर्ति *Skm Kvv* 69, 470, 637,  
     817, 818  
 धर्मगुप्त 323  
     शुक्लसन्देशव्याख्या  
 धर्मगुप्त (रामदासपुत्र)  
     रामाङ्गनाटक (d)  
     [composed in 1360 *CC. I. 268*]

धर्मघोष 338  
 धर्मचन्द्र 659  
 धर्मदत्त *Subh*, 880  
 धर्मदास 347, 876  
     विद्रघमुखमण्डन  
 धर्मदास 619  
     कर्षुरमञ्चरीव्याख्या  
 धर्मदाससूरि 235  
 धर्मदेव *Subh*  
 धर्मदेव  
     पुराणदृष्टान्तशतक (United Bombay)  
 धर्मपण्डित 254, 423  
 धर्मपरीक्षा 364  
 धर्मपाल *Skm*  
 धर्मपाल 59, 672  
 धर्ममेरु 27  
 धर्मयोगेश्वर *Skm*  
 धर्मराज 545  
 धर्मराजविश्वाति 490  
 धर्मरामायण 373-A  
 धर्मवर्धन *Nurng*  
 धर्मवाचस्पति 816  
 धर्मविजय (d) 758  
     [Com by भवानीशङ्कर 10 1860]  
 धर्मविजयगणि 53  
 धर्मविजयमू 102, 759  
 धर्मविवेक  
     See हलायुध  
     [*Prv I* 193, *Haeberlin*, 507]  
 धर्मशर्माभ्युदय 47  
 धर्मसङ्गीत 1064  
 धर्मसिंह  
     साहित्यरत्नाकर [*Orukh V* 10]  
 धर्मसुधी (=धर्मभट्ट) 522, 932  
 धर्माकर *Skm*  
 धर्माकृत *pp* 23, 24, 165  
 धर्माधिकरणमघु *Skm*  
     [JASB (1906), p 171]

धर्माधिककरणिकरुद्र *Slm*  
 धर्मनन्द 666  
 धर्मशोक *Slm*, 386  
 धर्मशोकदत्त *Slm*  
 धर्मभ्युदय 112  
 धर्मेश्वर आमिहोत्रिन् *Kud*  
 धारीपञ्चक 121  
 धातुकाव्य 170, 177  
 धाराकदम् *Subh*, *Sarng*  
 धाराधर *Subh*  
 धारावर्चस  
 by गणवत्तिव्यास [IA (1882), 106]  
 धावक 608  
 धिषण 792  
 धीतोक *Slm*  
 धीतोक *Slm*  
 धीरजयदेव 297  
 धीरनाग 628  
 धीरनाग (भद्रन्त) *Slm*, *Subh*  
 धीरशङ्कर 271, 272  
 धीरसिंह 403  
 धूतच्छज (d) 727  
 धूजटि *Slm*  
 धूजटिप्रसादकाव्यतीर्थ 781  
 See भक्तविजय (d)  
 खुन्दिराज 163, 456, 632, 707, 1001,  
 1040  
 धूर्जिराज *Slm*  
 धूर्तचरित (d) 45, 237, 786, 880  
 धूर्तनर्तन (d) 757, 786  
 धूर्तविडम्बन (d) 786  
 धूर्तविटसंवाद (d) 592  
 धूर्तसमागम (d) 685  
 धृतवीर (d) 727  
 धृष्टधौरेय (d) 727  
 धृष्टरोहित (d) 727  
 धैर्यनाथक्षा (of Cawnpore *Sury* X)  
 धैर्यीमत्र 401

धोयी 303  
 ध्यानचूर्णिका 242  
 धुव 735  
 धुवचरित 254  
 [TO VI 7305]  
 धुवचरित (d)  
 by गणपतिशास्त्रिन्  
 by जयकृष्ण  
 धुवतपस् (d) 732  
 धुवपाल 1071  
 धुवाभ्युदय 354  
 ध्रौचपदटीका 1042  
 ध्वनिकाव्य (*Vidy JI*)  
 ध्वनिगाथापञ्चिका 58  
 ध्वनिप्रदीप 892  
 ध्वनिविवेक (OO I 278)  
 ध्वनिसिद्धान्तग्रन्थ 855  
 ध्वन्यालोक 825

न

नक्षत्रमाला 209 [TO IV No 4800]  
 [Printed Kāvya-mālā, Bombay ]  
 नखकुट 950  
 नम *Slm*  
 नमजित् *Subh*, *Sarng*  
 नमधर 27  
 नमभूपतिप्रह (d) [Opp II 2862]  
 नमराज  
 रेणसहस्रलोक [Opp II 4899]  
 नमाचार्य *Slm*, *Subh*  
 नजराज  
 [He was known as Navabhoja-  
 rāja and his Court poet Nṛsimha  
 author of Nanjarāja Yasobhusana  
 p 19) as Navakalidāsa  
 नजराज 938, 1001  
 नजराजयशस्मुलासचम्पू

by नीलकण्ठ [*Mys Sup II*]  
नजराजयशोभूषण 9  
नजराजशेखर 1001  
नञ्जुण्ड 527  
नटगाङ्गोक *Skm*  
नटनकालिदास 252  
नटसूत्र 553, 814  
नटाकुश 1007  
नटशविजय 162, 241, 781  
नटेश्वरस्तोत्र 273  
नडादूर अम्माळ 160  
    See अम्माळ  
नहुभूवक *Subh*  
नहुवाह *Subh*  
नदीपूर 746  
नन्दकिशोरभट्ट शीघ्रकवि (of Muttra)  
    [*SO Jl etc*]  
नन्दकुमारशर्मन् 251  
नन्दगोपाल 28  
नन्दन 363  
नन्दन  
    [mentioned in श्रीकण्ठचरित]  
नन्दनाचार्य p 42  
नन्दप्रभजनर्कर्मन् 193  
नन्दलाल 307  
नन्दलाल विद्याविनोद  
    गर्वपरिणति (d) [*SO Jl*]  
नन्दिन् 963  
नन्दिकेश्वर p 42  
नन्दिकेश्वर  
    अभिनयदर्पण  
    [Ed and tr by Manmathanath Ghose, Cal Sans Series, Calcutta]  
नन्दिकेश्वरकारिका 975  
नन्दिष्ठोषविजय (d)  
    by शिवनारायणदास [*IO 607*]  
नन्दिमती 563  
नन्दिवर्मन्

by गोवर्धनपिंड  
    [Novel printed in *VO Jl*]  
नन्दसेन 283  
नन्दस्तामिन् 798  
नन्दीचरित 254  
नन्दीश्वायाशिक 432  
नन्दीश्वरकथा 230  
नन्दीश्वरसंहिता 963, 989  
नन्दोपाल्यान [*PR III 394*]  
नन्दयदीक्षित 863-A  
नमजीरामशालिन् (of Mowad Sury *Jl*)  
नमित्तवायगद्य 506  
नमिमात्र 832  
नममय *Samug*  
नमाल्बार  
    [In para 205, Recul 43rd day of  
        Kali]  
नयचन्द्र 113, 118  
नयनिदर्शन 543  
नयरङ्ग 235  
नरकण्ठीरवशालिन् 475  
नरकासुरवध (d) 932  
नरकासुरविजय (d) 130, 254  
नरणपतिविजय  
    by वैद्युटराज [*Race 326*]  
नरचन्द्र 109, 666  
नरचन्द्रसूरि 111, 114  
नरनारायणनन्द 111  
नरनारायणीय  
    by सदानन्द (देवप्रयाग)  
    [A very learned poem like  
        Magha Compd Sam 1912  
        Printed Bikaner]  
नरपति [*MM II 55*]  
नरवर्मन् 99  
नरसनायक 124  
नरसप्पमन्तिन् 250  
नरसराज

नरसराजीयकाव्य [*Opp II* 462]  
 नरसिंहगालुव 124, 131  
 नरसिंह *Kva, Skm Subh*  
 नरसिंह 937  
 शुणरत्नाकर  
 नरसिंह (कलिंग) 880, 928  
 नरसिंह (I-III) 100, 102  
 नरसिंह (हरीत) 787  
 श्वारस्तवक (d)  
 पादुकासहस्रव्याख्या [*TO VII* 7569]  
 नरसिंह (अनन्तनारायणपुत्र) 517, 542  
 नरसिंह (गङ्गाधरपुत्र) 688  
 नरसिंह 544  
 पुरुषोत्तमचम्पू  
 नरसिंहभ्यङ्गर M T (=कल्पि)  
 [See also para 206, note (3)]  
 नरसिंहभ्यङ्गर T 473  
 नरसिंहठकुर 860  
 नरसिंहदीक्षित  
 श्रीनिवासरथविजयनाटिका (d)  
 [TO IV, 5479 Composed sāka  
 1572]  
 नरसिंहदेविक (MB J1)  
 नरसिंहपण्डित (सुरामत्यपुत्र) 675  
 नरसिंहभ्यालचरित्र [*Opp* 6012]  
 नरसिंहमङ्गलाशासन 210  
 नरसिंहभिश्च  
 शिवनारायणभजमहोदय (d)  
 [OO III 134]  
 नरसिंहवर्मन् 459  
 नरसिंहविजय 880  
 नरसिंहशमेन पुणेकर of Kitture  
 [SO J1]  
 नरसिंहशास्त्रिन् (तिम्माजिमन्त्रपुत्र) 92  
 नरसिंहसूरि 863-A  
 [TO I 554]  
 नरसिंहसेन 473  
 नरसिंहस्तव 210  
 126

नरसिंहाचार्य (S) 546  
 नरसिंहाचार्य (A V) 81  
 नरसिंहाचार्य (वेदान्ताचार्यशिष्य)  
 चम्पूभारतटीका 536  
 नरसिंहाचार्य (काण्डूरि) 1060  
 नरसिंहाचार्य (सुड्डव्य) 356, 919  
 नरसिंहाचार्य (कोचा) 323  
 नरसिंहाचार्य (आजैल) 915  
 नरसिंहाचार्य (महाबलपुत्र) 500  
 नरसिंहाचार्य (मरगाटि) 938  
 नरसिंहाद्वास 919  
 नरहरि  
 (He gives a date 1298 It must be  
 Sāka and not samvat That will be  
 1376 A D Nidavole Venkatarao says  
 "In the manuscript copy I possess  
 there is an invocation to Bharati-  
 Tīrtha, the desciple of Vidyaranya and  
 hence this date is conclusive In the  
 commentary of Naishadam Narahari  
 invokes Vidyaranya as his paramaguru  
 Moreover there is a tradition among  
 the Alankarikas in this country that  
 Kumaraswami was a desciple of Nara-  
 hari Suri and as such he quoted the  
 book twice His date may therefore be  
 assigned to 1376-1340 "  
 नरहरि (अल्लाड) 53  
 नरहरि  
 छन्दस्सुन्दर 1102  
 नरहरि 252  
 यादवराधवीय  
 नरहरि (=नरसिंहस्तवंभूपुत्र) 76  
 नैषनटीका 306  
 [OO I 279, 306 In, para 76 he  
 is described as son of मङ्गलाश Is it  
 wrong ?]  
 नरहरि (भास्करपुत्र) 28  
 कुमारसम्भवटीका [*Tanq VI* 2459]  
 नरहरि

- शृङ्खारशातक 316  
 नरहरि (— सरस्वतीतीर्थ) 850  
     कुमारसम्भवटीका (?) 28  
     मेघदूतटीका 318  
 नरहरि [CO I 279]  
     कविकौमुदी  
     अभिनवरामायण  
 नरहरिचक्रवर्तिन् 220  
 नरहरि दामोदरशास्त्रिन् (MS JI)  
 नरहरिभट 876  
 नरहरि यति 214  
 नरहरिशास्त्रिन्  
     द्वासिंहचम्पू [Race 250]  
 नराभरण 267  
 नरेन्द्र Subh  
 नरेन्द्रनाथ विद्यारथ Spv  
 नरेन्द्रप्रभ 111, 112, 114  
 नरेन्द्रवर्मन् 181  
 नरेन्द्रवर्धन 663  
 नरोत्तम 251  
 नरोत्तम  
     कीर्तिलेशमात्रदर्शककाव्य [CO I 279]  
     नरोत्तमचन्द्रशर्मन् (of Peshawar)  
         [VO JI]  
     नरोत्तमारण्यशिष्य [PR II 196]  
         रजखलास्तोत्र  
     नर्तननिर्णय 1028  
     नर्मवती (d) 563, 880  
     नलकथार्णव 254  
     नलकीर्तिकौमुदी 126  
         [Published in Jl of Telugu  
             Academy]  
     नलचम्पू 513  
         [Ed. with Candapāla's commen-  
             tary and intr by Nandakisora-  
             sarma]  
     नलधरितकाव्य 154
- नलचरित (d) 84, 154, 742  
     by देवीप्रसादशुल्क  
     by नीलकण्ठ 84  
 नलदमयन्तीय 84, 743  
 नलभूमिपालरूपक (d) 84  
 नलयादवराधवपाण्डवीय [Opp 6595]  
 नलवर्णन 513  
 नलविक्रम (d) 513, 783, 877  
 नलविलास (d) 672  
 नलहरिश्चन्द्रीय 78, 96  
 नलानन्द (d) 84  
 नलाभ्युदय 78, 128, 146  
 नलायन 103, 849  
 नलायनीचरित 175  
 नलिनीवसन्त [JSSP XIX 19]  
 नलोदय 78, 329  
 नल्लाकवि 777  
 नल्लानचक्रवर्तिवैभव  
     [Aisha Labi ary, Vizagapatam]  
 नल्लादीक्षित (= नल्लाबुध = भूमिनाथ)  
     [Tanj XIX xxxi], 162, 787  
     See भूमिनाथ 759  
 नवकर Skm  
 नवगीतकुसुमाजलि 300  
 नवग्रहकृति 1053  
 नवग्रहचरित (d) 166  
 नवग्रहस्तोत्र 254-F  
 नवनागललित 1047  
 नवनिधिमहालक्ष्मीस्तव 919  
 नवनीत (वाध्यूल) 545  
 नवनीतकवि 254  
 नवनीतकृष्ण (VO JI)  
 नवनीतराम 885  
 नवनीतरामयित्र 28  
 नवमालिका (d) 312  
 नवरत्न 14  
 नवरत्नमालिकास्तोत्र 273  
 नवरत्नरसविलास 1064, 1364

नवरसरम्भार [OC I 281]  
 नवसाहस्राङ्कचरित 61  
 नवीनकवीन्द्र 904  
 नवीनकालिदास 525  
 नवीनचन्द्र विद्यारत्न  
 श्रीवृत्सचरित [VO JI]  
 नव्यचण्डीसहाय 252  
 नदेहिष्ठप्रबोधक 1042  
 नाकोक *Slam*  
 नागकुमारस्वरित 235, 320  
 नागदेव 513  
 नागनन्दिन् 35  
 नागनराय 348  
 नागनाथशास्त्रिन् (T C)  
 [Advocate of Devacottah,  
 Ramnad, of Tirunalveli village  
 near Sivaganga]

नागनाथ (विश्वेश्वरशिव्य) 787, 879  
 मदनविलास (d)  
 नागनाथ (कन्दुकूरि) 544  
 नागपैद्य *Saing*  
 नागप्पशास्त्रिन् (होसकारि)  
 [Manj II 136, 154]  
 नागभूपाल 934  
 नागनर्थ (देवनर्थयुक्त)  
 कविराक्षसव्याख्या [DO XX. 8025]  
 नागम्मा 374  
 नागम्मा *Saing*  
 नागसमच्चय 1372  
 नागसर्वस्त्र 1072, 1039  
 \*नागराज 349  
*See* भावशतक  
 नागवर्मन् 866  
 नागराज केशव 863-A

\* Dasavatma Sarma on Nagaraja of Bhavasataka, Jl of Indian History III, 303 The following note is found *Manuscripts in Mithila*, II 9, *Bhavasataka* "It was written for Ganapati Naga, the Naga king of Padmavati and the adversary killed by Samudra Gupta in battle. Although the book has been once printed in the Kavyamala our manuscript gives the correct name and establishes the identity in the opening verse

नाकराजसमं (शर्तं) प्रथ्य नागराजेन तन्वसा ।  
 अकारि गजवक्त श्रीनार्गराजो शिरो गुरुः ।

गजवक्तश्री ('Elephant-faced' = गणपतिश्री = Sri Ganapati Naga) was printed as गतवक्त्र in the Kavyamala which fully obscured the name. Ganapati again occurs in verse 80 which also shows that there were several Naga kings in the time of Ganapati. There is an allusion to Padmavati in 'Padmalaya' in verse 100. The king's family is called Karpati (कर्पीटि) gotra which is known to the Mahabharata. The M B H enumerates it in the company of the Malavas (Sabha, C 85 7, Kumb ed, Bengal C 82). His dynastic name was Taka. In the Bhavasataka we have a work of 300 to 350 A D, that is, a work just before Kalidasa's time. Every verse is complete in itself like the verses of the Gatha Saptasati. Very short comments (evidently by the author himself) are given. Ganapati Naga was a Sanskrit scholar and a man of stern character (verse 76) and a worshipper of Siva (शिवभक्तितया). The style anticipates Amaru."

नागराजशर्मण [VOL I]

नागरिदास 1072

नागाजी 1094

नागानन्द (d) 613

[Ed with Commentary by Baladeva Upādhyāya, and with translation and notes by Sankalalama Sastri, Madras]

नागानन्दकाव्य 613

नागार्जुन 33, 35, 260, 1068, 1071

नागार्जुनीययोगशतक 1071

नागेश 24

नागेशभट्ट = (नागोजीभट्ट) 143, 862, 886, 899, 921

नाचिराज

[Quoted by Arjuna Varman in his Com on Amaru]

नाचोक Skm

नाटक 561, 563

[D R Mankad, *Types of Sanskrit Drama*]

नाटककथासङ्कृह (ग्रन्थ) 650

by V अनंताचार्य

[Printed Ahmedabad]

नाटकसंक्षिका 220

नाटकदीपि

by अम्बेक [Opp 4675, Race 286]

नाटकदीपिका 727

नाटककथामञ्जरी [A select collection of dramas and poems]

नाटकपरिभाषा 879

नाटकमीमांसा 871

नाटकरामायण (d) 373-B

नाटकलक्षण

by पुण्ड्रीक [VOL I 284]

नाटकविभक्ति 727

नाटकवितार 923

नाटवाद (d) 786

नाटिका 561, 563

नाट्य 549

[Sculptures in dancing are also found in the temples of Bhuvaneswari and Konarak near Puri and in Chidambaram Gopuram]

नाट्यकथामञ्जरी

by कैलासनाथ

[Printed Lahore It is a summary of well known Sanskrit dramas]

नाट्यर्धण 671

नाट्यपार (= चृत्तपार) 565

नाट्यप्रकृति

by सुन्दरमिश्र

[CO I 285 Written in 1613]

नाट्यप्रशंसा 1064

नाट्यरासक 563

नाट्यलोचन 836, 2017

नाट्यवेदागम 945, 1046

नाट्यशास्त्र 945, 797

[Translation of Chapter IV Tandavvalakshana by B V Narayanaswami Naidu with illustrations and a glossary of dance terms, Madras]

नाट्यशेखर 900

नाट्यसर्वस्वरूपिका 1064

नाट्याध्याय 1064

नाट्यार्णव 963

नाट्यायित 565

नाथप्रभार Surya

नायमिश्र 904

नाथनुनि 205

नाथमुनिविजय 546

नाथतत्त्व 919

नायुषाचरित

by चन्द्रशेखररामालिन्

[Printed Bikaner]

नाथीक *Pady*  
 नाददीपिका [*CO I* 285]  
 नादिष्टलगोप 888  
     प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयव्याख्या 752, 126  
 नानाक 110  
 नानकचन्द्रोदय 226  
 नानार्थार्णवसंक्षेप 28  
 नान्दी 560  
 नान्यदेव 400, 646, 1002  
 नाभागचरित (d) 254-W  
 नाममाला 819  
 नायनाचार्य 122, 123, 879  
 नायिकावर्णन [*DO XXII* 86,70]  
 नायिकाजुवर्णन 922  
 नारदपञ्चरात्र 967  
 नारदशतक 967  
 नारदविद्या 968, 976, 981  
 नारद (ऋषि) 967  
 नारद 970  
     सङ्गीतमकर्त्त  
 नारदविलासकाव्य 967  
 नारायण (रङ्गनाथपुत्र) 473, 646, 658,  
     863 (a)  
 नारायण 589, 618, 667, 921  
     काव्यवृत्तराकावलि  
 नारायण (काशीरी) *Subh, Skm*  
 नारायण (श्रीवित्स) 121  
 नारायण  
     See भग्नारायण  
 नारायण (आग्निविल) 942  
 नारायण (नगेश्वरपुत्र)  
     [See *TO IV* No. 4136]  
 नारायण (रामेश्वरपुत्र) 1094  
 नारायण (गङ्गाधरपुत्र) 257, 544, 546  
     [N.B. In para 164 note thus  
 Nārāyaṇa as the first son of Gāṅgā-  
 dhara See also Article by V. A.  
 Ramaswami Sastrī in *JOR III* 68]

नारायण *Skm*  
 नारायण (केरलीय)  
     सुभगसन्देश 323  
 नारायण  
     श्रीतरजिनी (*Gpp II* 1104)  
 नारायण  
     रसविलासकाव्य [*TO III* 2808]  
 नारायण (नृसिंहमध्यपुत्र) 76  
 नारायण (लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र) 782  
 नारायण [*Race, 256*] (d)  
     चन्द्रकला (d) [*Tanq XVI* 7456]  
 नारायण 427  
     हितोपदेश  
 नारायण (कृष्णशिष्य) 27  
     रघुवंशटीका [*TO V* 6227]  
 नारायणकवि 1064  
     सङ्गीतसार  
 नारायणगुप्त (C)  
 नारायण गुरुसामिन् [*VO JI*]  
 नारायणचन्द्र  
     (काव्यस्मृतिर्थी) *SPV JI*  
 नारायणचतुर्वेद *Kcd*  
 नारायणचरित 210  
 नारायणतीर्थ 251, 301  
 नारायणदत्त *Skm*  
 नारायणदास 1063  
     ओमखायम्  
 नारायणदास 297  
     शीतगोविन्दटीका [*Tanq XVI* 7337]  
 नारायणदासभारताचार्य 2 43  
 नारायण गद्दीक्षित [*CO I* 290]  
     रामचन्द्रचरित  
 नारायण नन्दि [T, *MB. JI*]  
 नारायण (पण्डिताचार्य)  
     (विविक्षमपुत्र) 214, 217  
 नारायणपुरोहित 1100  
 नारायणबालकृष्ण 439

नारायणभट्ट 649  
 उत्तरामचरितव्याख्या  
 नारायणभट्ट (भास्करपुत्र)  
 ब्रजभक्तिविलास [CO I 291]  
 नारायणभट्ट 777  
 ज्ञानकीपरिणय (d)  
 नारायणभट्टपाद (भट्टाचार्य) 173  
 [Tradition says he lived 109 years]  
 अष्टमीचम्पू  
 सहीतकेतु  
 शशारपिलाचरित (Tav 93)  
 नारायणमन्त्रिन् p 23  
 नारायण (पराठ) (of Vaigī) [VO JI]  
 नारायणमिश्रकवित्र 1047  
 नारायणमीनू (बलूतोल) [VO JI]  
 नारायणमेनव (SO JI)  
 नारायणयति p 26  
 नारायणयतीश्वर  
 मुद्दर्शनस्त्र [Oudh XI 8]  
 नारायणराय  
 See विक्रमसेनचम्पू [Tanj No 4148]  
 नारायणलघ्वि (नारायणालघ्वि) Shm  
 नारायणविद्याविनोद 44  
 नारायणविद्वान्  
 साहृदायनक्षत्रमाला [Tanj No 4286]  
 नारायणविलास 130  
 नारायणशर्मन (K) of Pattambi  
 [SO JI]  
 नारायणशतक  
 See विज्ञापर  
 [Ed by Karunakara Kala  
 Sastri, Puri]  
 नारायणशास्त्रिन् 441  
 नारायणशास्त्रिन् T S  
 मुद्दरीविलापम् (Printed Madras)  
 नारायणशास्त्रिन् (किछे) 496  
 नारायणशास्त्रिन् (भट्टी) 727

नारायणशास्त्रिन् (राधामङ्गलम्) 254, 266,  
 734  
 नारायणशास्त्रिन् (निषुद्धर्) 610  
 नारायणशिवयोगिन् 1064  
 नारायणशा 198  
 नारायणसर्वेश  
 भारतार्थकाश [CO, I 290]  
 नारायणस्तोत्र 273  
 नारायणस्वामिन् 210, 526  
 नारायणस्वामिन् Subh  
 नारायणस्वामिन् 1064  
 नारायणाच्चरित् 782  
 नारायणाचार्य 121  
 नारायणीय 174  
 नारायणीविलास (d) [UU I 294]  
 [At page 217 the word  
 Nārāyaṇavilāsa is wrong]  
 नारायणी p 1  
 नारोजिपण्डित  
 See लक्ष्मणशतक  
 नासामौक्तिकपञ्चविंशति  
 by वेङ्कटेश (आन्ध्र) [TU IV No.  
 5742]  
 नाल Shm  
 निगमान्ताचार्यचरित्र 122  
 निगमान्ताचार्यचूर्णिका 507  
 निष्ठुदोष 70  
 निचुल 17  
 निजमजनसुखपद्धति 1060  
 निजामशाह SS  
 निल्यगोपालविद्याविनोद  
 मेघनाधवध [JSSP]  
 निल्यलीलास्थापनकाव्य [CO, I 295]  
 निल्यानन्दभारती  
 सन्धासिगीतका  
 [Tr of Vivekananda's Song o  
 Sanyasin, JSSP XIX]

- निलानन्दशास्त्रिन् (कौसल्य)  
 गङ्गष्टपदी  
 लक्ष्मीष्टपदी  
 [of Jodhpur *SO JI*]  
 निदाधनिर्जरिणी [*SMM JI*]  
 निद्रादरिक् 40  
 निरुनासिकचम्पू 175, 339  
 निरहङ्कारस्तव 919  
 निरोधपरामायण 926  
 निश्चक p 1  
 निर्जरसम्भवज्  
*See* काळीपाद तर्काचार्य  
 निरुद्धानिरुद् (d) 727  
 निर्दोषदशरथ (d) 779  
 निर्भयभीम (d) 672  
 निवाणलीलावती 106  
 निर्बेदस्त्र 919  
 निशानारथण *Sarng*  
 निष्ठुरोक्तिस्तव 919  
 निसर्गमधुर 314  
 निस्सन्देहस्तव 919  
 नीतिकल्पतरु 68  
 नीतिकल्पलता 268  
 नीतिकाव्य 256  
 नीतिचन्द्रिका 268  
 नीतिद्विषष्टिका 259  
 नीतिनवरनभाला 254 F  
 नीतिप्रदीप 268  
 नीतिमजरी 268  
*by* शम्भुराज  
*by* द्वाद्विवेद  
 नीतिमाला 268  
 नीतिरन् 268  
 नीतिरहस्य 356  
 नीतिरामायण 721  
 नीतिलता 68  
 नीतिलता 328  
 नीतिवाक्यामूल 268, 514
- नीतिविलास 268  
 नीतिगतक 268  
*by* वेङ्कटराय  
*by* श्रीनिवासार्य  
*Anonymous*  
 नीतिशास्त्रसमुच्चय 268  
 नीतिसार 268, 316  
*Anonymous*  
*by* घटकार  
 नीतिषुमावलि 268  
 नीतिसेन 514  
 नीरदेन्दुसञ्चाल  
*See* जयदेवचरित (d)  
 नील *Skm, Pady*  
 नीलकण्ठ 921  
 नीलकण्ठशर्मन् K [*UP JI*]  
 नीलकण्ठ (of कूर्जर) p 42  
 महाभारतव्याख्या  
 नीलकण्ठ *Pmt*  
 नीलकण्ठ (बालकृष्णपुत्र) 621  
 नीलकण्ठ [*Mys, Sup* 11])  
*See* नजाराजगेशस्तम्भासचम्पू  
 नीलकण्ठ  
*See* काव्योळास 154  
 नीलकण्ठ (मुक्तिस्थल) 695  
 नीलकण्ठ (केरलीय) of Kudalur 369,  
 695  
 नीलकण्ठ (रामभट्टपुत्र) 233  
 नीलकण्ठ (ईशानपुत्र) 65  
 नीलकण्ठ (जनार्दनपुत्र) 320  
 नीलकण्ठ (दीक्षित) 154, 354  
 नीलकण्ठ  
*चिमतीचरित* 154  
 नीलकण्ठचम्पू 166  
 नीलकण्ठ दीक्षित  
 शकुन्तलाव्याख्या [*TC IV No 4080*]

नीलकण्ठविजय 154  
नीलकण्ठशर्मन् (पुच्छशेरी) 248  
नीलकण्ठाचार्य 1100  
नीलपट्ट *Skm*  
नीलभट्ट *Skm*  
नीलमत्पुराण 185

[Ed by K D Vrieze, Leiden,  
with critical notes on manuscripts  
Ed by Ramlal Kunjilal, Lahore ]  
नीलमेहाचार्य (KV) [UP JT]

नीलज्ञ *Skm*  
नीलाचलनाथकचरित 254  
नीलादिचन्द्रदेव्य (d) 782  
नीलादिमहाराज 942  
नीलापरिणय (d) 706, 777

by दघवत्  
by वेच्छटेश्वर  
नीलाम्बर *Skm*  
नीलोक *Skm*

नूतनकलिदास  
विक्रमाधव [*TO* IV No 3898]

नूतनोद्यान 769  
नृगमोङ्क 175  
नृत्पार 565

नृत्रामावली 1008

नृत्तराज 135

नृत्यनिरूपण [*Tan* XVI 7240]

नृपदुङ्ग 54, 816

नृपविलासकाव्य [*CO* III, 64]  
*See* शिवराम

नृपावली 185

नृसिंह 53

भारविटीका

नृसिंह 541, 922

आज्ञेयविजय

लक्ष्मीलक्षणमालिका

नृसिंह (हारीत) 787

पातुकासहखव्याख्या [*TO* IV No 3140]

नृसिंह 323

कृष्णदूत

नृसिंहा (गङ्गाधरपुत्र) 165

नृसिंह (वेंकटकृष्णपुत्र) 764

नृसिंह (आनन्दयज्वलपुत्र) 158, 154, 195

[The word Sriśala in para 158  
is wrong. It much be Nṛsimha]

नृसिंह (मानवलि) 496

नृसिंह (शिवरामपुत्र) 938

नृसिंहचम्पू 96, 544

by भट्टकेशव

by दैवज्ञसूर्य

by सकर्णण

नृसिंहतात 544

नृसिंहदण्डक 505

नृसिंहदेवगालिन् (= नरसिंह) 816

नृसिंहभट्ट 833

नृसिंहभागवत 1098, 1099

नृसिंहभुजङ्ग 509

नृसिंहमिश्र 688

नृसिंहराज [*See* *TO* III 659, 3821]

नृसिंहविजय (d) 563, 785 877

नृसिंहविलास 211

नृसिंहशतक [*TO* IV 5107]

नृसिंहवृत्त 1101

नृसिंहशर्मन् 329

नृसिंहशास्त्रिन् (बोम्मगण्ठ) p 25

नृसिंहसूरि 206

नृसिंहसूरि (वज्जीपुरम्) 787

नृसिंहस्तान्त्र 214, 288, 311

नृसिंहाचार्य (वेदान्तदेशिकपुत्र) 526

नृहरिताण्डव

[Quoted by लक्ष्मणभट्ट]

नैत्रिभागवत्यशस्त्रिन् *Scoring*

नैत्रोपात्याय

*See* कृष्णपञ्चानन

नेपाल 373-B  
 नेपालमाहात्म्य 416  
 नेपालवशावटी 271  
 नेमिचन्द्र 235  
 नेमिदूत 320  
 नेमिनाथचरित 108, 235  
 by बादिदेवसूरि  
 by रम्प्रभ  
 नेमिनाथमाहात्म्य 229  
 नेमिनिर्बाण 235, 867  
 नेमिशाह 886  
 रसतरङ्गिणीव्याख्या [MM II 74]  
 नेहूविजय 254-F  
 नैच्यानुसन्धानस्तव 919  
 नैषधचरित  
 (=नैषध) 74, 242, 312  
 [Ed with translation and  
 extracts from Commentaries by  
 Handique, Poona Oriental Series  
 XX ]  
 नैषधपारिजात 153  
 नैषधानन्द (d) 513, 669  
 नोखेलालशर्मन् Sury Jl X  
 नौकिक (लैलिक<sup>2</sup>) Slm  
 न्यायपदानन (K N) 610  
 न्यायमज्जरी 60  
 न्यायलीलावटी 106  
 न्यायवाणीशभट्टाचार्य 143  
 न्यायावतार 276  
 न्यास 54  
 न्यासकार 815  
 न्यासतिलक 121  
 न्यासदशक 121  
 न्यासविंशति 121

## प

पजोक Slm  
 पञ्चकल्याणचम्पू 92 1  
 127

पञ्चतन्त्र 423  
 [Ed by Nrisimhadeva Sastri  
 with commentary, Madras See  
*Panchatantra and Hitopadessa* by A  
 S Panchvpages Aryal ICS ]  
 पञ्चतन्त्रमात्म्य 254, 423, 932  
 पञ्चतन्त्रकृत Slm  
 पञ्चतन्त्रसङ्घ 268  
 पञ्चदण्डछत्रगवन्ध 432  
 पञ्चदशावर्णनमालिका 542  
 पञ्चपरमेष्ठीस्तव 283  
 पञ्चप्रकाशगच्छ 506  
 पञ्चप्रशस्ति [Ulvar 934]  
 पञ्चबाणविजय (d) 787  
 See युवराज  
 पञ्चवाणविलास (d) 787  
 पञ्चमतभजनताताचार्य 529, 1212  
 पञ्चमसरसंहिता 969  
 पञ्चमेश्वर Slm  
 पञ्चरत्न 159, 273, 1050  
 पञ्चरक्षत 143  
 पञ्चरात्र 580  
 पञ्चलक्ष्मीविलास 254 F  
 पञ्चशिख 463, 566  
 पञ्चसायक 685  
 पञ्चसरविजय [Opp 6372]  
 पञ्चस्तवी 207  
 पञ्चाक्षर Slm  
 पञ्चाल्यानसग्रह 428  
 पञ्चपोशाशालिन् (पैक्कनाडु) 254-N  
 हरिश्चन्द्रविजयचम्पू  
 ताठङ्गप्रतिष्ठामहोत्सवचम्पू  
 गौरीवरणसप्तति  
 कालेयकोलाहल (d)  
 विरक्षपद्धति  
 त्रिपुरसुन्दर्यर्थक  
 प्रसञ्जवेङ्गदेशाष्टक  
 उमामहेश्वराष्टक

पञ्चापेशशास्त्रिन् *Contd.*

सारखताष्टक

श्रीसुब्रह्मण्याष्टक

परमाश्रिवपञ्चदशी

सरस्वतीद्वादशाश्लोकी

लोकमातृद्वादशाश्लोकी

दक्षिणगोकर्णेश्वराष्टक

मरतकात्लेश्वराष्टक

जगत्युरुद्धोत्तरशतक

अखण्डकाव्यष्टक

महार्थमन्त्रष्टक

आत्मनाथनक्षत्रमालिका

सुन्दरेश्वराष्टक

व्यासपूजाशहोत्सव

व्यासपूजावैत्तव

जगत्युरुनवरक्षमालिका

राजराजेश्वरीपञ्चक

लक्ष्मीनवरक्षमालिका

रामचन्द्रनवरक्षमालिका

श्रीजगदरूपीत

श्रीशङ्करगुरुपरिवसंप्रह

महामायानवरक्षमालिका

अखिलाष्टवरीनक्षत्रमालिका

अखिलाष्टवरीनक्षत्रमालिका

श्रीजगदुनाथाक्षरमालिका

श्रीवाञ्छीश्वराष्टक

श्रीभीनाश्चिद्वादशमङ्गरी

पञ्चाख्यानोद्धार 454

पञ्चानन 904

पञ्चाननतर्कतीर्थ (of Bhatpara, Bengal)

सर्वमङ्गलोदय (poem of puns)

पञ्चाननतर्कत (नन्दलालपुत्र) 739

[In para 739, read Hambara-bhatta for Allebhatta]

भारतीश्वरसहोदय [Vidy J.]

(सा ६१२ ७२७)

पञ्चेन्द्रोपाख्यान 543

पञ्चोपाख्यान 423

पञ्चाभिषेकप्रबन्ध 247

पद्मह 404

पटविठ्ठल 544

पण्डितचरित (d) [Vidy J. A satire on pandits]

पण्डितपाजक Shubh,

पण्डितप्रशस्तक Subh, Skm

पण्डितराज

See जगत्जात

अन्यापदेश [Printed Vizagapitam]

काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या [MM II 25]

पण्डितराजशतक 899

पण्डितशशिन् Shm

पण्डिताचार्य (ओगिराद्)

पार्श्वाम्युदयव्याख्या [Printed ;

Later than saka 1321]

पण्डिताराध्य 218

पण्डिताराध्य (1120-1190)

मयूरस्तव (on Siva)

श्रीमुखदर्शनगद्य

पण्डिताराध्यचरित 218, 548

[This is a Telugu poem later translated into Sanskrit by Rājalingasum]

पतञ्जलि 7

पतञ्जलिचरित 160

पतकौमदी

by वरशन्ति [MM II 75]

पदप्रशस्तिकाव्य [OO II 70]

पदपञ्चरी 558

पदपञ्चरीकाव्य

by कृष्णशर्मन् [OO. I 319]

पदाङ्कुद्गत 323

by बोलनाथ

by कल्पामार्दभास

- पदाकुप्रास 325  
 पदगुप्त 61, 515  
 पदचरित  
     by शुभवर्धन (prose) 440  
     by रविसेन [D.O., XXVII 7261 in  
         123 paṇvans]  
 पदचरित (= रामचरित) 235  
 पद्मनन्दिन् 409, 588  
 पद्मनाथभट्टाचार्य (of Sylhet, Assam)  
     [SO JI]  
 पद्मनाभ 252, 781  
 पद्मनाभ (G.V.) 200  
 पद्मनाभ (लक्ष्मीनाथशिष्य)  
     रामाखेटककाव्य [OC I 520]  
 पद्मनाभ (लक्ष्मणपुत्र) 787  
 पद्मनाभ (काम्पालिपुत्र) 726  
 पद्मनाभ (बलभद्रपुत्र)  
     वीरभद्रदेवचन्दू [PR I 101  
         Composed in 1578]  
 पद्मनाभ 466  
     दशकुमारचरित उत्तरपीठिका  
 पद्मनाभ  
     रुक्माङ्गदीयकाव्य [OC, I. 321]  
 पद्मनाभकीर्तन 1056  
 पद्मनाभखड़ 254-4  
 पद्मनाभचरित 545, 1230  
 पद्मनाभदत्त 55  
 पद्मनाभभट्ठ 251  
 पद्मनाभयति 214  
 पद्मनाभविजय 939  
 पद्मनाभशतक 178, 290  
 पद्मनाभशालिन् (of Trivandrum)  
     छात्रचर्चा (in prose MG JI)  
 पद्मनाभाचार्य (O.M.) (1863-1919) 732  
 पद्मपादचरित 254  
 पद्मपुराण २ 75  
 पद्मपुराण (जैन) 225  
 पद्मप्रभ 105  
 पद्मप्रभदेव 235  
 पद्मप्रभृतक (d) 605  
 पद्मभू 961  
 पद्ममेरु 281  
 पद्मराज 72, 522  
 पद्मराज (अवसराल) 522  
 पद्मविजयगणि p 22  
 पद्मश्री (= पद्मश्रीशान) 1072  
 पद्मसागरगणि 229  
 पद्मसुन्दर 237, 825  
 पद्माकर 922  
 पद्मानन्द 268, 544  
 पद्मानन्दकाव्य 110  
 पद्माभरण 922  
 पद्मावती Pmt, 374  
 पद्मावती (d) 784  
 पद्मावतीपरिणय 544  
 पद्मावतीपरिणय (d) 783, 877  
 पद्मिनीपरिणय 253  
 पद्मिनीपरिणय (d) 721  
 पद्मादम्बरी 168, 456  
 पद्मचूडामणि 36  
 पद्मतरङ्गिणी 372  
 पद्मपञ्चरङ्ग 352  
 पद्मपुष्पाङ्गिलि 286  
 पद्ममुक्तावली 359, 373  
     by घासीराम  
     by गोविन्दभट्ठ  
 पद्मरचना 76, 373  
 पद्मवेणी 373  
 पद्मसंग्रह 373  
     by कविभट्ठ [Vidy JI]  
 पद्मसंमुच्चय 1039  
 पद्महर्षचरित 491  
 पद्मामृततरीक्षणी 378  
     [By Hari Bhāskara, Composed in  
         sam 1730 (1673 A.D.)]  
 पद्मामृतसरोवर 373

पद्मावली 220, 373, 905  
 by मुकुन्द  
 by विद्याभूषण  
 by हरप्रेस्वामिन्  
 [Edited by S K De, Dacca University For index of verses see COJ II 277]  
 पद्मटशुरु 235  
 पाप 514  
 पापा 86  
 पम्पाक *Skm*  
 पम्पारामायण 86  
 पयूरु पटेति 833  
 पयोधिमथन (d) 786, 879  
 परकाल 205  
 परकाळस्वामिन् 323  
 परप्रणव  
 सूचिवधूवग्नकरक्षमाला [CO I 528]  
 परमहंसचरित्र 235  
 परमहंसोपास्यान  
 [Vidy Jl Tr of Hermit]  
 परमानन्द (ब्रह्मनन्दपुत्र) 305  
 परमानन्द  
 शिवभारत 158  
 परमानन्दचक्रवर्तीन् 76, 856  
 परमानन्ददास 542  
 परमानन्ददर्भभृ 782  
 परमानन्दभट्टाचार्य p 42  
 परमानन्दसेन ((= कविकर्णपूर) 523  
 परमानन्दशर्मन् 254  
 परमार्थस्थिति 121  
 परमेशस्तोवावलि 286

परमेश्वर *Skm, Kod*  
 परमेश्वरचरित 955  
 परमेश्वरचूर्णिका  
 [Aisha Library, Visagapatam]  
 परमेश्वरझा 319, 359  
 [For minor person., SU JI]  
 परमेश्वरवर्मन् 459  
 परमेश्वरशर्मन् (*T.O.*) (*Manj. JI*)  
 परमेश्वरस्तोत्रावलि 281  
 परमेश्वराचार्य *Kcd*  
 पाशुराम 904  
 परशुराम *Skm*  
 परशुराम 542  
 कृष्णचन्द्रपू  
 परशुरामचरित्र 358, 501  
 परशुरामशर्मन् 50  
 पराङ्गशरामानुज 210  
 पराङ्गुज्ज्वास्वामिन् 210  
 पराशरभट्ट 207  
 [In another book his dates are given as sāka 1020-1371 (1097-1148 AD) and year of birth Isvara]  
 पराशरभट 207  
 लक्ष्मीस्त्यंवर (d)  
 पराशरविजय 207  
 परिभूतभट *Subh*  
 परिमळ *Skm*  
 परिभळकाळिदास 61, 515  
 परिहासाचार्य 50  
 परीक्षित कुञ्जुकिर्तिविराज् 618, 621  
 परिवर्तक 326

\* This play is referred to by Vedānta Desika in his *Rahasyavatrasāra* when he quotes the Nāndī

अनन्पाधीनकल्पाणम्न्यमाहलकारकम् । अग्निदानमद्वन्द्वं द्वन्द्वं बन्दमहे महे ।

[See Telugu Edn p 747] and also in *Sarasāra* p 196

“स्वयं कस्तुकूर्वन्नसमेतसकल्पात्सरसिजप्रकारौ पद्मायास्तत्र च चरणौ नद्यरणश्चन् इति दद्यन्तीकल्पाणे”

परिवाजक 69  
 पर्पटि (राजपुत्र) *Subh*  
 पर्णालपर्वतग्रहाख्यान 158  
 पर्यायोक्तिनिष्ठन्द 160  
 पलाण्डुमण्डन 786  
 पलाण्डुराजशतक [*SC II*] 245  
 पलाण्डुशतक 200, 303, 323  
 by पद्मनाभ  
 by वादिचन्द्र  
 by धोयी  
 पत्रनपञ्चाशिका 68  
 पञ्चपति  
 चाढुरकमाला [*TC VI* 7221]  
 पञ्चपतिधर *Slm*  
 पञ्चपतिहर *Slm*  
 पहाड़ी 373-A  
 पान्चालीचरित 733  
 पान्चालीपरिणय (d) 777  
 पान्चालीरक्षण 737  
 पान्चालीस्थयवर 175, 544  
 पान्चालीस्थयवरकथा  
 [*TC VI* 7292]  
 पाटनकर  
 वीरधर्मदर्पण (d)  
 पाणिनि 291, 534, 796  
 पाणिग्रहण 488  
 पाटूचार्य 252  
 पाणिनिसूखोदाहरण 46  
 पाणिसरमसंवाद 549  
 पाण्डा (D V) 618  
 पाण्डवचरित  
 by देवप्रभसूरि p 44, 109  
 [Printed Bombay]  
 by लक्ष्मीदत्त 250  
 Anonymous 171  
 पाण्डवदिविजय 407  
 पाण्डवपुराण 280

by शुभचन्द्र  
 by वादिचन्द्र p 44  
 पाण्डवविजय (d) 780  
 पाण्डवविजय  
 by जयरणमञ्जदेव 684  
 by हेमचन्द्रराय 250, 358  
 पाण्डवानन्द (d) 780, 955  
 पाण्डवाभ्युदय (d) 772  
 पाण्डवाभ्युदय  
 by शिवसूर्य 137  
 Anonymous 550  
 पाण्डुरङ्ग 442  
 पाताळविजय 5  
 पातित्रत्य 488  
 पादताङ्गितक (d) 593, 955  
 पादुक (पातुक <sup>०</sup>) *Slm*  
 पादुकापट्टाभिषेक (d) 177, 939  
 पादुकासहस्र 121  
 पादुकासहस्र अवतारकथासंग्रह 493  
 पानकनरसिद्धात्मोत्तम 769  
 पान्धवूत 323  
 पापयज्ञभूरि 293  
 पापयराध्य 544  
 पापाक *Slm*  
 पाम्पक (पाम्पाक, पम्पाक) *Slm*  
 पायीक *Slm*  
 पारिजातनाटक (d) 146  
 See कुमारताताचार्य  
 पारिजातमङ्गरी (d) 678  
 पारिजातलता 563  
 पारिजातहरण (d) 306, 682  
 by गोपलदास 243, 1095  
 by कविचन्द्रोदय  
 by दिवाकर 237  
 पारिजातपद्मरणचम्पू 692  
 पारिजातपहरणकाव्य 306  
 by कविराज 87  
 by नारायण 214

by रघुनाथ 146  
 by उमापति 306  
**पारिपाश्वक** 560  
**पार्थकश्य** 171  
**पार्थपराक्रम** (d) 676  
**पार्थलीला** 52  
**पार्थविजय** 661, 672  
**पार्थसारथि (दोषिवर्ल)** 729  
**पार्थाश्वमध** 739  
**पार्वतीखड्क** 510  
**पार्वतीपरिणय** (d)  
 by शङ्करलाल 738  
 by वामनभट्टबाण 128, 457  
**पार्वतीपरिणय**  
 by रामेश्वर 544  
 by ईश्वरसुमति 156, 253  
**पार्वतीश्विमणीय** 89  
**पार्वतीयवंशावलि** 181  
**पार्वतास्त्रोत** 723  
**पार्वतीस्वयवर** 175  
**पार्वतीस्वयवर** (d) 777  
**पाश्चरित्र** 235  
**पाश्चदेव** 1010  
**पार्श्वनाथकाव्य** 231  
**पार्श्वनाथचरित** 839  
 by बादिराजसूरि 233  
 by भावदेव 235  
 by मणिक्यचन्द्र 103  
**पार्श्वनाथस्त्र** 105, 229  
**पार्श्वस्त्रवन** 235  
**पार्श्वाभ्युदय** 57, 320  
**पाचित** *Skm*  
**पाषण्डविड्वन** 786  
**पाषलिस** 235  
**पिकहू** 323  
 by आशुतोषसेनगुप्त [SB JI]  
**पिकनिकर** *Skm*  
**पिकसन्देश** 423

by रङ्गनाथाचार्य (रायदुर्गे)  
 by नरसिंहाचार्य (कोच्च)  
**पिङ्गलठन्दस्**  
 [Commentary by विद्यानन्दमिश्र,  
 MM II 15]  
**पितामह** 551-A  
**पित्तमचतुबद** *Skum*  
**पित्रवेङ्कटसूरि** 544  
**पिलैलोकाचार्य** 209  
 [He lived for 121 years in 1205-  
 1326. The date given in para 209  
 appears to be incorrect]  
**पीयाक** *Skm*  
**पीताबर (भट्टशा (पा) लीयपीताबर)** *Skm*  
**पीताबर (व्याख्याता)** 297, 659, 805  
**पुजराज** 892  
 काव्यलङ्कारशितुप्रबोध [UU I 103]  
**पुण्डरीक** *Skm*  
**पुण्डरीक** *Skm* 825  
 नाटकलक्षण (UU I 284)  
**पुण्डरीकविठ्ठल** 1028  
**पुण्डरीकाक्ष** 44  
**पुण्ड्रक** *Skub*  
**पुण्ड्रक (रत्नमालीय)** *Skm*  
**पुण्य** *Skub*  
**पुण्यकोटि** 251  
**पुण्यश्लोकमञ्जरी**  
 by सर्वज्ञसदाशिवबोध  
 (Printed Madras. He was the  
 54th Acarya of Kowakotapitha in  
 1524-1539 A.D.)  
**पुण्यसारकथानक** 235  
**पुमर्थब्रमनिवृत्तिस्त्र** 919  
**पुंसोक** *Skm*  
**पुरजनवरित** 709  
**पुरदेवचम्पू** 546  
**पुरन्दर** 373  
**पुरन्दरदास** 217

पुराण pp 72-77  
 पुराणदृष्टान्तशतक  
*See धर्मदेव*  
 पुराणसर्वस्व p 77  
 पुराणसूची p 77  
 पुरुचरित 668  
 पुरुषाजंशकम [Tanj VII 3221]  
 पुरुषकार 291  
 पुरुषपरीक्षा 439, 441  
 by विद्यापति  
 by लक्ष्मणशिव  
 पुरुषोत्तम Skm  
 पुरुषोत्तम (व्यस्थाता) 44, 666  
 पुरुषोत्तम  
 विष्णुभक्तिकल्पता 286  
 पुरुषोत्तम  
 सूक्ष्मिकावलि 373  
 पुरुषोत्तम (दीक्षित)  
 रेखतीहालाङ्क (d) 781  
 [He was son of Govinda of  
 Bhāradvagagotra of Sunkesala  
 village Tanj VIII 3504]  
 पुरुषोत्तमकविरल 1047  
 पुरुषोत्तमचम्पू 544  
 पुरुषोत्तममतिपाठिन् Surmg  
 पुरुषोत्तमदेव Skm, 400  
 पुरुषोत्तमदेव 294  
 पुरुषोत्तममिश्र 252  
 पुरुषोत्तमसूची 921, 934  
 पुरुषोमस्तव 919  
 पुरुसेन Skm  
 पुरोक Skm  
 पुलकेशिन् 20  
 पुलस्त्य 792  
 पुलस्त्यरामायण 373-B  
 पुलिन Subh  
 पुञ्जराघव (d)  
 पुञ्जराङ्क Pady

पुष्टिक Surmg  
 पुष्पदन्त 286  
 पुष्पदूषितक (d) 606, 672, 783  
 पुष्पपञ्च 254  
 पुष्पबाणविलास 309  
 पुष्पभूषितक (d) 606, 880, 955  
 पुष्पमाला 880  
 पुष्पमाला  
 by रुद्रधर  
 [MM II 80, on flowers useful  
 for deities]  
 पुष्पनीराजालित्तोत्र 273  
 पुष्पाकरदेव Surmg  
 पुष्पमिश्र 15  
 पूज्यपाददेवानन्द 252  
 पूर्णाटक 565  
 पूर्णकलश 106  
 पूर्णचन्द्रदे (De) [of Calcutta ]  
 स्तवनसमुद्र  
 उद्घटसगर  
 (a composition like Bhoja-  
 caritra) [SB 7]  
 पूर्णपुरुषार्थचन्द्रोदय (d) 782  
 पूर्णमद् 104, 424  
 पूर्णसरस्ती 318, 323, 646, 649, 666  
 पूर्णनन्दब्रह्मचारी Kad  
 पूर्वरङ्ग 560  
 पृथ्वीचन्द्रचरित 235  
 by शान्तिसूरि  
 by सत्यराजगणि  
 by जयसागर  
 पृथ्वीघर 600  
 पृथ्वीधरमद् Surmg, Subh  
 पृथ्वीधराचार्य [CC I 345]  
 सुवनेश्वरस्तोत्र  
 लघुसमशतीत्तोत्र  
 सरसतीत्तोत्र  
 पृथ्वीमण्डलपौठिकान्व्य [Rao, 234]

पृथ्वीराजकीवि 192  
 पृथ्वीराजचौहानचरित्र  
 [Printed Bombay]  
 पृथ्वीराजविजय 188, 191, 192, 872  
 पृथ्वीसेन 32  
 पेहुंच 53, 55, 76, 378, 927  
 पेयलाचि 477  
 पेरसूरि 323, 719  
 पोतयार्थ 404  
 पौज्डरीकरमेश्वर 922  
 पौलस्त्यराधवीर्य 252  
 प्रकरण 561, 563  
 प्रकरणिका 562  
 प्रकरणि 563  
 प्रकाशदत्त *Slubh*  
 प्रकाशवर्ष 53, 922  
 प्रकाशवर्ष *Slubh*  
 प्रकाशवर्ष  
 रसार्णव [IHQ V 173, 771]  
 प्रकाशनन्दशर्मन्  
 शारदचन्द्र (Novel MG Jl.)  
 प्रचण्डगरुड (d) 785  
 प्रचण्डपाण्डव (d) 657  
 प्रचण्डभैरव (d) 785  
 प्रचण्डभाष्यक *Slbm*, *Subh*  
 प्रचलसिद्ध *Slm*  
 प्रजापति *Slm*  
 प्रजापतिचरित 254  
 प्रचण्डराहूद्य (d) 100  
 प्रचलदास *Slm*  
 प्रजाशान्ति (भदन्त) *Subh*  
 प्रजाकरमिश्र 329  
 प्रणयिमाध्व 130, 542  
 प्रतापपद्म 1039  
 प्रतापराधव (d) 779  
 प्रतापरुद्र I 218  
 प्रतापहरणजपति 294, 132  
 प्रतापस्त्रदेव

= (सुददेव) (Warangal) 126, 481,  
 681, 926  
 प्रतापरुद्यशोभूषण 113, 339, 927  
 प्रतापविजय 738  
 प्रतापवा 198  
 प्रतापसिंग 157  
 प्रतापसिंह 293  
 प्रताहसिंहचरित्र  
 by हसनकर  
 (Printed Bombay)  
 प्रतापसिंहदेव (of Jampuri) 1055  
 प्रतापसिंहराज  
 राज्यलाभस्तोत्र  
 रामविज्ञपनास्तोत्र  
 [Tawj, No 21326, 21429]  
 प्रतिक्रिया 745  
 प्रतिज्ञाभार्गव (d) 500  
 प्रतिज्ञायैगन्धरायण (d) 575  
 [See *Jmij* XXIII, 235]  
 प्रतिनन्द *Slm*  
 प्रतिनैषध 81  
 प्रतिभा [*Sanklit Jl Dacca*]  
 प्रतिभाचाणकथ (d) 662  
 प्रतिमानाटक (d) 577  
 प्रतिमानिरुद्ध (d) 666, 955  
 प्रतिरघुवश 154, 779  
 प्रतिराजसूय (d) 746  
 प्रतिवादि भयङ्कर 122  
 प्रतीहरेन्दुराज 806, 826  
 प्रत्येकबुद्धचरित 50, 107  
 प्रदीपसिंह  
 See चित्रचूडामणि  
 प्रदुम्न 660  
 प्रदुम्न *Slm*, *Subh*  
 [PR II 59]  
 प्रदुम्नचरित 229  
 by सोमक्षीर्ति

प्रधुम्नचरित *contd*  
 by महासेनाचर्य 235  
 by यशोधर 235  
 by शुभाचन्द्र 230  
 by रत्नचन्द्र (रत्नसिंह<sup>2</sup>) 229  
 प्रधुम्नविजय (d) 538, 680, 707  
 प्रधुम्नसूरि 433  
 प्रधुम्नानन्द (d) 529  
 प्रधुम्नाभ्युदय 680  
 प्रधुम्नोत्तरचरित 153  
 प्रधोतनभद्राचर्य 887  
 प्रधानिवेष्टिमूपति 785  
 प्रपञ्चदर्पण 303, 410  
 प्रपञ्चविभीषण (d) 779  
 प्रपञ्चसपिण्डीकरणनिरास (d) 764  
 प्रपञ्चामृत 205  
 प्रबन्ध 1006, 1047  
 प्रबन्धकोश 111, 201, 483  
 प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि 103, 111, 115, 119,  
     433  
 प्रबन्धदीपिका 908  
 प्रबलमुकुन्दसूरि p 24  
 प्रबुद्धरौद्रिण य (d) 679  
 प्रबोधचन्द्रैदय (d) 126, 143, 166, 750  
 Com by गोविन्दामृतभगवान् TSS  
 प्रभज्ञन 235  
 प्रभाकर 920  
 अलङ्कारहस्य  
 प्रभाकर (भूष्मरपुत्र) 298, 473  
 प्रभाकर (सुकुमर) 169, 251  
 प्रभाकर (माधवभट्टुच) 28, 473, 902  
 [OO I. 353] (Born 1564)  
 रसप्रदीप  
 लघुसप्तशतिकास्त्र  
 एकावलीप्रकाश  
 प्रभाकर (लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र) 529  
     128

प्रभाकरदत्त *Slok*  
 प्रभाकरदेव 400  
 प्रभाकरनन्दन *Subh*  
 प्रभाकरभट्ट *Slok, Subh*  
 प्रभाकरमिश्र *Skm*  
 प्रभाकरमिश्र 329  
 प्रभाकर शीनिवास 781  
 प्रभाचन्द्र 235, 275, 483  
 प्रभावकवरित 235  
     by प्रभाचन्द्र  
     by चन्द्रप्रभ  
 प्रभावत (d) 782  
 प्रभावतिदेवी (*MG JI*)  
 प्रभवतीपरिणय (d) 263, 880  
 प्रभवतीप्रधुम्न (d) 781  
 प्रभावली (d)  
     by हरिजीवनमिश्र  
       (Nepal Library)  
 प्रभावलभ 1073  
 प्रमथचरित 441, 500  
 प्रमथनाथतर्कभूषण 254-X  
 प्रभु *Pady*  
 प्रभुदेवी 374  
 प्रमाणादर्श (d) 767  
 [Hall's preface to *Das'arapa*]  
 । मोदलही 314  
 प्रयोगाभ्युदय (d) 783  
 प्रवर्सेन 32  
 प्रशस्ति *Slok, Subh*  
 प्रशस्तावली  
     by रत्नपाणि [*MM* II, 88]  
 प्रशस्तिप्रकाशिका  
     by बालकृष्ण (लिपाठि) [*MM* II. 91]  
 प्रशस्तिपञ्चरी [*MM* II 92]  
 प्रशस्तिरत्नावलि 881  
 प्रशस्तिमाला [*MM* II, 93]  
 प्रशस्तानाटक 565

प्रसङ्गरलावळि 404  
 प्रसङ्गलीलार्णव 166  
 प्रसाहिका (d) 786  
 प्रसञ्चवण्डिका (d) [OO I 359]  
 प्रसञ्चपार्थ (d) 727  
 प्रसञ्चराघव (d) 675, 896  
 प्रसञ्चरामायण 252  
 प्रसञ्चलोपामुद्र (d) 733  
 प्रसादस्त्र 919  
 प्रसेनजित् 56  
 प्रस्तार 1096  
 प्रस्तारचिन्तामणि 1097  
 प्रस्तारतङ्ग 958  
 प्रस्तारपत्तन 1097  
 प्रस्त रविचार 1097  
 प्रस्तारशोखर 1097  
 प्रस्तावचिन्तामणि 373-A  
 प्रस्तावतरहिणी 373  
 प्रस्त बना 560, 563  
 प्रस्तावमुक्तावळि 373  
 प्रस्तावरलाकर 371, 373, 893  
 प्रस्तावसार 373  
 प्रस्तावसारसंप्रह 373  
 प्रहाद *Snab*  
 प्रहादचम्पू 737  
 प्रहादचरित 254  
 प्रहादन 116, 676  
 प्रहादविजय 254  
 प्रहादशर्मन् (कूटासकर) of Benares  
     [MG JI]  
 प्राङ्गतसंस्कृतकाव्य 343  
 प्राङ्गतार्च्छ्व 610, 618, 632, 646  
 प्रचिनशङ्करविजय 271  
     by मूकद्वाष्टु (mentioned by Atma-  
       bodha)  
 प्रचेतायन 792  
 प्राच्मूतनाश *Slok*  
 प्राचसामन्त (d) 727

प्राज्यभट्ट 373-D  
 प्राणजीवनशास्त्रिन् (of Kasi) [Sury JI]  
 प्रागाभरण 311  
 प्रदेशगृपचरित्र 50  
 प्राप्तिग्रय 919  
 प्राबोधकीस्त्र 919  
 प्रासभारत 156, 338  
 प्रासस्त्र 160  
 प्रियङ्करकथा 254  
 प्रियदर्शिका (d) 612  
 प्रियदास 1000  
 प्रियमुख्य *Subh*  
 प्रियवद *Skm*  
 प्रियवदा 375  
 प्रियरत्नमिष्ठु  
     प्रिलेन्दप्रभ (of Colombo) (MU JI)  
 प्रियमुख *Subh*  
 प्रियाक *Skm*  
 प्रियातिथि 798  
 प्रियाविरह 401  
 प्रीतिकर् 1100  
 प्रेक्षण 563  
 प्रेमचन्द्रतर्कवाणीश 76, 84, 618, 816, 840  
 प्रेमधर 330  
 प्रेमराज 305  
 प्रेममोहनीरणधीर (d)  
     by विजयानन्दन  
     [Printed SC JI]  
 प्रेमराजीय 323  
 प्रेमामृत 219, 225, 251  
 प्रेमन्दुसागर 251  
 प्रेमोक्त्युदय 251  
 प्रोलवैम 888  
 प्रौढप्रतापदेवराय 76, 126, 135  
 प्रौढप्रियाप्राप्नवीत्पल 514  
 प्रौढपरन्तप (d) 727  
 सुषुप्तामुद्र (d) 727

## क

फेगिरे 1100  
फटे साह 693, 700  
फल्गुनशतक [Flower 937]  
फल्गुन 121  
फुलसक (d) 842

## व

वक्तव्य 543  
वदुकलाथर्शमूल 254-V  
वडवा प्रातिथेयी 373 A  
वदरीनाथ 1099  
वद्रीनाथ उपाध्याय (मैथिल) *Kud*  
वधिकवि *Nimay*  
वद्वाडव (d) 727  
बनर्जी शस 782  
बन्ध 341 [SC II]  
बन्धकम्प [('') [ 367]  
बन्धकल्प *Nim*  
बन्धसेन *Nim*  
बन्धु *Nibh*  
बन्धुमती 160  
बञ्चुवाइनचम्पू 180  
बलदेव 863-A  
बलदेव *Nim*  
बलदेव (केशवपुरा)  
श्वारहार [(''. I. 661]  
बलदेव बिद्याभूषण 814, 905  
बलमद्द *Nim*, *Sarniq*  
बलभद्रचरित्र 140, 1098  
[Printed Bombay]  
बलभद्रविजय 1047  
बलभद्रशर्मन् (of Multan) [SB II]  
बलरामशर्मन् (of Dacca) [SC II]

बलवन्त कमलाकर (of Ujjain) [SC II]  
बलिबन्ध (d) 554  
बलाल (बलभ) 100, 515  
बलालसेन 274  
बसव 211  
बसवगत 306  
बसवप्लायक (केलदि) 161, 373  
बसवमूपाल [1697 (1702 ?)-1714]  
(—बसवप्लायक of Keladi) 161,  
373  
शिवतत्वरकार) 197  
लुभाषितसु द्रुम 373  
हरिमाहात्म्यदर्पण (TC I 50)  
बसवराजेन्द्र 161  
बसदेशविजय 218  
बसवेश्वर 634  
बस शोदाहरण 548  
बद्धदूरवा 694  
बहुल्लालिश (d) 727  
बहुरूपमिन  
दशरथीका (TSS Trivandrum)  
बाण 279, 471, 477, 818, 982  
बाणपुरीश 254  
बाणविजय 254  
बाणविजयकाव्य  
See शिवरामचक्रवत्तिन् 544  
बाणयुद्धम्पू 180, 715  
बाणाष्टुरविजय 544  
by मुकेशर  
बाणाष्टुरविजय (d)  
by बामनभद्रबाण [TC VI 7181]  
बाणाष्टुरविजयचम्पू  
by पद्मराज 522 (DU XXI 8244)

\* [Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Subandhu and Bana, Who is earlier? IHQ (1929) 699 Sivaramamurti, Printing and allied arts as revealed in Bana's works, JOR. VI 895, VII 89]

बाणेश्वर (रामदेवपुल) 546, 254  
 चित्रकम्पू (1744)  
 बादरायण p 31  
 बालकवि 695, 767, 923  
 बालकात्तिकास 945  
 बालकाव्य (Opp 6022)  
 बालकृष्ण 920  
   अलङ्कारसार  
 बालकृष्ण 252  
   रामकाव्य 79  
 बालकृष्ण (बेहारकल्पनाथपुत्र) 455  
   कादम्बरीटीका  
 बालकृष्णकाव्य [OC I 370]  
 बालकृष्णाचम्पू 542  
 बालकृष्णज्योतिर्वित् Kod  
 बालकृष्णाचिगठिन् [MM II 91]  
 बालकृष्ण (पायगुण्ड) 330  
 बालकृष्णभट्ट (आश्रेय)  
   विद्वान्पूषणकाव्य [OC I 370 com-  
 posed in 1600]  
 बालकृष्णभृशाज्जिन् (of Guptakasi)  
   बद्रीनाथाष्टक &c, [Sury JI]  
 बालकृष्णज्ञानिन् of Bombay [SO JI]  
 बालोविद् 618  
 बालचरित (d) 578, 733, 880  
   Anonymous  
   by भास  
 बालचंद्रसूरि 113, 115  
 बालचन्द्रिका (d) 727  
 बालप्राहृणिक (d) 727  
 बालचंद्र  
   ललितरामचरित [Vidy JI]  
 बालचंद्रशाज्जिन् (१) (of Ramagada  
   Sikara State) [SB JI]  
 बालबोधमित्र (मैथिल) [Sury JI]  
 बालभागवत् 257, 521, 932  
   by पद्मराज  
   by धर्मसुधी

बालभारत 110, 126, 657  
 बालमातीष्वद्विजय (d) 712  
 बालयश्वर  
   हकिमणीकल्याणव्याख्या [TC IV  
 5968]  
 बाल्राघवीय 252  
 बालरम्भरत 939, 1044  
 बालरामसायन 252  
 बालरामवर्मन् 1044  
 बालरामवर्मयशोभूषण 939  
 बालरामायण (d) 181, 246, 656  
   by राजशेखर  
 बालरामायण 1047  
 बालरूप (d)  
   by पुरुषोत्तम  
   [Vidy JI XXV]  
 बालसूरि (अहंकि) 777  
 बालखामिदीक्षित 1052  
 बालहरिवश 251  
 बालाजिभट् 373-A, SS, Pady  
 बालम्बा 384  
 बालिकार्बंचितक (d) 672, 778  
 बालिद्वीपप्रन्थ 511, 640  
 बाहूट Skm  
 बाहोक Skm  
 बिन्दुच्युत 344 5  
 बिशुमती (d) 563, 881  
 बिन्दुमाघव  
   कम्पनीप्रतापमण्डन (d)  
   [Printed Poona]  
 बिन्दुशर्मन् Skm  
 बिन्दुसार 565  
 बिन्दुलक्ष्मा 1075  
 बिम्बोक Skm  
 बिरुदावली 196  
   Anonymous  
   by कल्याण  
   by चन्द्रदत्तका

by रुद्रेव [MM II 153-158]  
 विरुद्धमणिमाला  
 विल्वपत्र 90  
 वालहृष्णक्रीडाकाव्य [CC I 370]  
 विलहण 62  
 विलहणचरित 64  
 विलहणस्त्र 64  
 विलहणीय 727  
 वीजक *Slm, Subh, Scwing*  
 वीजाकर *Swing*  
 वुधभूषण  
 by शम्भाजि (शिगाजिपुत्र) 157  
 [Ed Govt Orient Series, Poona  
 by H D Velankur See JBRAS  
 (1925) 253 Thus is Śūmbhuṇ, son  
 of Śivaji, the great Thus is an  
 anthology ]  
 वुधमानसोळास 943  
 वुधरजनी 143  
 वुधखामिन् 418  
 वुद्दक *Subh*  
 वुद्धवाप 36  
 [B M Barma, Two Buddhaghosas,  
 Indian Culture, I 294]  
 वुद्धचरित 34, 231  
 [Ed, with Int by E II Jhon-  
 stone, Lahore. Mukumar Sen on  
 Buddhacarita, IHQ (1926) 849]  
 वुद्धनिर्णाट्टोत्र 818  
 वुद्धवर्मन् 459  
 वुद्धिसन्देश 352  
 वुर्द्धनस्खान् 1028  
 वृटीशविजय  
 by रामनाथमिश्र [MM II. 98]  
 वृन्दावन 843  
 वृन्दावनकाव्य 309, 835, 666  
 वृन्दावनदास 251, 293  
 वृन्दावनमजारी 267

वृन्दावनशुल्क 254  
 वृन्दावनस्तुति 292  
 वृहच्छङ्करविजय 271  
 by वित्सुख [mentioned by Aśma  
 bodha]  
 वृहज्ञातक p 58  
 वृहत्कथा 413  
 वृहत्कथ मजारी 68, 128  
 वृहत्कथा लोकसङ्कृत 418  
 वृहसंहिता p 57  
 वृहपाण्डवपुराण p 43  
 वृहसुभद्रक 786  
 वृह स्ते त्रराकर 259  
 वृहदीश्वरमाहात्म्य 443  
 वृहेवत p 1  
 वृहेशी 959  
 वृहस्पति 28, 55  
 वृहस्पतिमिश्र 27  
 वेल्वाल्कर (SK) 816  
 वोधक *Subh*  
 वोधायन 589  
 वोधिसत्त्व *Subh*  
 वोपदेव 251, 887  
 वोप्मराज 941  
 वौद्धसङ्गति 818  
 ब्रह्मकामराज 228  
 ब्रह्मतिरि Ed  
 ब्रह्मगुप्त 19  
 ब्रह्मण्यतर्त्तविजय 216  
 ब्रह्मदत्त 252 [TO VI. 7099]  
 ब्रह्मनन्दन् 798  
 ब्रह्मनाग *Slm*  
 ब्रह्मपञ्चित 541  
 ब्रह्मभृ  
 See रमणीयराघव  
 ब्रह्मभृ (पालङ्क) 298  
 ब्रह्मभरत 961  
 ब्रह्मयशस्त्रामिन् *Subh*

ब्रह्मराम्यण 378-B  
 ब्रह्मविद्या 727  
 ब्रह्मविद्याच्चरिन् 441, 501, p 28  
 ब्रह्मसम पितृत्व 919  
 ब्रह्महरि *Shm*  
 ब्रह्मेन्द्रसस्त्वती *Kod*  
 [OC I 389, II 88]  
 भ  
 भक्तमाला 294  
 भक्तामरकथा 285  
 भक्तामरत्त्व 143  
 भक्तामरत्त्वोत्र 143, 283  
 भक्तिदूत 323  
 भक्तिभागवत 767 [TO VI 7033]  
 भक्तिभजारी 178  
 भक्तिभजाकर 2 0  
 भक्तिरसराद 931  
 भक्तिरसामृतसिंहु 222, 224, 931  
 भक्तिरसायन  
     *See* हरिवाला  
 भक्तिविजय (d) 781  
 भक्तिलता  
     by महीधर [MM II 100]  
 भक्तिवैभव (d) 176  
 भक्तिवैभवदीपिका 278  
 भक्तिवैभवप्रकाश 205  
 भक्तिसमशारी [Opp 6773]  
 भक्तिसंवर्धनशतक  
     by ब्रह्मदत्त [TO VI 7094]  
 भक्तिसार 205  
 भक्तिसारोदय 650  
 भक्त्यानन्दप्रकाश 917  
 भगवत्तिलाल (कौसल्य)  
     [of Jodhpur; SB JI]  
 भगवत्यादचरित 166  
 भगवत्यादसप्तति 521  
 भगवद्भुक 589, 879  
 भगवद्वास 297

भगवद्धथानयोग 919  
 भगवद्धथानसोपान 121, 254  
 भगवद्विग्रहध्यान 919  
 भगवद्विविद *Shm*  
 भगवद्घट 886  
 भगवन्त 105, 541  
 भग्नाशोक (d) 727  
 भग्नीरथ *Shm*  
 भग्नीरथ मिश्र (हर्षदेवपुत्र) 27, 55, 76,  
     318, 816 [OC I 394]  
 भग्नीरथस्त *Kva*, *Shm*  
 भंगुर *Shm*  
 भट्टवडेकर (K. N.) 373  
 भट्ट *Shm*  
 भद्रकुमार 38  
 भद्रकेशव (अनन्तपुत्र) 5-14  
 भद्रकेशव (गलगाल)  
     मानिनी (Novel)  
     [VO JI]  
 भद्रगोपाल 956  
 भद्रगोविदजित 373  
 भद्रभूक्तिक (भद्रुनितक) *Shm*  
 भद्रांत 837  
 भद्रनरसिंह 841  
 भद्रनाथ (पर्खस्तु) (of Vizagapatam)  
     [MB JI]  
 भद्रनाथक 807, 827, 955  
 भद्रनारायण *Sudhi*  
 भद्रनारायण 462, 818  
     [Essay in Sanskrit on Bengal  
     Brahmins. *Vidy JI. XXVII*]  
 भद्रभासीय (d) 727  
 भद्रमङ 264  
 भद्रयन्त्र 955, 956  
 भद्रयशसु *Subh*, *Sarmg*  
 भद्रराजीय 727  
 भद्रलङ्घन  
     [Quoted in Audit para 69]

भृत्यार 269  
 भृत्यातिकार *Subh*  
 भृत्याद्विदि 956  
 भृत्याद्विदि *Sarmy, Subh*  
 भृत्यालीय पीताम्बर *Shm*  
 भृत्याकृष्ण 373  
 भृत्यादत्त *Subh*  
 भृत्यानिवास *Slm*  
 भृत्युकुमार 31  
 भृत्युमनस् 956  
 भृत्याचार्य 314  
 भृत्यानन्दक 183  
 भृत्यारहरिचन्द्र 47  
 भृत्यार्क 42  
 भृदि 42, 261, 815  
 भृदिकाव्य 43  
 भृदन्दुराज 839  
 भृद्गिरिदीक्षित [CO I. 395]  
 भृदोत्पत्ति p. 58  
 भृष्टक *Subh*  
 भृदन्तभास्कर *Subh*  
 भृदन्तरविगुप्त *Surny Shm Subh*  
     *See* विगुप्त 235  
 भृदन्तसूर *Subh*  
 भृदकल्पावदान 446  
 भृदकृति 477  
 भृदवाहुचरेत्र 235  
 भृद्वचलचम्पू 520, 545  
 भृद्वचलनक्षत्रमाला 545  
 भृद्वचलपुरवर्णन 545  
 भृद्वादिरामशालिन 539  
 भृद्वादिरामायण 262  
 भृद्वाशुविंशज्य 733  
 भृद्वहरणस्तवन 283  
 भृद्वाभृ *Kid.* 373-A  
 भृटकद्वालिंशिका 434  
 भृत 561, 562  
 भृत 945

भृतचरित 32, 526  
 भृतटीका 947  
 भृतनाथ्यशाखा 991  
 भृतनामदीपकलादशाखा 975  
 भृतमळिक 27, 28, 44, 55, 316, 885  
 भृतसप्रकाशन 945  
 भृतराज 668  
 भृतरामायण 373  
 भृतशाखा 1064  
 भृतसङ्ग्रह 1012  
 भृतसार 27  
 भृतसारसङ्ग्रह 1040  
 भृतसुधा 146  
     [In para 146 भृतसुधा is an error.]  
 भृतसेन 28, 44, 53, 55, 318, 329  
 भृताम्बुद्ध्य 719  
 भृतार्णव 963  
 भृतार्थचन्द्रिका 963  
 भृत्येष्ठ 37  
 भृत्यसारखत *Subh*  
 भृत्यहरि 42, 119, 260, 261  
 भृत्यहरिनिवेद 263  
     [Analysed by Gopinath in his Niti-Vairagya Satakas, Bombay]  
 भृत्यहरिसुभापित 262  
 भृत्यु *Slm Sarny*  
 भृलट 900  
     *See* वीरभृलट  
 भृलट 264  
 भृलट 264 (of Kāno)

भृलटशतक 264  
 भृवप्रामीणत्रादोक्त *Slm*  
 भृददत्त 55, 76  
 भृदेव 513  
 भृदेवी 374  
 भृवनाथमिश्र 666  
 भृवनुतचूड 784

- भवभीत *Skm*  
 भवभूति 641  
 [L Kretzschmar, *Bhavabhuvi the poet of Dharma* in German, Halle Salle J]  
 भवरजनतर्कतीर्थ *Spr*  
 भवानन्द 314  
 भवानन्द *Skm*  
 भवानीनन्दन *Subh*  
 भवानीभुजङ्ग 509  
 भवानीमानसस्तोत्र 278  
 भवानीश्वर 697, 758  
 भव्य *Skm*  
 भाग्यत  
 [See S N Tadpatrika, *The Krishna Problem*, Dhurendra Nath Pal, *Sre Krishna*]  
 भागवतकथा  
 by केशवर्मन् [10, 1234]  
 भागवतकृष्ण 790  
 भागवतकृष्णगर्भन् 200, 526, 682  
 भागवतचम्पू 92, 139, 521, 523, 524, 526, 542, 913  
 by अशिनवकालिदास  
 by गोपालशास्त्रिन्  
 by सोमशेखर  
 by राजनाथ  
 by चिदम्बर  
 by अनन्तभट्ट  
 by रामचन्द्र  
 by शिव  
 by राजशश्वर (कोल्हरि)  
 भागवततात्पर्यनिर्णय 213  
 भागवतपुराण p 75  
 भागवतशब्द *Subh*  
 भागवतश्चिर *Subh*  
 भागवतामृत 221, 251  
 भागवतोद्योत 53, 251
- भागीरथीचम्पू 154, 544, 911  
 भाग्यदृंस 27  
 भाद्रकल्प 1064  
 भाष्ववेशकार्य 902  
 भाण 561-563  
 भाणिका 562, 563  
 भानु *Skm*  
 भानुकर *Pmt, Pdm Rj, JI*  
 भानुकरमिश्र (= भानुदत्त) [COJ II 197]  
 भानुचन्द्र 455, 863  
 भानुदत्त 295, 544, 884, 920  
 भानुदत्त 880  
 भानुपण्डित *Sarng*  
 भानुप्रबन्ध (d) 252, 706, 786  
 भानुमतीपरिणय (d) 777  
 भानुमिश्र *Pmt*  
 भानुषेण *Subh*  
 भास्मह 44, 799, 815  
 भामहिवरण 815, 820  
 भामामिष्ठ (d) 727  
 भामिनीविलास (d) 254-W  
 भामिनीविलास 266, 311, 911  
 [Ed with Commentary, translation and notes by H D Shama, Bombav]  
 भारतकथा 500  
 भारतगीत 490  
 भारतचम्पू 152, 166, 289, 526  
 by राजचूड़गणि  
 by अनन्तभट्ट  
 [Com by Paravastu Rangacharya, Aisha Press, Vizagapatam]  
 भारतचम्पूतिलक 517  
 भारतटिप्पणी p 42  
 भारततत्त्ववाचन p 43  
 भारततात्पर्यनिर्णय p 43  
 भारतमजरी 68  
 भारतमुख 175  
 भारतमुद्दिपाद p 43

- भारतवर्णन 246  
 भारतसंक्षेप 290  
 भारतसङ्क्रह 246  
 भारतसङ्क्रहसार  
 [TO XXVII 6972, TO VI  
 6972 It gives the contents of each  
 portion of Mahabharata]
- भारतखड्ड 254 (a)  
 भारतसत्त्व 143  
 भारतसामित्री p 43  
 भारतामृत 45, 237, 254  
 भारतीकवि Suruj  
 भारतीश्वरीमहोदय  
 by पद्मानन तर्करल [Vidyl 11]  
 भारतीभूषण 922  
 भारतीचिलास 481  
 भारतीविशाद 716  
 भारतीयोत 53, 250  
 भार्गवचम्पू 544  
 भार्गव (J' T.)  
 चन्द्रगुप्तमहाकाव्य [Printed Lucknow]  
 भारद्वाज 1099  
 भारवि 48  
 भाषगुप्तशतक [Opp II 1127]  
 भावचन्द्रसुरि 235, 440, 501  
 भावदत्त 199  
 भावदेव 235  
 भावदेवमित्र 27  
 भावदेवी Shm  
 भावनाचार्य 297  
 भावनापुरुषोत्तम (d) 151  
 भावनाभानुकेवलिचरित्र 440  
 भावनामृतकाव्य [C C III 88]  
 भावनास्याचार्य (जम्मि) 214  
 भावग्रकाणन 877  
 भावमह 1042  
 भावमञ्जरी 349  
 [TO IV 4815, 4413]
- भावमित्र 314, 923  
 भावरत 14  
 भावविलास 269, 349  
 भावविवेक 923 [TO VI 7157]  
 भावशतक 349 [MM II 105]  
 by नागराज  
 by वेङ्कटाचार्य  
 See नागराज  
 भावसिंह (वाचेल) 1000  
 भावोद्धेद 151  
 भाष्यकार 544  
 भाष्यकार Skm, 779  
 भाष्यकारशालिन् (चर्ल) 97, 943  
 भाष्यकाराचार्य 923  
 भाष्यकाराचार्य 1044  
 [There it is wrongly printed 28  
 भास्यकाराचार्य]  
 भास 567, 569, 955  
 भासकधासार 746  
 भास्कर 1094  
 भास्कर Subh  
 भास्कर (केलीय) 686, 787  
 भास्कर (विवस्यायुक्त) 137, 543  
 भास्कर [OO I 426]  
 मधुराम्बकाव्य  
 भास्कर  
 उन्मत्तराधव (d) 686  
 भास्कर  
 ग्रसचकाव्य 141  
 भास्कर  
 कृष्णोदन्त 251  
 भास्करचरित्र Pmt  
 by हरिभास्कर  
 भास्करदेव Shm  
 भास्करसुसिंह 1069  
 भास्करप्रशस्ति 942  
 भास्करमित्र 863-A  
 साहित्यदीपिका [MM II, 7, 78]

भास्करयज्वन् 28  
 भास्कराचरिन् 1100  
 भास्करशय 257, 1073  
 भास्कराचार्य (श्रीवत्स) 914  
 भास्करसूरि  
     See शिवमोहिनीविलास  
 भास्करसूरि (रामस्यामिपुत्र) 350  
 भास्करसेन 400  
 भास्तुरानन्द 257  
 भास्तुक *Slm*  
 भास्तुर नाटक 565  
 मिक्षाटन *Sarnig*  
 मिक्षाटनकाव्य 240  
 मिष्ठु *Slm*  
 मिहल 373-B  
 भीम (चालुक्य) 70, 116  
 भीम (= भीमट = भीमदेव) 663, 955  
 भीमकाव्य 70  
 भीमकुत्या 842  
 भीमट (= भीम) 662, 955  
 भीमदेव 1064  
     भुतिभास्कर  
 भीमदेववर्मन् 181  
 भीमनरेक्त 1064  
     सर्वात्मुषा  
 भीमपराक्रम 116, 672, 677, 780, 785  
 भीमभट्ट 45  
 भीमरथी (d) 727  
 भीमविक्रम 785  
 भीमसिंह *Sarny*  
 भीमसेन 610  
     राजावल्लीव्याख्या  
 भीमसेन (शिवानन्दपुत्र) (of Jodhpur)  
     148  
 भीष्मगुप्त 825  
 भीष्मचन्द्र 1101  
 भीष्ममिश्र 28 [MM II 52]  
 भीमविजय 246

भुक्तिसमशतीकाव्य [*Opr* 6763]  
 भुजङ्ग 509  
 भुवनकोश *p* 77  
 भुवनदीपिका 105  
 भुवनश्रदीपिका 411.  
 भुवनपाल 305  
 भुवनभाजुचरित 501  
 भुवनमोहनदेवशर्मन् [MM JI]  
 भुवनाभ्युदय 823  
 भुवनेश्वर 542  
 भुवनैकमल 89  
 भूगोलनिर्णय *p* 77  
 भूत 205  
 भूतनाथ *Slm*  
 भूदेवसुक्ल 697, 758  
 भूधरपाठक *Kor*  
 भूपतिमिश्र 901  
 भूपनारायण ज्ञा (Jñanapana, Bhupanaraksha)  
     [*Sury JI*]  
 भूपशतक [*DO* III 90]  
     See राघवभट्ट  
 भूष्म 45, 771  
 भूम 45  
 भूपिधर *Subh*  
 भूमिनाथ 162, 759  
 भूमिवर्मन् 181  
 भूरुचि 121  
     [The word Bhāravi as printed  
     there is an error for Bhūravi ]  
 भूलोकमल 89  
 भूराहविजय 242  
     [*DO* XXVII, 7171]  
 भूषण *Slm*  
 भूषणदेव *Subh.*  
 भूषणभट्टनय 454  
 भूसुति 121  
 भृजदूत 898

मृगसन्देश 17, 323, 379  
 by वासुदेव  
 by जीवगोस्यामिन्  
 by त्रिवेणी  
 Anonymous  
 मृगतामिन् *Skm*  
 मेरीअमक *Skm*, 401  
 मेरीभाष्ठा *Sury* [Opp 1296]  
 मैमथी 450  
 मैमीपरिणय (d) 83, 151, 777  
 by रामशालिन्  
 by शाठकोपाचार्य  
 by वेङ्कटाचार्य  
 by राजचूडामणि  
 मैरवमूर्ति 100;  
 मैरवसाहनवरसत्त्व 936  
 मैरवसाह 936  
 मैरवस्तोत्र 836  
 मैरवानन्द (d) 282, 683  
 मैरवानुकरणस्तोत्र 281  
 मैरवाष्टक 273  
 मैरवोदयकाव्य [*MM* II 107]  
 by वेणीदास  
 मैष्मीपरिणय 151  
 मौरकर्मन् *Nm*, *Nmkh*  
 मोगनाथ 125  
 मोगवतीभास्योदय (d) 733  
 मोगिवर्मन् *Smbh*  
 भोज 27, 515  
 [D. C. Ganguly, History of the Paramara Dynasty, Dmcu]  
 भोजसम्मू 166  
 भोजचित्र 515, 667  
 भोजदेव 841  
 भोजप्रबन्ध 279, 372, 615  
 by बलाल  
 by सेसुम  
 by राजवल्लभ

भोजप्रबन्ध *cond*  
 by वत्सराज  
 by शुभाशील  
 by पद्मपुत्र  
 by राजशेखर  
 भोजप्रबन्धसार 515  
 भोजराजतरङ्गी 373 (d)  
 भोजराजसच्चरित 515  
 भोजराजाङ्क (d) 515, 724  
 भोताजीशालिन् 649  
 भोलनाथ 223  
 भोलनाथाद्विवेदिन् (of Kasi)  
 भोसल 158 [*Sury* II]  
 भोसलचम्पू [*MM* II 108]  
 by वेङ्कटभट्ट  
 भोसलवंशावलि 163, 706  
 भोहर *Sarmy*  
 भौण्ड *Subh*  
 भौपक 45 69  
 अमरदेव *Kus*, *Skm*  
 आनन्दभयभञ्जन 733  
 आनन्दविलासचम्पू [*Rmo* 252]  
 by तिरुमलाचार्य  
 अमरदूत 170, 323  
 Anonymous  
 by रुद्रन्यायवाचस्पति  
 अमरदेव 400  
 अमरसन्देश 746  
 अमराष्टक 278  
 अमराष्टक 309  
 अमुजिड 235, 254

म

मकरद्व *Skm*  
 मकरनिका (*prose*)  
 by उपेन्द्रनाथसेन [*SB* II]  
 मंस 72  
 मंसकोक्त 72

मंखुक 721, 870  
 मंखुकसूत्रोदहरण 72  
 मंगल 53  
 मंगल *Shm Sdh*  
 देवशास्त्रिन्  
 प्रबन्धप्रकाश  
 [Printed Benares Contains various stories essays and Subhāṣitas in prose and poetry and proverbs]  
 मञ्जलनाटक (d) 781  
 मञ्गलमयूखमालिका  
 See वरदाचार्य  
 मञ्गलार्जुन *Shm*  
 मञ्गलाष्टक 309  
 मञ्गलेश 938  
 मञ्जीर *Subh*  
 मञ्जुकवितानिकुञ्ज 359  
 मञ्जुनाथ 359  
 मञ्जुभाषणी 489  
 (Sanskrit Journal, Conjeevelam)  
 मञ्जुभाषणी (in prose?) 152  
 मञ्जुलैषध (d) 81  
 मञ्जुलमन्दिर (d) 727  
 मञ्जुलाचार्य 787  
 मञ्जुषा  
 (Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta)  
 मण्डनपिंश 807, 643  
 मण्डनामाल 254  
 मण्डनोपसंहार 716  
 मणिक 683, 879  
 मणिक  
 अभिनवराघवानन्द (d)  
 भैरवानन्द (d)  
 [Nepal Library Band 11, 19  
 Produced under Raju Jayashakti  
 (1385—1392)]  
 मणिकर्णिकाष्टक 273  
 मणिदर्षण 518

मणिपरीक्षा 126  
 मणिप्रभा (d) 566  
 [Quotation in para 566 is from Ātmabodha's commentary on Guṇaratiṇamālā]  
 मणिमद्र *Sdh*  
 मणिमङ्गरी 21 ½  
 मणिमङ्गरीकाव्य  
 by अनन्तज्ञायिन्  
 मणिमेखला (d) 727  
 मणिराम 309, 311, 156  
 मणिसार 860  
 मतंग 959  
 मतंगभारत 959, 1015  
 मति 904  
 मतिराज *Shm*  
 मतविलास (d) 48, 786  
 मत्स्यामस्यमुकुर  
 [Prose rendering of Muco of Matsuyama in Jwaya's Fairy Tales of old Japan, [MG JI, II 36]]  
 मत्स्यप्रबन्ध [TC VI 7293]  
 मत्स्यहसित (d) 783  
 मत्स्यावतार 175  
 मथुरादास 701  
 मथुरानाथ 143, 373  
 मथुरानाथ 1102  
 छन्द कल्पलता  
 मथुरानाथ 76, 143, 373  
 मथुरानाथ (=मञ्जुनाथ) 359  
 मथुरानाथशास्त्रिन्  
 ग्रीष्मगस्त्रा etc (Hony JI VII, and IX 198, 204)  
 मथुरानाथगुरु 1029  
 मथुरानाथभट्ट  
 सहित्यघैमव  
 [A very large collection of excellent poetry Printed at Jaipur]

- मथुरामहिमा 220  
 मथुरामाहात्म्य 225  
 मथुराविजय 127  
 मथुराष्ट्र 225  
 मदन *Shm*  
 मदनकीर्ति 926  
 मदनकेतुचरित (d) 177  
 [TU VI 7092]  
 मदनगोपालमाहात्म्य 211  
 मदनगोपालविलास (d) 111, 787  
 मदनपाल 997 1004  
 मदनभट्ट  
 (= मदन, कृष्णपुत्र) 251, 254, 316,  
 678  
 मदनभूषण (d) 787  
 मदनमध्यरी 151  
 मदनमध्यरी (d)  
*Nm* शुवराज  
 मदनमध्यरीमहोत्सव (d) 696  
 मदनमहोत्सव (d) 787  
 मदनलीलादर्शण (d) 787  
 मदनविलास (d) 787 879  
 मदनसर्वाचिन (d) 166  
 मदनसाम्राज्य (d) 787  
 मदनसुखचर्पेटिका 111  
 मदनानन्द (d) 729
- मदनाभ्युदय 819  
 मदनाभ्युदय (d) 787  
 by वेङ्गटेश 781  
 by कृष्णसूति 521, 787  
 मदनाष्टक [Ph VI 340]  
 मदेरखा (d) 563, 877  
 मदालसा \*  
 मदालसा (d) 513, 727, 755  
 by गोकुलनाथ  
 by राधभद्र  
 मदालसा *Suny*, 374, 513  
 मदालसा (आख्यायिका) 513, 842  
 मदालसाचम्पू 513  
 मदालसाचरित 50  
 मदालसाकुबल्याश्व (d) 254-W  
 मदालसापरिणय (d) 513, 755, 777  
 मदालसोल्लापन 513  
 मद्रक (मद्रक) *Shubh*  
 मद्रकन्यापरिणय 253, 517, 544, 687  
 मधु *Shm*  
 मधुकण्ठ *Shm*  
 मधुकरदृत 191  
 मधुकुट *Shm*, K.  
 मधुकेछिवडी 251  
 मधुमण्डन 314  
 मध्यमतीर्णयशस् 863-A

Mentioned in मार्कंड्यपुराण. She is said to have taught her son, and her words are here quoted (*Sury* 11).

धरामरान् पर्वत्य तर्पयेथा समीहितं बन्धुषु पूरयेथा ।  
 माया प्रबोधेन निवारयेथा अनित्यतमेव विचारयेथा ॥  
 सदा सुरार्द्धं हृदि विन्दयेथा स्तद्विद्यानतोन्तव्यादरीज्ञयेथा ।  
 भान् परत्वीपु निर्वर्तयेथा भार्यामृतावेव विचिन्तयेथा ॥  
 राज्यं कुर्वन् सुहृदो नन्दयेथा साधून् रक्षत्तात् यज्ञयज्ञयेथा ।  
 दुष्टानिघ्नं देरिणशाजिमध्ये गोविग्रार्थं वत्स सृत्वं भजेथा ॥  
 यालो मग्नो नन्दय आन्धवानां युरोस्तथाऽऽज्ञाकरणं, कुमार ।  
 ऋणां युवा सकुलभूषणाना शृदो वने वत्स वनेष्वराणाम् ॥

मधुमथनविजय 825  
 मधुमाधवीय (d) 727  
 मधुरकवि 205  
 मधुरवल्ली 904  
 मधुरवाणी (Sanskrit *Jl*, Belgaum)  
 मधुरवाणी 147, 377  
 मधुरशील *Shm*  
 मधुराङ्गी 374  
 मधुरनिरुद्ध (d) 778  
 मधुरपुच्चरितकाव्य [*Ulka*, 897]  
 मधुरोष्णसन्देश 323  
 मधुवर्णन 314  
 मधुविघूतन (d) 727  
 मधुवत 252  
 मधुशील *Kvs*  
 मधुसूदन (नारायणपुत्र) 702, 917  
 मधुसूदनकाव्यरत्न  
     पाण्डितचरितप्रहसन (d)  
     [*Vidy Jl*]  
 मधुसूदन दुजन्ति 269  
 अन्यापदेशशतक  
     नीतिसारसङ्गह [*OC* I 427]  
 मधुसूदन (माधवपुत्र) 280  
     [He composed commentary on  
     Balakrishna's *Vidvadblūsapānakāvya*  
     in 1644 A. D *OC* I 427]  
 मधुसूदन (Redactor of *Mahānātaka*)  
     667  
 मधुसूदन *Subh*  
 मधुसूदन (वैदेश्वरपुत्र) 45, 237  
 मधुसूदनपण्डित  
     आर्याशतक [*OC* I 427]  
 मधुसूदनमिश्रशर्मन् 930, 932  
     [At page 799 foot note numbers  
     4 and 5 are wrongly interchanged]  
 मधुसूदनशर्मन् (of Bamanda) [*MJ.*  
     *Jl*] 286  
 मधुसूदनसरस्वती 314, 703, 782

मध्यमकालकीर्तन 1064  
 मध्यमव्यायोग (d) 582  
 मध्यविजय 214  
 मध्याचार्य 213  
 मनसिजसूत्र 1071  
 मनोदूत 323, 921  
 Anonymous  
     by ब्रजनाथ  
     by विष्णुदास  
 मनोधरकाव्यदर्पण [*MM* II 17]  
 मनोरञ्जनमिश्र *Spv*  
 मनोरथ 272, 820  
 मनोरथ *Subh* [*Lkg* IV 196]  
     वल्लभ [*MB* Jl]  
 मनोरथगुप्त 836  
 मनोरमा (d) (of Kottakkal) 727  
 मनोरमा 180, 377  
 मनोरमामाधव 501  
 मनोरमाराजी 80  
 मनोरमावत्सराज (d) 662  
 मनोवलम्बिका 314  
     by सुकुन्ददास [*Ulka* 915]  
 मनोवती 450  
 मनोविनोद *Shm*, *Kvs*  
 मनोविनोदकृत् *Shm*  
 मनोहरशर्मन् 53, 109 *f*  
 मनोहर, *Tauby*  
 मन्यभट्ट [*Tuly Jl*]  
     <sup>spv</sup> सिद्धविजयमहाकाव्य  
 मन्दारमझरी 312  
 मन्दारमझरी (d) 898  
 मन्दारमरन्द 142, 901  
 मन्दारमाला (d) 727  
 मन्दारवती 440 *f*  
 मन्दारिकाविलास (d) 727  
 मन्द्वासस्त्र 919  
 मन्दोक *Shm*

मण्डलालद्विदेव  
[of Mandala U P Sury, JL]  
मन्त्राज्ञानाटक (d) [Opp 6111]  
मन्यथतन्त्र 1071  
मन्मथपन्थन (d) 352  
मन्यथमहिमा 230  
मन्मथविजय (d) 781  
*See* वेङ्कटराघव  
[Printed Trichinopoly]  
मन्यथाभ्युदय (d) 781, 787  
मन्यथोन्यथन (d) 787  
मन्मोक *Shm*  
मन्मठ 811, 818  
मन्य *Shbh*  
मन्यान् रामार्थ 781  
मायापुष्पक (d) 672  
मध्यूर 379, 823  
मधूरकवि  
*See* आर्यमुक्तामाळा  
मधूरपण्ड 311  
मधूरमार्जालिक (d) 783  
मधूरवर्मचट्टि 199  
मधूरसन्देश 323  
Anonimous  
by राजनार्थ  
by शीनिवासाचार्य  
मरकतवलीपरिणय (d) 777  
मलय 156  
मलय *Shbh*  
मलयगानिनी (d)  
*Boudall*, 19  
मलयज *Shm*  
मलयजपण्डित 873  
मलयजापरिणय 253  
मलयजापरिणय (d) 650  
मलयप्रभ 283  
मलयराज *Shm*  
मलयवती (d) 842

मलयसुन्दरी 235, 451  
by माणिक्यसुन्दर  
by जयतिलकसूरि  
मलक *Shbh*  
मलदेव 1068  
मलभट 264  
मल्लसोमयाजिन् 767  
मल्लभट्टरिविल्लम 245, 199  
मल्लारि 1100  
मल्लारिचाराध्य 763  
मलिकार्जुन (King) 124  
मलिकार्जुनकवि 140, 544  
मलिकार्जुनभट 926  
मलिकामकरन्द (d) 672  
मलिकामारुत (d) 169  
मलिकेश्वरगद 506  
मलिचरित 235  
मलिनाथ (कोलाचल) 27, 28, 31, 76, 53,  
55, 135, 318, 329, 519, 927 930  
मलिनाथ (जगन्नाथपुत्र) 816  
मलिसेन 235, 440  
मस्त्राक *Shbh*  
महत् 205  
महर्षि *Shbh*  
महर्षि (केरल)  
महर्षि 170  
महकवि *Shm*  
महाकाळ 286  
महागणपतिस्तोत्र 125  
महावोल्हराजीय 194  
महादेव 886  
रसमजरीटीका  
महादेव (लोड) 889  
महादेव 455  
कादम्बरीटीका  
महादेव (=करवामहादेव?) *Saving*, *Shm*  
महादेव (=महेश्वर) 162, 786  
महादेव (कृष्णसूरिपुत्र) 162, 779

महादेव (पाण्डुरङ्ग ओक) [MG. II] ।  
 महादेवगद्य 506  
 महादेव पठवर्धन *Kcd*  
 महादेव (विद्यावागीश) 76 [CC, I 436]  
 महादेवशास्त्रिन् 779  
 महादेववेन्द्रसरस्ती 278  
 महानन्दधीर 544  
 महानन्दिन् 6  
 महानाटक (d) 667  
 [Madhusūdana's recension—

Ed with the commentaries of Rama tarana Siromani Candrasekhara and J Vidyasagara—Calcutta See S K De Problem of Mahanataka, IHQ (1981) 629, 709, and Shivaprasad Bhattacharyas' paper on *Mahanataka problem*, read at 7th Oriental Conference ]

महानाटकसुधानिधि 667  
 महानिधि *Shm*  
 महानिधिकुमार *Shmn*  
 महापद्म 6  
 महापद्मकाव्य [CC I 438]  
 महापुरुषचरित 119  
 महापुरुषविलास \*  
 by भवभूत  
 महाबल 262  
 महाभारत p 27 +  
 महाभारतकथानक 50  
 महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णय ॥ 13  
 महाभारत लक्षणकाव्य 106.  
 महाभारतसङ्ग्रह p 43  
 महाभारतसार [SKC' 197]

\* This book appears to be a history of King Lalitaditya (*Raj* IV 131-145) and the following verses from it are quoted as for the 5th Ullāsa by Ātmānanda in his commentary on Gururīthamālā alluding the installation of the son of Queen Ratta who had been deposed by the Kashmir invader, on the Kanataga throne (See N Venkatarama's *Sankaracarya The Great*, 78-9 pp 78-9 )

राज्ञं कर्णाटराशीं प्रसभमभिभवन् केरलीयाश्च कोशा-  
 प्रस्थान् प्रख्यापयिष्यज्ञचलदृजहीर्घकपीलमृच्छान् ।  
 स्तेच्छान् सूर्वधिमुण्डानपि विद्वतो विद्वतीहित्वै  
 श्रीकाशीकामकोटीमठमसददसौ श्रीगुरोस्सेवनाप्तै ॥  
 चोलानभ्येत्य लीलावलयितवसुधामध्यकाच्या स कान्त्या-  
 मास्ताचार्यान् सपर्यं प्रसुदितहृदयानादवानस्स सब्राद् ।  
 यत्स्मृत्ये उपेष्ठमुदालयमपि विद्येषं सातुसाहस्रमक्तम्  
 नाम्रालक्षोत्तराणामपि तदशनदं वेदम् काश्चरदेशे ॥

† Edited by PPS Sastri, Madras. Ed by P Kajamdekar, Bombay with Nilakantha's commentary Ed by V S Sukthankar (Ādiparvamalav) with illustrations

N V Thadani, *Mystery of the Mahabharata, Age of Mahabharata*, (Mys Arch Rep (1927), 8

II P Rice, *Mahabharata, Analysis and Index* Jagannatharow, *Age of Mahabharata War* Pramathanatha Mallik, *Mahabharata, A critical study* (Allahabad), and its review by V V Ramasami in *The Hindu*, 27th Nov 1984

महाभारतव्याख्या  
by कृष्ण [7<sup>th</sup> VII 7154]  
महाभाष्य 174, 556 557 554  
महामनुष्य (काश्मीरक) *Nim Nibh*, 904  
महामहेश्वरकवि  
ग्राकावल्यलङ्घार [*BTU*] 54 not found  
in the *Tanq* Old Opp II 3605]  
महामोद 661  
महाराजकर्ण 98  
महालिङ्ग 254  
महालिङ्गवालिन् 716  
महाव्रत *Nim*  
महावंश 38, 39  
महावीरगण्य 506  
महावीरचरित 166, 346 617  
महावीरचरित (जे.) 235  
महावीरपुराण 233  
महावीरप्रसाद द्विवेदिन् (ol Jh. mukti)  
[*HU* II]  
काक्कूजित  
महावीरप्रसाद जोनी (ol Domdaloda)  
[*Shriy II*]  
महावैद्यनाथशिव 1060  
महावाकि *Nim*  
महासेनाचार्य 235  
महिमभट्ट 1010, 846

महिमसिंहगणि 318  
महिमा *Nim*  
महिमस्तोत्र 286  
महिषमङ्गल (d) 180, 787  
महिषशतक \* 163, 721  
Se: वा-छेदर  
महिषासुरवध 727  
महिळाविलास 727  
महीधर p 21  
महीधर *Nim*  
महीपतिमञ्ज्लीक *Savng*  
महीपाल 652  
महीपालचरित 321  
[Painted Bomby]  
महीपालदेव 669  
महीशूरदेवा-भ्युदय 546  
महीशूरभिवृद्धि 546  
महुमहनविययो 641  
महेन्द्र *Nimlib*  
महेन्द्रप्रभसूरि 321  
महेन्द्रपाल 651  
महेन्द्रमातलिसखल्य 514  
महेन्द्रवर्मन् 459  
महेन्द्रविक्रमवर्मन् 48, 786  
महेन्द्रसूरि 477  
महेशचन्द्र न्यायरक्त 864

This is one of the finest poems in S. India e. g.

सुशीबोऽसि गजोऽसि वपुषा नीलः प्रयाणी तथा  
धूमश्वासि महानुभावमहिष त्वं दुर्मुखः केसरी ।  
इत्थं ते सतर्तं महाकपिशताकारस्य साहाय्यतः  
सीता ब्राह्मण विलंघ्य दुःखजलिंघं नन्दाभिरामस्त्वयम् ॥

Like this poem is *hūkas'utaka* directed against Kūkāji friend, of King  
Fluoji e. g.

रसालकुलभावुन् सकलभैव काकात्मजैः  
कथश्चिदपि नीयते विरसवासरः कोकिलैः ।  
द्विजैरपि तथा कथ सरसमानसा कान्तिभिः  
मरालकुलनाथकै कथय कास्थितिः कार्यता ॥ [*Tanq* VII 3929]

महेशाचन्द्र पूर्णचन्द्र [Vidyl JI]  
 महेश महेश्वरीय p 24  
 महेशठकुर 406  
 महेशदत्त द्विवेदिन् (of Bandikapuli  
 C P) [Sury JI]  
 महेशप्राणिय 733  
 महेशमहोत्सवकाव्य  
*See* कोण्ठपण्डित  
 महेशमानसमहोत्सव (d) 787  
 महेशप्रिय (=महेश्वर) [OO I 445]  
     कुलपञ्जीकाव्य  
 महेश्वर 786  
     धूर्तविद्म्बन (d)  
     सभानाटक (d) [OO I 696]  
 महेश्वर 440  
     साहसाक्षरित  
 महेश्वर  
     mentioned in भोजप्रबन्ध  
 महेश्वर Sarny  
 महेश्वर 27, 682 [OO I 415]  
     बिल्हणीयटीका  
     सुशाराक्षसटीका  
     रघुवंशटीका  
     भर्तृहरिटीका [OO III 96]  
 महेश्वरसुखुद्विप्रिया (न्यायालङ्घार) 751, 819  
     प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयटीका  
     काव्यप्रकाशटीका  
 महेश्वरपण्डित 694  
 महेश्वरपञ्चानन् 55  
 महेश्वरपुरी Shar  
 महेश्वरमहाकाव्य 942  
 महेश्वरसुरी 235  
 महेश्वरानन्द 783, 879  
 महेश्वरोलास 734  
 महेश्वरी Kus, Shim  
 महेश्वरपदेशविश्वासि 836

माकन्दमकरन्द (d) 727  
 मागधमाधव Sarny  
 माघ 54, 262  
 माघदुर्घट  
     (a collection of udiversum on  
     Māgh i)  
 लंग राजकूड [Beudall 60]  
 माङ्क � Shim  
 माच 934  
 माणिक्य 103  
 माणिक्यचन्द्र 103 419  
 माणिक्यमौथिल 911  
 माणिक्यवल्लिका (d) 563, 877  
 माणिक्यवाक्यचरित 254  
 माणिक्यसुन्दर 235, 451  
 माणिक्यसुरि 103  
 मातज्जराज Shim  
 मातज्जदिवाकर 279  
 मातृ 13, 274, 609, 794, 951  
 मातृचेत 351, 277  
 मातृदत्त 459  
 मातृभूतशतक 162  
 मातृषेण Shubh  
 मात्राच्युत 315  
 माधव (लक्ष्मणपुत्र) 130  
 माधव (गोविंदपुत्र) 1095  
 माधव  
     रसविहार [MM. II 134]  
 माधव 130  
     उद्धवदूत  
 माधव (II P) [VO Journal]  
 माधव  
     नरकासुरविजय  
 माधव 262  
 उष्णवृत्त

\* [Is he the same as महेश्वर next *supra*. Ed Cal Or Series with a fine analysis in English.]

माधव *Pady, Shm*, 130  
 माधव 53  
 भारविटीका  
 माधव (विद्यारथ्य)  
*See* विद्यारथ्य  
 [M A Dovalasami Iyengar, *Madhava-Vidyaratna Theory, Journal of Indian History*, XII 241]  
 माधव (तलितानगरी) 130, 323  
 माधवचक्षवर्तिन् *Pady*  
 माधवचम्पू 542, 768  
 माधवपुरी *Shm, Pady*, 130  
 माधवप्रसादशर्मन् (देवकूट)  
     (*of Palupi, Nepal*)  
 सूर्योदयवर्णन् etc [*Sury Jt*]  
 माधवभट्ट (माधवेश्वरपुत्र) 130  
 माधवभट्ट 106।  
     सप्तीतचन्द्रिका  
 माधवभट्ट *Ked*  
 माधवहोत्सव 222  
 माधवमिश्र (पुरुषोत्तम) 220  
 माधवयति 214  
 माधवरात्रु पृष्ठा 937  
 माधवर्मन् 1066  
 माधविका (d) 842  
 माधविलास 373-D  
 माधववैद्य [*CC I* 448]  
     आनन्दलहरीतीका  
 माधवशील *Smb*  
 माधवसरस्वति *Pady*  
 माधवसिंहार्थाशतक ॥  
     (= देवविलासार्थी)  
 by इयमसुन्दर or इयाम (गदाधरपुत्र)

माधवसेन (King) 903  
 माधवसेन, *Shm*, 130  
 माधवसेन [*JASB* (1906), 172]  
 माधवानन्द 286, 542  
 माधवानल 476  
     by कनकसुन्दर [*Oudh V 6*]  
 माधवानलकशानक 858  
 माधवानला (d) 476  
 माधवानलकशा 439  
 माधवानलकमन्दलाकथा 476  
 माधवानलनाटक (d) 441, 476  
     by आनन्दधर  
     [Is he the same as Ananda Rajanaka? See paras 76, 868]  
     by कवीधर [*PR I* 118]  
 माधवाभ्युदयकाव्य [*[CC I, 450]*]  
 माधवी 373-A, 879  
 माधवीवसन्तीय (d) 783  
 माधवेन्द्रपुरी *Pady*  
 मान्धात्री 373-A  
 मान्दोक *Shm*  
 मानकवि 314  
 मानशुर (K. V) [*VO II*]  
 मानतुङ्ग 143, 283  
     भचामरस्तोत्र  
     भयहरणस्त्व  
 मानतुङ्गपूरि 279, 283  
     सिद्धजयन्तीचरित  
 मानधनञ्जय 514  
 मानविक्रम [*Zamorin*] 168  
 मानविक्रम 777  
     लक्ष्मीकल्याण (d)

1 (*CC I* 260 *BRI*, No 436 of 1887-91 It contains 135 verses composed at the instance of King Mādhavasimha, son of Jaismīha II of Jaipur about 1750 Gangārāma, Nāmesvara, Gōkrātha, Vajrānātha, Suḍhākara, Haridatta, Kevalarāma, Srdāśiva, Ravidatta, Sambāradatta are mentioned in the poem as the learned men of that Court.

मानविकम् 666  
 सुरारिव्याख्या  
 मानविकम् एट्र. तम्बिरान् 160  
 प्रेतकामिनी  
 सुमझलीचरित [VU JI]  
 मानविकम् कविराजद्वामार 716  
 मानवेदचम्पूभारत 526  
 मानवेद (एरल्पट) 170, 251, 325, 319  
 526, 1001 [VU JI]  
 मानवेदचरित (d) 176  
 मानससन्देश  
     by लक्षणसूरि 216  
     by वीरराघव 323, 769  
 मानसिंह 251, 923  
 मानसिंह 88  
 मानसिंहकीर्तिमुक्ताचली 311  
 मानसोळास 89, 1006  
 मानाङ्ग 297, 335, 646  
 मानिनी (novel)  
     by भट्टकेशव [VU JI]  
 मायण 125  
 मायाकापालिक (d) 568, 880  
 मायाकुरजिका (d) 879  
 मायापुष्पक (d) 779, 955  
 मायाचारीविलास 982  
     by मधुसूदनशर्मा  
         [In this page 982 (p 799) foot-  
         notes 4 and 5 are interchanging d.]  
 मायुराज 663  
 मारभद्राक 922  
 मारसम्भव 121  
 मार्ताण्डवर्म् 712, 939  
 मार्ताण्डशर्म् (of Baroda) [HII JI]  
 मार्जीर Skm  
 मारीचर्चंचितक (d) 779, 877  
 मारीचवध 955, 1047  
 माशतिमैरावण (d) 727  
 माक्षिविजय 541

मारुतसन्देश 315  
 मारुला 318, 371  
 मार्कण्डेयपुराण 961  
 मार्कण्डेयचरित 251  
 मार्कण्डेयोदध 354  
 मार्गेश्वायचम्पू 515  
 मार्गित 919  
 मार्गिसदायचरित 725  
 मार्गिण्डमाणिक्य भु 1061  
 मालतिका (d) 842  
 मालतीमाधव (d) 312, 616  
     [Ed. with Translation and Note by  
     R D Kunwar]

मालती सेन 355 J  
 मालविकमिमित (d) 621  
     [Ed. with Translation and Note by  
     A S Krishnamow, Madras, Ed. with  
     Comment by Apparaisri, Kolhamu. See  
     B K Thakore, A study paper read at  
     7th Oriental Conference.]

मालवकुवलय 69  
 मालवरद्ध Shamy 841  
 मालाधारा 1064  
 मालिनीशतक 492  
 मालोक 47 m  
 मालोजी  
     रेणुकास्तोत्र [HII JI] 199  
 माहुण्डक (मट) Nubra  
 माहेवरसूत्र 97  
 मिथ्याचार प्रहसन (d) 767, 780  
 मिथ्याज्ञानशण्डन (d) 764  
 मित्रगोप्ती  
     (Bilingual journal Calcutta)

मिठिन्दपद  
     by विद्युतेस्वरसा[मित्र  
     | HII JI XIX |]  
 मित्रनिन्दगोप्तिन्दनाटक (d)  
     by शिवराय



मुक्तेश्वरसोमयाजिन्  
वैरभद्रविजयकाव्य [Line 242]  
मुग्धबोध 31  
मुग्धबोधन (d) 7-7  
मुग्धमन्थर (d) 727  
मुग्धमेधाकर 891  
मुग्धागलाकेलिकुत्तहल 511  
मुग्धाजलि 360  
मुग्धोपदेश 190, 268  
मुनिकुन्द  
[Mentioned in भोजप्रबन्ध]  
सुचिकुन्दमोक्ष [Opju 285b]  
सुचिकुन्द [BTG 199]  
ऐकात्मक  
मुख *Slm*  
मुज (धारापति) 61, 395  
मुत्तुसामिदीक्षित 1053 †  
मुदितकुमुदचन्द्र (d) 98  
मुदितमदालस (d) 693  
मुदितराघव (d) 779  
मुद्विह्लाचार्य 50  
मुद्वेङ्कटार्य 782  
मुद्रल 1100  
मुद्रलदेव 610  
मुद्रलभृ  
रामार्याशतक [PL V 376]  
मुद्राक *Slm*  
मुद्राराक्षस (d) 161, 314, 631, 955 †  
मुद्राराक्षसक्षात्सर 632  
मुद्रासुवेद (d) 783  
मुद्राफरशाह 58  
मुनिदेवसूरि 108

मुनिपतिरित्र (prose)  
[R unghit J um manda, Ben 16c]  
मुनिमद्रसूरि 108, 235  
मुनिमतीमासा 68  
मुनिमतिरङ्ग 28  
मुनिमनसूरि 99, 2, 5  
मुनिशेखर 235  
मुनिसुन्दर 235  
मुनिशुन्तकाव्य 235  
[Printed TNS, Trivandrum]  
मुनिसुन्तचरित्र  
by मुनिल 99  
by पद्मप्रभ 105  
मुनिहिमागुविजयसूरि  
अर्द्धदाचल्यर्णव 41  
[UP II Comming Slm 1 & comp.  
portion based on verse of  
Kumar amabhava]

मुम्मुनिराज 178  
मुररिपुस्तोक 711  
मुरलीधर *Ind*  
मुरलीथरसा (Slm 4 II)  
मुरलीप्रकाश 1012  
मुरारि 665  
मुरारिविजय 690, 693  
by जीवराम  
by विद्युत्प्रकृष्णभट्ट  
मुष्पाथेय (d) 737  
मुष्पिक *Slm*  
मुहनप्रासान्त्य तस 1051  
मूकशक्तर 24  
मूकपश्चशती 271  
मूकार्भेकशद्गुर 371, 566

\* (His songs are printed at Madura in Sri Guhnyupadmañña in which  
Navarana Kirtanas express devotion to Universal Mother )

† [Ed Translation by H Dhiruva 's Srikantha Sa. III Day of Mudharakshasa,  
IHS (1981), 163 K H Dhiruva, Verses mistaken for prose, PO Oct 1936]

मूढकौशिक 727  
 मूर्ख *Subh* 401  
 मूर्खशतक  
     by तेजसिंह [*CC* I 464]  
 मूर्ति = (मूर्ख) *Swing*  
 मूर्तिकवि *Pilgrim*  
 मूर्तिघर 867  
 मूलदेव 69, 605  
 मूलराज 61, 70, 113, 116, 869  
 मूलरामायण p 22  
 मूलरामायण (*माणिकलल्*) 738  
 मूषिकपञ्चक 373  
 मूषिकवंश 67  
 मृकण्डुमोद (d) 727  
 मृकण्डुरामायण 373-B  
 मृगयाचम्पू 546  
 मृगराज *Slem*  
 मृगाङ्गनचरित्र 235  
 मृगाङ्गलेखा (d) 451, 689, 710, 882  
 मृगाङ्गशतक 311  
 मृगावतीकथा 451  
 मृगावलीरास (d)  
     (*Ramghat Jain mandir Benares*)  
 मृगाष्टककाव्य [*CC* I 465]  
 मृच्छकटिका 143, 599  
     [Hinalal, *Mritshakatala, JBOBS*,  
     XIV 307]  
 मृत्युजय 153  
 मृत्युजयस्तोत्र 287  
 मृत्युजयनिश्चाह 621  
 मृदंगालक्षण 976, 1064  
     [*DO* XXII 87, 40]  
 मृद्याथस्तोत्र [*DO* VI 707 8]  
 मेकाधीशरामायण 943  
 मेकाधीशशब्दार्थकल्पतरु 943  
 मेघदूत 317  
     [Translated into English by G H Rooke]

मेघदूत (जैन) 321  
 मेघदूतसमस्यालेख 93 320  
 मेघध्वनि 373-B  
 मेघनाद-मदनमज्जरीकथा  
     [Bendall 47]  
 मेघनादवध  
     b1 निल्यगोपालविद्याविनोद  
     [Printed Calcutta, *JSSP*]  
 मेघप्रतिसन्देश 83, 319  
 मेघप्रभ  
     See दष्टान्तद्वात्रिंशत् [*PR* V 21]  
 मेघप्रार्थन 733  
 मेघराज 318  
     मेघदूतव्याख्या  
     [BRI No 479 (1899-1915)  
     M M Patankar, *PO Oct 1936 He  
     must have lived between 1172 and  
     1404.]  
 मेघविजयगणि 93, 320 424  
 मेघविनोद 373-B  
 मेघसन्देश (मेघदूत) 317  
 मेघसन्देशविमर्श 318  
 मेघाञ्चुदय 335, 646  
 मेघेश्वर 668  
 मेण्ठ 37, 274, 566, 951  
 मेधातिथि 571  
 मेधारुद्र 24, *Skm*  
 मेधाविन् 815  
 मेधाविरुद्ध 69  
 मेधाव्रतब्रह्मचारिन्  
     (of Brindavana Gurukula)  
     कृष्णप्रशस्तपदवदशी  
     निरालम्बधेनु (गीत) [*Vidy JL*]  
 मेनका 501  
 मेनकानहुष (d) 563, 877  
 मेनकाहुति (d) 563, 880  
 मेलतुड़ 111, 119, 321, 515*

मेत्राधिकारलक्षण 1064  
 मेलरागपालि का 1060  
 मैथिल 116  
 मैथिलशर्मन् 646  
 मैथिलीनाटक (d) 668  
 मैथिलीपरिणय (d) 668  
 मैथिलीय (d) 727  
 मैथिलीविजय (d) 727  
 मैथिलेशचरित 442  
 मैरावणचरित  
 (in Vāsista Rāmāyaṇa Printed  
 Bombay)  
 मोक्षादित्य 785  
 मोधपादचरित 50  
 मोटक *Pady*  
 मोडशतक [OC I 468]  
 मोतिजितकवि 318  
 मोतीराम 251  
 कृष्णलीलाविनोद [*Oruḍh* IV 9]  
 मोरिका *Sarng*, 374  
 मोरोलोण्डे (of Nagothane, Bengal)  
 [*Vidy* II]  
 मोहनदास 667  
 मोहनविल्वमङ्गल 293  
 मोहनयिष्ठ 904  
 मोहनलालशर्मन् [*Story* II]  
 मोहनशर्मन् (अनिरुद्धपुत्र)  
 अन्योक्तिवाचक [OC I 468]  
 मोहनसप्तशती 252  
 मोहनस्वामिन् 252  
 मोहनानन्द 251  
 मोहपराजय (d) 756  
 मौनिरङ्गनाथ 373-A  
 मौनिविक्षेप्त्रमह  
 (= शागामट) *Ked*  
 थ  
 यक्षगान 141  
 यक्षदिविजय 254

यक्षमिलनकाव्य 319  
 यक्षोद्धास 319 521  
 यज्ञघोष *Slm*  
 यज्ञनारायण p 42 150  
 यज्ञनारायणदीक्षित 217  
 यज्ञगमदीक्षित (रामचन्द्रजनार्दनपुत्र) 160  
 यज्ञसुवद्याप्य (= स्वामिदीक्षित) ५५४, ५१४  
 यज्ञस्वामिशास्त्रिन् [*MB JI*]  
 यागराजविजय  
 (On the life of the singer Tyāgarāja,  
 1050)  
 यज्ञेश्वरद्योमादरशास्त्रिन् [of Runala *SO* II]  
 यज्ञेश्वर  
 सूर्यशतकटीका [OC I 470]  
 यज्ञेश्वर (कृष्णदेवपुत्र) 863-A  
 यज्ञेश्वरदीक्षित (चिरकूरि) 150, 666, 937  
 यज्ञेश्वरशर्मन् [of Khalapuṇia *SO* II]  
 यज्ञेश्वरशास्त्रिन्  
 आर्यविद्यामुखाकर  
 यतिराज 520  
 यतिराजविजय 546, 718  
 यतिराजविश्वाति 209  
 यतिराजसप्तति 121  
 यतिराजस्वामिन् 944  
 यतीन्द्रचम्पू 206  
 यतीन्द्रजीवनचरित 496  
 यतीन्द्रप्रवणचम्पू 209  
 यदुगीरिभूषण 545  
 यदुनन्दन 726  
 यदुनन्दनचरितामृत 255  
 यदुनन्दनदास 251  
 यदुनन्दनकाव्यतार्थ [SO II]  
 यदुनाथचरित 251  
 यदुवंश 46  
 यदुवंशम्पू 494  
 यथोक्तकारितोत्त 121  
 यमक 326  
 यमकभारत 213, 388

यमकरभाकर 333  
 यमकशिखामणि 338  
 यमकस्तुति 334, 338  
 यमकार्णव 156, 239  
 यमराजविचार (d) [Vidy Jl XX 10]  
 यमसमीय 22  
 यमीयमसंचाव 549  
 यमुनानिविकम 518  
 यमुनावर्णन 311  
 यमुनाष्टक 273  
 यमुनाष्टपदी 225  
 यमुनास्तव 225  
 यमुनास्तोत्र 220  
 यमातिचरित 126  
     by प्रतापखदेव 126  
     by स्वातिरायमर्मान् 178, 1056  
 यमातिचरित (d) 781  
     by मध्याच रामार्य  
 यमातिहन्तानन्द (d) 682, 725  
 यमातिदेवानीचरित (d) 682, 725  
 यमोतिविजय (d) 682, 880  
 यवनिका 551  
 यवनी 551  
 यवनीपारिणय (d)  
     by प्रभाकर  
     [On the Marriage of Sampat kumāra of Melkote, Mysore with the Mughal Emperor's daughter ]  
 यजःफल 99, 756  
 यशश्वन्द [OO I 111]  
     कुमुदचन्द्र (d)  
     राजीमतीप्रबोध (d)  
 यशस्कर 814, 868, 878  
 यशवन्तयशोभूषण 941, 1103  
 यश्वतसिंह 941, 1103  
 यशस्वामिन् Subh  
 यशस्विन् 923  
 यशस्तिलकम्भू 514

यशोधरचरित 88, 229, 233  
     by सोमकीर्ति  
     by वादिराजसूरि  
     by क्षमाकल्याण  
 यशोधर 1068  
 यशोधर्मन् 14  
 यशोभूषण 925  
 यशोराग 836  
 यशोवर्धन (दिविर) Subh [474]  
 यशोवर्मन् Skm, Subh, Saing [OO I]  
 यशोवर्मन् 99, 392, 471, 641, 651  
 यादवप्रबन्ध 199  
 यादवगिरिमाहात्म्यसङ्ग्रह 494  
 यादवचम्पू 542  
 यादवराघवीय 90, 252, 529  
 यादवराघवपाण्डवीय 92, 379  
 यादवशेखरचम्पू 544  
 यादवाभ्युदय 121, 672  
 यादवेन्द्रपुरी Pady  
 यादवेश्वर (तर्कालङ्कार) [SB Jl Vidy Jl]  
     503  
 यादवोदय 563 Sury Jl  
 यामलतन्द 984  
 यामलाष्टकतन्द 984  
 यामनीपूर्णतिलका 737  
 यामिनीरजन  
     विभीषणचरित (in prose) [SB Jl]  
 यामिनीविनोदकथा 50  
 यामुनाचार्य 205  
 याष्टिक 972  
 याष्टिकमत 959, 972  
 यास्तक 795  
 युक्तिकल्पतरु 515  
 युक्तिप्रबोध 93  
 युक्तिमालिका [Opp 2970]  
 युगलाजलीय (d) Spv  
     by श्रीशैल 498, 736

- युगलाङ्गलीय (contd.)  
 by कालीपाद तर्कचार्य [SB JI]  
 युगेश्वरज्ञा [Sm y JI]  
 युधिष्ठिर p 56  
 युद्धग्रोत्साहन 919  
 युधिष्ठिरविजय 65, 161, 863  
 Com by श्रीकण्ठदास [TO VI 7007]  
 युवतीसम्मोगकार Sm  
 युवराज Sm  
 युवराज See रससदनभाण  
 युवराज  
 वसन्ताभरण (d)  
 अनङ्गतिलक (d)  
 मदनमञ्जरी (d)  
 रसोलास (d)  
 पञ्चबाणविजय  
 [Asha Library, Vizagapatam]  
 युवराजदिवाकर Sm  
 युवराजदेव (केयूरवर्म)  
 युवराज प्रह्लादन  
 युवराज रामसिंह  
 जालकीराधर (d)  
 [Nepal Library, Bendall, 28]  
 युवसेन Sm  
 योगनिद्रास्तव 919  
 योगानन्द 545  
 योगानन्द (कालिदासपुत्र)  
 कीडावलीकाव्य [OO I 138]  
 योगिनीमाहात्म्य 317  
 योगीन्द्रनाथ 44, 252  
 योगेश्वर Kes [JSSP (1936) 169]  
 योगेश्वर Sm, 373  
 योगेक (यागोक) Sm  
 योगनविलास 249  
 योगनोलास 314
- र
- रक्तसारस 727  
 रक्षानाथ (जनार्दनपुत्र)  
 विवरक्तानन्द [TO VI 6963]  
 रखलदासन्यायरत्न [SMI JI]  
 रघुदेव 863 (a)  
 रघुनन्दन 254  
 उद्धवचरित  
 रघुनन्दन 675  
 प्रसंगराघवव्याख्या  
 रघुनन्दन द्विवेद Kod  
 रघुनन्दनविलास 252  
 by वेङ्गटाचार्य  
 by पाटाचार्य  
 रघुनाथ उपाध्याय Kod  
 (lived in Benares about 1616  
 A.D.)  
 रघुनाथ (गोस्वामी) 224  
 रघुनाथ (जयरामपुत्र) [OO I 485]  
 रसिकरमणकाव्य  
 (Written in 1564 A.D.)  
 रघुनाथ 541  
 मारुतिविजय  
 रघुनाथ 252  
 रामचरित्र  
 रघुनाथ 782  
 प्राभावत (d)  
 रघुनाथ Pady  
 रघुनाथ 217  
 See सल्यनाथतीर्थ  
 रघुनाथगुणोदय 252  
 रघुनाथचरित् 128  
 रघुनाथदास 220, 221  
 रघुनाथनाथक 145, 146  
 साहित्यसुधा  
 भरतसुधा  
 भरतसारसंग्रह

रघुनाथनाथक 145, 146 (*contd.*)

रामायणसारसंग्रह

संश्लीतमूर्धा

[It is said that the other works mentioned in para 146 are in Telugu See Tanjavuri-Andhra Rajula-caitram p 26]

रघुनाथप्रसाद 1064

रघुनाथभट्ट 922

रघुनाथभट्ट (बूर्जर) *Ked*

रघुनाथ भूपविजय 150

रघुनाथनूपालीय 146, 937

(Ed by T R Chintamani, Madras)

रघुनाथरात्रु (पीचा) 937

रघुनाथविजय 541

रघुनाथविजयचम्पू

*See* कृष्णसर्वभौम

रघुनाथविलास 150

रघुनाथज्ञामेन् (*Sury J.*)

रघुनाथाचार्य 91

राघवयादवीय

रघुनाथाचार्य 668, 777

सुभद्रपरिणय (d)

रघुनाथाभ्युदय 146

रघुपति 28

रघुवंशव्याख्या

रघुपति 904

quoted by चतुर्सुज

रघुपतिरहस्यदीपिका 931

रघुपतिविजय 252

रघुपतिशङ्किन् (of Laskhi, Gwalior) [*SO J.*]

रघुराजसिंह

जगदीशशतककाव्य [*Orwell, XI 6*]

रघुवरविजय 242

रघुवंश 25, 242

[Ed (N W recension) Bombay Ed with Com of Brahmasankara Misra Ed by PPS Sastri, Madras Tr into English by M L Sen, Calcutta]

रघुवंशविमर्श 28

रघुवंशसार 53I

रघुविजयकाव्य [*CO III 35*]

रघुविलास 672

रघुवीरगद्य

[In para 406, read for this  
श्रीरङ्गगद्य]

रघुवीरगद्य 121

रघुवीरचारित 31, 252 779

by चक्रवर्तिवेदान्तसूरि

by सुकुमार

by मल्लिनाथ

रघुवीरवर्यचारित 252

रघुवीरविजय 724

by कस्तुरिरङ्गनाथ

रघुसक्षेप 28

रघुतमीर्थ 251

रङ्ग 124

रङ्गतराहिणी 314

रङ्गनाथ 787

शङ्कारशङ्काटक (d)

रङ्गनाथ (श्रीवत्स) 545, 787

रङ्गनाथ (बालकृष्णपुत्र) 455, 473, 622

रङ्गनाथ 85

दमयन्तीकल्याण

रङ्गनाथ कविभूषण (of Melakottiyam)

महाकविकालिदास (in prose)

[*SO J.*]

रङ्गनाथदण्डक 505

रङ्गनाथसहस्र 379

रङ्गनाथस्तुतिमाल [*TO VI 6962*]

रङ्गनाथाचार्य (रायडुरी) 254 323

रङ्गराजविलास 211

रङ्गराजाचार्य 323

रङ्गठादछन्दस् 110

रङ्गरादसमुदय 379  
 रङ्गलक्ष्मीविलास 1081  
 रङ्गशायिन् 886  
 रङ्गसङ्गीतसङ्क्रह 1082  
 रङ्गस्वामिताताचार्य 736  
 रङ्गचार्य (कपिस्थलं) 493  
 रङ्गचार्य (किणविं) p 24  
 रङ्गचार्य 323  
 शुक्कसन्देश  
 रङ्गचार्य (R) [Many Jl I 8]  
 कृत्स्तकुसीदक (d)  
 रङ्गभ्युदय 370  
 रङ्गार्थ (वाचूल) 787  
 रङ्गरोहण [Opp 6159]  
 रङ्गिलाल 781  
 रेखन्नस्तव 919  
 रजकसरखती Skm, 374  
 रजनिका [UP Jl (1936) 27]  
 by रामनाथमिश्र  
 रजनी 501  
 रजनीवल्लभ 254, 659  
 रण्डानन्द Subh, 183  
 रणविग्रह 655  
 रणसिङ्गराजचरित 716  
 रणदित्य Subh  
 रणदित्यतुम्जीन 389  
 रतिकर  
 शङ्कारमम्जरीमाण (d)  
 [TO VI 7149]  
 रतिनीतिसुकूल 373-B  
 रतिमन्मथ 158, 708  
 रतिमित्र Subh  
 रतिसुकूल 314  
 रतिरहस्य 1074  
 रतिविजय 744  
 रतिविलाप 501, 842  
 रतिविलास 783  
 रतिसेन Subh

रत्नकण्ठ  
 चित्रभानुशतक [CC II 38]  
 रत्नकण्ठ (राजानक) 848, 863  
 रत्नकेतुदय (d) 695  
 रत्नखेट 151  
 रत्नखेटविजय 152  
 रत्नगर्भ p 42  
 रत्नचन्द्र 27, 229  
 रत्नचूड  
 रघुवंशव्याख्या  
 नैषधव्याख्या  
 [Lmals XIII 94]  
 रत्नचूडकथा 285  
 रत्नधर 314  
 रत्ननन्दिन् 235  
 रत्नपरिणाम [CC I 490]  
 रत्नप्रभ (वादिदेवशिष्य)  
 रत्नप्रभ (परमानन्दशिष्य) 235  
 रत्नपाणि 254  
 मैथिलेशचरित  
 [MM I No 215]  
 रत्नपालचूपकथानक 235  
 रत्नभूति Subh  
 रत्नभूषण (वैद्य) 913  
 रत्नमजरी 655  
 रत्नमष्ठन 891  
 रत्नमाला 727  
 रत्नमालीयपुष्टोक Subh  
 रत्नमित्र Subh  
 रत्नयोगीन्द्र 235  
 रत्नशतक 863  
 रत्नशाण 927  
 रत्नशोखर 1102  
 रत्नशोखरचरित 440, 546  
 रत्नसिंह 442  
 मैथिलेशचरित  
 रत्नसिंहमूरि 58  
 रत्नसेनकुलप्रकाशति 199

- रत्नाकु 59  
 रत्नाकर 58, 342, 665  
 रत्नापण 927  
 रत्नाभरण 815  
 रत्नाराध्य 314  
 रत्नावली 246, 531, 610  
 [Ed with translation by P. V. Ramanujaswami, Madras]
- रत्नावलीकाव्य 922  
 रत्नाष्टककाव्य [OC I 492]  
 रत्नीदेवी 254  
 रत्नेश्वर 863 A  
 रत्नेश्वरप्रसाद 141  
 रत्नेश्वरमिश्र 841  
 रथाह्न *Skm*  
 रथाङ्गदूत  
 [Aisha Library, Visagapatam]  
 रन्तिदेव *Skm*  
 रन्तिदेव 904, 1071  
 रमणपति 314  
 See सरस्वतीचिलासकाव्य  
 रमणपति 314  
 रमणीयराघव 252  
 by ब्रह्मभृ [OC I 498]  
 रमाकान्त 352  
 रमानाथ  
 लुमनोमनोरजन [SO Jl. XII]  
 रमानाथ  
 अभिरामकाव्य [OC I 498]  
 रमापरिणय 289  
 रमेशबन्द्र 764  
 सेशचन्द्रवेदान्तविशारद  
 भारतवैभव &c, (in prose) [MG Jl.]  
 रम्भा 964  
 रम्भारावणीय 724  
 रम्भाभिसरण 680  
 रम्भाशुकरंवाद 842
- रवि (रत्नपाणिपुत्र) 863-A  
 रविकर 318, 1103  
 रविकर्तन 632  
 रविकीर्ति 53  
 रविकीर्ति [LA, VIII 242]  
 रविकुलदीपशकाशकाव्य [BTO 161]  
 रविगुप्त 102, 235, 254, 373  
 रविचन्द्र 308  
 रविदत *Subh Sāng*  
 रविदास 767  
 रविदेव 329  
 रविदेव (नारायणपुत्र) 331  
 रविधर्म 924  
 रविनाग *Skm*  
 रविपण्डित 152  
 रविवर्मन् 170  
 रविवर्मकुलजोशर 716  
 रविवर्मभूप 72  
 रविवर्मसंग्रामधीर 680  
 रविवर्मस्तुति 501  
 रविसेन 227  
 रसकल्पद्रुम 903, 922  
 रसकल्पलता 251  
 रसकलिका 922, 923  
 रसकौमदी 922  
 by श्रीकण्ठ  
 by वासराम  
 रसकौस्तुभ  
 by वेणीदत्त [MU II 44]  
 रसगङ्गधर  
 Com Jaggu Venkatacārya (494)  
 रसग्रन्थ 922  
 रसचन्द्रिका 906  
 रसतरङ्गिणी 863-A, 885  
 by रामानन्द  
 by भाजुदत्त  
 रसदीर्घिका 922  
 See विद्याराम

रसनिर्णय 903  
 रसपद्माकर 922  
 रसप्रकाश 901  
 रसश्वरी  
     by प्रभाकर 902  
     by रामचन्द्रगुह [CU I 511]  
 रसप्रश्न 942  
 रसविन्दु 922  
 रसभूषण 314  
 रसमञ्जरी 312  
     by दिवाकर 237  
     by मानुदत्त 884  
     by श्रीनिवासाचार्य  
     Anonymous 132, 210  
 रसमहार्णव 755  
 रसमाधव 922  
 रसमयी  
     by क्षितीशचन्द्रभट्टोपाध्याय  
         [JSSP XVIII 33, 132 Translation of Rabindra Nath Tagore's work]  
 रसमीमासा 886, 926  
 रसरब्दीपिका 584, 922  
 रसरब्दाहर 922  
 रसरब्दाकर (d) 787  
 रसरब्दाकर 923  
 रसरब्दाली 922  
 रसरब्दालास (d) 787  
 रसरब्दालास 697  
 रसरब्दीशतक 314  
 रसरब्दालासभाष (d) 161  
 रसरब्दालास 758  
 रसरविवाद [ML II 134]  
 रसरविवेक 883, 922  
 रसरसाकृह  
     by रघुनाथाचार्य  
         [DC XXVII 10075 on the life of Vādnēja]

रससदन (d) 177, 714  
 रससमुच्चय 922  
 रससर्वस्व 225, 922  
     by विठ्ठल  
 रससर्वस्वचम्पू  
     by रामचन्द्रमस्तिन् [TC, VI 7188]  
         [It is a work in prose and verse on the customs and the manners of the different countries in India in the form of a dialogue between Visvāmitra and Vasistha He is same as the author of Keralābharaṇa ]  
 रसगङ्गाधर 311, 496, 899  
 रससागर 923  
 रससिन्धु 890, 922  
 रससुधाकर 923  
 रससुधानिधि 922  
 रससूत्र 797  
 रसाकर 923  
 रसामृतसिन्धु 922  
 रसामृतसुधा 922  
 रसार्णव  
     by रत्नखेट 151  
     by घनदयाम 166  
 रसार्णवसुधाकर 879  
 रसार्णवालङ्घार 922  
 रसार्णवमहाकाव्य 254  
 रसिकजनमानसोळास (d) 787  
 रसिकजनरसोळास (d) 787  
 रसिकजीवन 373, 922  
     See गदाधरभट्ट  
         [Composed about 1660 A D See Hardutt Sarma, Some unknown Sanskrit poets of Mithila published in commemoration Volume For index, of verses, see COJ III]

रसिकजीवन 314  
 by अर्जुनर्वमदेव  
 रसिकप्रकाश 863-A, 922  
 रसिकप्रिया 922  
 रसिकभूषण 314  
 रसिकमज़री (= रसिकरज्जनी) 314  
 by गोपालभट्ट [MM II 60]  
 रसिकमोहन 922  
 रसिकरज्जन (d)  
 by श्रीनिवास 787  
 सुन्दरराज 721  
 रसिकरज्जन  
 by रामचन्द्र 91, 225  
 by रघुनाथ 314  
 by ब्रजराज 305, 909  
 रसिकरमणकाव्य [OC I, 485]  
*See* रघुनाथ  
 रसिकरसायन 922 [TO VI 7225]  
 रसिकसज्जीविनी 885  
 रसिकसर्वस्व 923  
 रसिकामृत (d) 787  
*See* शङ्खराजारायण  
 रसोदर (d) 787  
 रसोलास (d) 787  
 रहस्यत्रयसारत्रावली 493  
 रहस्यमृतकाव्य [TO 1491]  
 रक्षानाथ  
*Shivamukhacanan* 767 [TO VI 6963]  
 रक्षित *Skm*  
*See* अपराजितरक्षित  
 रक्षस *Skm*  
 रक्षसकाव्य 380 [MM II 123]  
 रक्षणपण्डिती *Sarng*  
 रक्षसोत्पत्तिकाव्य  
 by नारायणभट्ट [Opp 2685]  
 रागकल्पद्रुमाद्धुर 1064

रागकवि 1064  
 रागकाव्या 1047  
 रागकुत्तूल 1042, 1064  
 रागकौतुक 1042  
 रागचन्द्रिका 1064  
 रागतत्त्व (वि)बोध 1064  
 रागतरङ्गिणी 1032, 1064  
 रागताळपारिजातप्रकाश 1030  
 रागदीपिका 1031  
 रागध्यानादिकथनाध्याय 1064  
 रागनारायण 1028  
 रागनिरूपण 969  
 रागप्रदीप 1064  
 रागमज़री 1028, 1042  
 रागपाला 1027, 1028  
 by पुण्डरीकविठ्ठल  
 by क्षेमकर्ण  
 by जीवराज  
 रागमालिका 1028  
 रागत्राकर 1064  
 रागलक्षण 1064  
 रागवर्णनिरूपण 1064  
 रागविचोद 1033  
 रागसागर 1009  
 रागादिस्वरनिर्णय 1064  
 रागारोहावरोहणपट्टिका 1064  
 राघव 864  
*काव्यप्रकाशटारीका*  
 राघव or राघवभट्ट (पृथ्वीघरपुत्र) 618, 646  
 राघव (शठमर्ण) 545  
 राघवचरित 159  
 राघवचैतन्य *Sarng*  
 राघवनैषधीय 78, 96  
 राघवपाण्डवीय  
 Com. by विद्याकर  
 रघुवपाण्डवीय 88  
 [A Venkatasubbiah, Authors of

- Raghavapāndavīya and Gadyācintāmani, *JBRAS* (1937) 134] राघवपाण्डवप्रकाशकाव्य [CO I 499]  
राघवभट्ट 541  
उत्तरचम्पू  
राघवभट्ट  
भूपशतक [CO III, 91]  
राघवयादवपाण्डवीय 92, 152, 339  
by चिदम्बर  
by राजचूडायणिदीक्षित  
राघवयादवीय 91  
by सोमेश्वर  
by रघुनाथाचार्य  
by श्रीनिवासाचार्य  
by वामुदेव  
राघवविजय (रागकाव्य) 955, 1047  
राघवसंह 755  
राघवसंहीकीर्तिशतक  
by नरपति [IM II 125 on the  
Maharajas of Darbhanga State]  
राघवाचार्य (विज्मूरि) 520, 787  
राघवाचार्य (श्रीनिवासाचार्यपुत्र) 532  
राघवाचार्य (वेङ्कटाचार्यपुत्र) 520  
उत्तरचम्पू  
राघवाचार्य 649  
उत्तररामचरितव्याख्या  
राघवानन्द (d) 252, 706  
राघवाभ्युदय (d)  
by गङ्गाधर 681  
by भगवन्त 165 [DO XXVII No.  
10043]  
by रामचन्द्र 672  
राघवाचार्य (द्वासिंहपुत्र) 209  
राघवाचार्य (कविषङ्करज)  
श्रीगद्य  
[His son Rāmacandrācārya  
Vidyāraṇyapancāñana wrote status  
They are great astrologers]
- राघवीय 177 [*TSS Trivandram*]  
राघवेन्द्र भट्टाचार्य 768  
राघवेन्द्रतीर्थ (सुधीन्द्रशिष्य)  
रामकृष्णचरितमङ्गरी  
प्रातस्तस्तुल्पगद्य  
राघवेन्द्रविजय 150, 217  
राघवेन्द्रसरस्वति 280  
राघवेशानयति 290  
राघवोलास 252  
by अद्वैतरामभिष्ठु  
by पूज्यपाददेवानन्द  
राजकन्दपै 923  
राजकालनिर्णय 197  
राजकुण्ड 53, 55  
राजकुञ्जेदव (= कुञ्जराज ?) *Skm*  
राजकुलभट्ट *Subh*  
राजगोपालचक्रवर्तिन् 491  
राजगोपालग्न्यर (मशारुगुडि) 1063  
राजचूडामणि 100, 152, 271, 518  
राजतरङ्गिणी 373-B, 184, 188, p 18  
by जोनराज  
by प्राज्यभट्ट  
by कल्हण  
[Translation by Ranjit Sitarama-  
pandita, Allahabad]  
राजनाथ 134-139  
राजनाथमिश्र (मौर्चिल)  
[Mahmahopadhyaya *Sury Jl*  
Died at Benares in 1933]  
राजमुजङ्गस्तोत्र 278  
राजम्पा 495  
राजमिश्र 815  
राजराजचोढ 874  
राजराज 874  
राजराजवर्मन् 180  
राजराजीय 874  
राजराजेश्वरस्तोत्र 273

- राजरामशार्मन् ज्योतिषि  
[of Vivale, *VC JI*]  
राजराय 675  
राजलिङ्गसूरि  
पण्डिताशाध्यचरित  
राजवल्लभशालिन् (of Salivati) [*SO JI*,  
*Sury JI*]  
सच्चिदानन्दशिवाभिनव चृसिंहभारती विजय  
काव्य [Printed Madras]  
राजवल्लभ 515  
राजविनोद 195, 442 \*  
राजशेखर (कोल्कटा) 524, 912, 941  
राजशेखर (यायावर) 828  
[V V Mirashi, *The chronological  
order of Rayasakhara's works* —A full  
review in Patakh's Com Vol  
Poona. D R Bhandarkar's *Gurjars*,  
*JBRAS* XX 10]  
राजशेखर 298  
गीतगङ्गाधर  
राजशेखरचरित 438  
राजशेखरसूरि 201, 440  
राजसूर्जनचरित्र 199  
राजसूय 175  
राजहंस 867  
राजहृसीयनाटक (d) 356  
राजाज़लमहोदयान 200  
राजानकगोपाल 254  
राजानकतिलक 820  
राजानकानन्दक 183  
राजाराम 150  
राजारामचरित 158  
राजावल्ली 68
- राजावल्लीपताक 188  
राजीमतीप्रबोध (d)  
See यशश्वन्द  
राजीविनी (d) 727  
राजेन्द्रकर्णपूर 72, 183  
राजेन्द्रचोल 52  
राजेन्द्रसिंह 88  
राजेश्वरप्रसादशिपाठिन् [*Sury JI*]  
राजोक *Shm*, *Sarng*  
राणक *Sarmy*  
राधाकान्तशालिन्  
हनुमत्सपति etc [*SBh JI*]  
राधाकृष्णणजी 1064  
राधाकृष्णशालिन् (नवसालपुर)  
नीतिदशप्रबन्धी [a collection of  
stories [*SO JI* III 395]  
राधाचरित  
by रामचन्द्र [*HP* I 313]  
राधादामोदर 1101  
राधाप्रसाद 338  
राधाप्रिया  
See विश्वनाथ  
राधामाधवविलास  
by जयराम 444, 542  
by अक्षयबट्टमिश्र [*Vidy JI*]  
राधामानतराज्जिणी 251  
राधामुकुन्दस्तव 224  
राधामोहनगोस्वामिन्  
श्रीकृष्णतत्वाच्छ्रुत  
श्रीकृष्णभक्तिस्तोदय  
[MG JI II He lived at Santi-  
persad, Nuddea in 1710-1782]  
राधारससुधानिषि 251

\* There is a manuscript in the Bhandarkar O R Institute B K R (1874-5)  
p 9 10 has a critical notice The hero is not Sultan Mohammad of Ghazni, but  
Mohammad Begadha of Ahmedabad In the colophon the line of Gujarat Kings  
from which this Mohammad came is given I am in indebted for this information  
to P K Gode, Curator ,Bhandarkar O R Institute,

राधारसमजरी 251  
 राधारहस्य 251, 709  
 राधाविनोदकाव्य 160, 251  
 राधाविप्रलम्ब (d) 778, 955  
 राधाविलास 251  
 राधाष्टक 224  
 राधासुधाकर 251 314  
 राधासौन्दर्यमजरी 251  
 राधास्तव 919  
 रानक 955  
 राम (श्रीनाथपुत्र) 298  
 राम  
     कंसनिधनकाव्य [OC I 505]  
 राम (कृष्णगोपालपुत्र)  
 राम (देवल्पलि) 541  
 राम *Slok, Subh*  
 राम (कुरवि) 922, 941  
 राम (द्वासिंहपुत्र)  
 राम आचार्य  
     सत्यभासापरिणय [OC I 506]  
 रामशुषि 262, 331  
 रामकण्ठा 152, 172, 175  
     by राजसूदामणि  
     by रामबर्मन्  
     by नारायणभट्टपाद  
 रामकथामृत 252  
 रामकथामूर्खोदय 252, 541  
 रामकर्णमृत 293  
     by प्रतापसिंह  
     by रामभद्रदीक्षित  
 रामकवि 298  
     गीतराधव  
 रामकवि (काश्यप) 787  
     [About 1550 AD]  
 रामकवि 407  
     पाण्डवकविग्रनजय  
 रामकवि [OC I. 506]  
     मदनगोपालविलास

रामकवि (केरलीय) 716  
 रामकलनिर्णयबोधिनी p 26  
 रामकाव्य 252  
     by रामानन्दतीर्थ  
     by बालकृष्ण  
 रामकिङ्गरतक्तीर्थी [SBh JI]  
 रामकीर्तिकुमुदावली 513  
 रामकुत्तहल 252  
 रामकृष्ण p 42  
     भारतव्याख्या  
 रामकृष्ण 863-A  
     काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या  
 रामकृष्ण 544  
     भार्गवचम्पू  
 रामकृष्ण (गोपालाचार्यपुत्र)  
     दुर्गाविलासमहाकाव्य [OC I 256]  
 रामकृष्ण [OC I 509]  
     शङ्खराम्भ्युदय  
 रामकृष्ण 781  
     प्रभावतीपरिणय (d)  
 रामकृष्ण (नागर) *Kod*  
     (दामोदरपुत्र) [OC I 507]  
     [Lived in Benares about 1616  
         A D ]  
 रामकृष्ण अव्यङ्गार् (तिरुमलैनल्लास्)  
     [UP JI Short prose stories]  
 रामकृष्ण (तिरुमलपुत्र) 779  
     उत्तरवर्षित (d)  
 रामकृष्ण 286  
     पद्मपुष्पाञ्जलि  
 रामकृष्ण 941  
     वशवन्तयशोभूषण  
 रामकृष्णविद्विमजरी  
     by राधवेन्द्रतीर्थ  
 रामकृष्णमह 1064  
 रामकृष्णयज्वन् p 77  
 राधाकृष्णविलास 296  
 रामकृष्णविलोक्यकाव्य 96

रामकृष्णशर्मन् 254-C  
 रामकृष्णशर्मन् 254-D  
 रामकृष्ण (=तात्याशास्त्रिन्)  
 रामकृष्णशास्त्रिन् 411  
 भवनप्रदीपिका  
 रामकौतुक 252, 859  
 रामकौतुहल (=सज्जीतसारोद्धार) 1064  
 रामखेटकाव्य 252  
 रामगोविन्द 296  
 रामगुणाकर 252  
 रामगोपाल 323  
 रामगोपालकविरत्न 368  
 रामचक्रवर्तिन्  
 बृन्दावनयमकटीका [CO I 506]  
 रामचन्द्र 251  
 गोविन्दलीला  
 रामचन्द्र (वेलाल) 787  
 रामचन्द्र 863-A  
 काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या  
 रामचन्द्र (जनर्वनपुत्र)  
 रामचन्द्र (वल्लभाचार्यभ्राता) 225  
 रामचन्द्र (आवश्य) 262, 293, 522, 1094  
 रामचन्द्र 672  
 वासन्तिका  
 रामचन्द्र 649  
 उत्तररामचरितव्याख्या  
 रामचन्द्र (केशवपुत्र) 160, 537  
 रामचन्द्रचम्पू [Tanj XIX p xxxv]  
 [Kes'ava's father was Pañjanali,  
 Patanjali's father was Kes'ava and  
 Kes'ava's brothers were Is'vara and  
 Rājacūḍāmanī]  
 रामचन्द्र (पतञ्जलिपुत्र) 541  
 रामचन्द्र (कोष्ठपण्डितपुत्र)  
 रामचन्द्र (शोष)  
*See* शोषरामचन्द्र  
 रामचन्द्र (श्रीहर्षपुत्र) 672

रामचन्द्र (गुह)  
 रसप्रदीप [CO I. 511]  
 रामचन्द्र (of Tanjore)  
 कलानन्दनाटक (d) [CO I 511]  
 रामचन्द्र (जैन) 672  
 रामचन्द्र (भार्गव) 348  
 रामचन्द्र  
 हृष्णविजय [CO I 511]  
 रामचन्द्र  
 आनन्दलहरीटीका [CO I 511]  
 रामचन्द्र (कोराङ) 319, 728  
 रामचन्द्र (पुष्टेल) 252  
 रामचन्द्र [CO I 512]  
 सरसकुलानन्द (d)  
 रामचन्द्र (पतञ्जलिपुत्र) 151  
 रामचन्द्र 53  
 भारविव्याख्या  
 रामचन्द्रकथामूल 356, 919  
 रामचन्द्रकरुणासागरचन्त्रिका [Opp. 3840]  
 रामचन्द्रकविवाहिति 921  
 रामचन्द्रकाव्य 252  
 रामचन्द्रचम्पू 541, 922  
 by रामचन्द्र 541  
 by विश्वनाथ  
 रामचन्द्रडोला 1064  
 रामचन्द्रदास *Pady*  
 रामचन्द्रभट्ट (लक्ष्मणभट्टपुत्र) [CO I 512,  
 513 Born 1484 A.D] 251, 314  
 रसिकरज्ञ  
 रोमावलीशतक  
 रामचन्द्रभट्ट 88  
 राधाचरित [CO III 109]  
 रामचन्द्रभट्ट (बद्धालदेश) 350  
 रामचन्द्रभट्ट *Sarng*  
 रामचन्द्रभट्टव्य 252  
 रामचन्द्रयशोऽपवन्ध 199  
 रामचन्द्रयशोभूषण 941

रामचन्द्रवाचस्पति 44  
 रामचन्द्रविजय 719  
 रामचन्द्रविजय 162  
 by वेङ्कटकृष्ण (भारदाज) [TC VI 7390]  
 रामचन्द्रविहार 1048  
 रामचन्द्रशर्मन (A D) [VC JI]  
 रामचन्द्रशर्मन (of Muadabād)  
 [Sury JI]  
 रामचन्द्रशर्मन (of Hanumaddūga)  
 [Sury JI]  
 रामचन्द्रशास्त्रिन् (T) शिरोमणि  
 सुवदना [UP JI X]  
 रामचन्द्रशेखर 708  
 रामचन्द्रसरस्वती 904  
 रामचन्द्रस्तुति 291  
 रामचन्द्राधिक 1000  
 रामचन्द्रोदय  
 by वेङ्कटेश (आनेश) 156, 239, 336,  
 341  
 by गोपालराय 337  
 by वेङ्कटेशवामन 355  
 by कविचल्लम 252  
 by पुरुषोत्तमप्रिं 252, 1047  
 by रामदास 252  
 anonymous 787  
 रामचन्द्र 541  
 रामचरण 1099  
 रामचरणतर्कबाणीश 252  
 रामचरित (poem)  
 [Ramghat Jain Mandir, Benares]  
 रामचरित 59  
 by अभिनन्द  
 by काशीनाथ  
 by सन्ध्याकरनन्दिन् 339  
 by कामाक्षी 383  
 by देवविजयगणि 383  
 by रामचर्मन 177, 544  
 by गोदावर्मन् 714

रामचरित उपाध्याय (of Aza) [VC JI]  
 रामचरित (जैन) p 22  
 रामचरित 252  
 by रघुनाथ  
 by विष्वक्सेन  
 by काशीनाथ  
 by मोहनस्वामिन्  
 रामचरितकाव्य 180  
 by एड्यत्  
 रामचरितवर्णन  
 हनुमान् [MM II 133]  
 रामचर्यामृत 541  
 रामचापस्तव 160  
 रामजित् Har  
 रामतर्कवाणीश  
 चौरपद्माशिकाटीका  
 भामिनीविलासटीका [OO I 505-6]  
 रामतारण 297  
 रामदण्डक 505  
 रामदत्त 297  
 रामदत्तपण्ड 581  
 रामदयालु 1099  
 रामद्वास Shm  
 रामदास (विनायकपुत्र) 752  
 रामदास 252  
 रामचन्द्रोदय  
 रामदासमित्र  
 रत्नविलाप [OO I 515]  
 रामदेव 1102  
 वृत्तरत्नावली  
 रामदेव (व्यास) 772  
 रामदेव (न्यायालङ्घर) 252  
 रामदेव ओंधा (of Muzafarpur)  
 [Sury JI]  
 रामदेवचिरञ्जीव 768, 908  
 रामदेवमहान्वार्य  
 (विश्वनाथपद्मानन्दपुल) Ked [OO I  
 584] Visvanatha wrote com-

- mentary on Nyāyasūtras in  
1634]
- रामदेवमिश्र  
रसविलास [CO I 575]
- रामदेवमिश्र 478
- वासवदत्ताव्याख्या
- रामदेवशर्मन् (of Datapuri, Muṣafarfu)  
[Sury J.]
- रामनाथ 252
- अभिरामकाव्य
- रामनाथ 544
- चन्द्रगोखरचम्पू
- रामनाथ
- मेघदूतव्याख्या 318
- रामनाथजोसी [Sury J.]
- रामनाथतकलि
- आर्यानवशती (आर्यालहरी)  
[Printed Calcutta]
- रामनाथकालङ्कार 254, 863-A
- वासुदेवविजय
- रामनाथमिश्र
- ब्रिटिशविजय [MM II 98]
- रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति 863-A
- रामनाथशर्मन् (गोड्ले)  
[of Amagruva SO J.]
- रामनाथशास्त्रिन् (S) 254
- रामनाथशश्चिन् (महाश्री) (of Bombay)
- रामपश्चशती 173
- रामपाणिवाद 177, 779, 939
- रामपारश्व 28
- रामपालचरित 189
- [This has double entendre and has  
stories of Rāma and king Rāmapāla]
- रामपाल 389
- रामपाल (of Rajgang)  
कालविषयिणी etc, [MG J.]
- रामपिण्डार्थी 618
- रामप्रसानन्द p 20
- रामबाणस्व 160
- रामभट्ट 513
- मदालसा ०१ उज्जीवितमदालस (d)  
[CO I 505]
- रामभट्ट
- See गीतगिरीश
- रामभट्ट 787
- शृङ्गारतरङ्गिणी (d)
- रामभट्ट (जैन) 679
- रामभट्ट (न्यायालङ्कार) 27, 88, 618
- रामभट्टदीक्षित 293, 939
- रामभट्टधर्मेन्दु
- श्रीधष्ठदक etc [Sury J.]
- रामभट्टवाजपेयिन् Kal
- रामभट्टविजय 721
- रामभट्टशतक 160
- रामभट्टस्तुति 721
- रामभट्टाम्बा 146
- रामभुजङ्ग 507
- रामभय 622
- रामभ्यर (मधुग) 1052
- रामभयशर्मन् 600
- रामहिन्द्रतोत्र 286
- राममाणिक्यकविराज 778
- रामदूर्ति (B)
- रजनिका [UP J. (1936) 37]
- राममोहन
- चाणक्यकुसुमकाव्य [CO I 518]
- राममयकार्णव 156, 336
- रामरत्नाकर 252
- रामरसामृत 252
- रामराज्याभिषेक 723, 779
- रामरायकवि (बोल्कोण्ड) 288
- रामरद्व 307
- रामलक्ष्मणस्तोत्र 273
- रामलिङ्गवर्णन 373-A
- रामलिङ्गशास्त्रिन् (K.A.) JSSP
- रामलीलामृत 338

रामलीलोदय 252  
 रामवर्णमालिकास्तोत्र [TC VI 6991]  
 रामवर्मन् (of Cranganoor) 714  
     कोसुदी  
 रामवर्मकुलशेखर 939  
 रामवर्मन् 695  
 रामवर्महाराज 1057  
 रामवर्मयशोभूषण 161, 939, 1044, 1049  
 रामवर्मयशुवराज 544  
     [Lived in Kollam 975-1025]  
 रामवर्मयुवराज 715  
 रामवर्मविद्युवराज 713  
 रामवर्मविलास 695  
 रामवारियर 180  
 रामविनोद  
     [Ramghat Jain Mandir, Benares]  
 रामविलास 252  
     anonymous  
     by रामचरण  
     by हरिनाथ  
 रामविलास चतुर्वेदिन् (of Mehadvagana,  
     Vardhamana) [Sury JI]  
 रामचंद्र 323  
 रामशतक 116, 290  
 रामकर्मन् 373  
     प्रस्तावसारसङ्ग्रह  
 रामशर्मन् 815, 922  
     नाथिकानुवर्णन  
 रामशर्मन् 459, 815  
     (mentioned by Dandin)  
 रामशर्मन् मेण्ठ (of Toloda, VC JI)  
 रामशालिन् 88  
 रामशालिन् (चर्ले) 941  
 रामशालिन् (उलाकि) [of Amritsar, Pun-  
     jab SO JI]  
 रामशालिन् (भार्दि) 544  
 रामशालिन् (भण्डकल) 3, 19, 50  
 रामशालिन् (आबधि) 522

राम शालिन् (शतावधानि बेमूरि) 769  
 रामशालिन् (A L) [VC JI]  
 रामसारामृत  
     See श्रीधर  
 रामस्वामिन् (बण्डलमूरि) 541  
 रामस्वामिन् (देवुलपालि) 522  
 रामस्वामिन्  
 रामचम्पू [Printed Madras, on the  
     Deity of Yanomaddala of Andhra  
     country ]  
 रामस्वामिराज 200  
 रामस्वामिशालिन् (G) 441  
 रामस्वामिशालिन् 546, 1103  
     विशाखकीर्तिविलास  
 रामस्वामिशालिन् (K S) 744  
 रामसिंहदेव 841  
 रामसिंह 862  
 रामस्तुतिरत्न 1100  
 रामसुन्नरमहाकाव्य 917  
 रामसुब्रह्मण्य (रामसुब्रह्माशालिन्) 917  
 रामसूरि 254  
     कुमारविजय  
 रामाङ्क (d) 784  
 रामाचार्य 253  
 रामानन्द 44  
     भट्टिकाव्यव्याख्या  
 रामानन्द (d) 788  
 रामानन्दकविराय 1064  
     जगद्धात्रवल्लभसङ्गीतनाटक (d) [Vidy JI]  
 रामानन्दतीर्थ 252  
     रामकाव्य  
 रामानन्दतीर्थ 1064  
     सप्ततिसिद्धान्त  
 रामानन्दतीर्थ p 24  
     रामायणव्याख्या  
 रामानन्दराय 691  
 राम नन्दशर्मन् (पाण्डेय) [SB JI]

- रामानुज 206 \*
- रामानुज (श्रीवत्स) [TO VI 7403]  
रामानुज (भावनारायणपुत्र) 704  
रामानुज (बाधूल) 541, 544, 547  
रामानुज (गोविन्दपुत्र) 205  
रामानुज (शरणमाचर्यपुत्र) 701  
रामानुज  
    सङ्कल्पसूर्योदयव्याख्या 753  
रामानुज अध्यक्षर (अरियकुडि) 1063  
रामानुजचंद्र 254-A  
रामानुजग्रन्थ 207  
रामानुजचतुर्स्रसति 919  
रामानुजचम्पू 546, 704  
रामानुजचरित 206  
रामानुजदास 206, 546  
रामानुजदिव्यचरित 206  
रामानुजमताभासविलास 494  
रामानुजवंशवालि 207  
रामानुजविजय 206  
रामानुजसुचिरिततिलक 206  
रामानुजसुधी 205  
रामानुजाचार्य (माडभूषि) 942  
रामानुजाचार्य (काण्ठरि) 1060  
रामानुजाचार्य (नाविल्पकम्) 254 A  
रामानुजाचार्य (मैत्रेय) 546  
रामानुजाचार्य (किळाल्पि)  
    चीपाकवर्णन ३८०  
[He was Principal, Maharaja College,  
Vizianagaram and lived 1857-1928]
- रामानुजीय 206  
रामाभिनन्द (d) 779, 880  
रामाभिषेक  
    by केशव 252  
    by देवराज 541  
रामाभ्युदय (d) 955  
रामाभ्युदय (प्रवन्ध) 1047  
    by नारायणमिश्र  
    by पुरुषोत्तमशास्त्रि  
रामाभ्युदय 131  
    by सालवनरसिंह  
    by वैद्युटेश 252  
रामाभ्युदयचत्पूर्ण 522, 541  
रामाभ्युदयतिलक 252  
रामाभ्युदय (d) 131  
    by यशोवर्मन् 392, 6512  
    by व्यासश्रीरामदेव 772  
रामगात्र 1027  
रामगृह 252  
रामायण † p 3 et seq  
[See M Venkataratnam, *Rama the greatest Pharaoh of Egypt*, Madias Ruben, *Studies in the history and text of Ramayananam* (in German) Stuttgart ]  
रामायण p 22  
    (हेमचन्द्रकृत)  
रामायणकथा [TO 1088]  
रामायणकथापुष्पमञ्जरी 287

\* (He was son of Kāñṭimati and Kes'ava Bhatta. His mother's brother was Śrīśālapūrṇa, who was one of the disciples of Ālavandār. It is wrongly printed in para 206 that Rāmānuja was Alavandār's son's daughter's son. Rāmānuja's date of birth and death are in the chronogram धीर्जिव्या घमो नष्टः (949 and 1054 Sāka.) )

† See S Aiyaduraiaiyār, *Ramayana as an illustration of Yogasūtra* (Printed Kumbakonam)

" The Ramayana is the story of Atma Vijayam. Rama is the Atma who is in quest of Sita who is Brahmanavidya with the help of Lakshmana, who is Buddhi, and Hanuman, who is Mitas, by destroying Ravana, the Rajoguna with the ten

रामायणकथासार p 20  
 रामायणकथाविमर्श p 25  
 रामायणकालनिर्णयसूचिका p 26  
 रामायणचम्पू 381  
     by मुन्द्रवली 541  
     by भोज and लक्ष्मण 516  
     by रामानुज 704  
 रामायणचूर्णिका [TO VI 7406]  
 रामायणतत्त्वदर्पण p 26  
 रामायणतत्त्वदीपिका p 24  
 रामायणतात्पर्यदीपिका p 26  
 रामायणतात्पर्यनिर्णय 143  
 रामायणतात्पर्यसङ्ग्रह 143  
 रामायणतारावली [TO VI 6946]  
 रामायणदण्डक 255  
 रामायणदीपिका p 24  
 रामायणनाटक (d) 672, 779, 955  
 रामायणप्रबन्ध [TO VI 7282]  
 रामायणप्रसाहनावली [OO II, 123]  
 रामायणभूषण  
     by गोविन्दराज p 22  
     by प्रबलमुकुन्दसूरि p 24  
 रामायणमञ्चरी 68  
 रामायणमहादर्शी p 25  
 रामायणरङ्गनी [Opp 7385]  
 रामायणसङ्ग्रह  
     by वरददेविक 242  
     by वेङ्कटेश्वर 340

रामायणसङ्ग्रह (contd.)  
     by रविवर्मकुलगोवर 716  
     by लक्ष्मणसूरि 246  
 रामायणसार p 26  
 रामायणसारचन्द्रिका p 25  
 रामायणसारदीपिका p 25  
 रामायणसारसङ्ग्रह  
     by वेङ्कटाचार्य p 26  
     by वरदराज p 25  
     by अप्ययदीक्षित 143  
     by रघुनाथनायक 146  
     by ईश्वरदीक्षित 252  
 रामायणसारस्त्रव 143  
 रामायणसारोद्धार  
     by मुनुकुदलनृतिंहावधानि  
         [Printed Bezwada]  
 रामायणमृत 290  
 रामायणान्वयी p 24  
 राममायि 786  
 रामार्थ (P G) 196  
 रामार्थशतक  
     (Printed in Bombay)  
 रामार्थशतक [PR V 378]  
     See मुद्रलभृ  
 रामाराधा (d) 778, 877  
 रामावतार 352  
 रामातारकालनिर्णय p 26  
 रामावतारशमेन् 254-Q

senses for ten heads, and Kumbhakarna, Tamoguna, after enlisting the services of Vibhishana, the Satvaguna Lanka, wherein Sita is made captive, is Muladhara Chakra and Rakshasas are the evil forces that lie coiled up in Muladhara. In fact, all the characters and all the geographical names that occur in the Ramavanya are identified with certain portions of the human body, and every such identification is sought to be supported by the meaning which the word is capable of yielding or other reasons are given why it ought to be so.

See also for a similar exposition, *An esoteric study of Ramayananam* by C Doraisami Aiyangar, Chittoor Articles in *Dharmarajya*, Delhi

रामावतारशर्मन् (पाण्डेय) *contd*  
 ज्योतिर्बिद्या  
 भारतीयमितिवृत्तम् (in 5 Vicas) 1001  
 रामाष्टपदी 160, 338  
 रामाचार्य 286  
 रामिल 274, 1566  
 रामेश्वर (पौष्टिरीक) 890  
 रामेश्वरपञ्चानन भगवार्य *Ked*  
 रामेश्वरविवाह 253  
 रामेश्वर (गोविन्दपुत्र)  
 रामेश्वरविजय 211, 544  
 रामेश्वर (कन्दुकूरि) 544  
 रामेश्वर (रामदेवपुत्र) 636  
 रामोळास 125  
 रामोदन्त  
*See* वासुदेवशास्त्रिन्  
 रामोदाहरणगीतिकाव्य 298  
 रायभट्ट 314  
 रायमनोहर 314  
 रायमल 235  
 रायमआभ्युदय 825  
 रावजिराजकीर्तिविलास 733  
 रावण 964  
 रावणपुरवध 254  
 रावणभुजंग 509  
 रावणवध (= दशाननवधकाव्य) 43, 44  
 रावणविजय 70  
 रातुवशमुक्तावली 522, 769  
 रात्रि 563  
 रासकल्पसारतत्व 251  
 रासकाङ्क 783  
 रासकाव्य (= श्रीरासकाव्य)

रासकृष्णमातुरी 251  
 रासकीडा [TC VI 7285]  
 राससोदय 251  
 रासविहार [govinda]  
 by माधव [MM II 134, like Gita-  
 राष्ट्रैडबंश 198  
 राहुलक 949  
 राक्षस *Skm*  
 रिस्तु 69  
 रुक्माङ्गदीय 254  
 रीतिनिर्णय 792  
 रीतिवृत्तिलक्षण 893  
 रुक्मिणीकल्याण (गीत) 352  
 रुक्मिणीकल्याण 100  
 by विद्याचक्रवर्तिन्  
 by परमानन्द  
 by गोविन्दरथ  
 by राजचूडामणि 152  
 रुक्मिणीकृष्णवल्ली 192, 777  
 रुक्मिणीकृष्णविवाह 146  
 रुक्मिणीचम्पू 542  
 रुक्मिणीनाटक (d) [OC I 527]  
 by सरखलीनिवास  
 रुक्मिणीपरिणय (d) 777  
 by आत्रेयवरद  
 by रामवर्मन् 713  
 by कवितार्किकासिंह  
 by विश्वेश्वर 312, 906  
 by बत्सराज [*Ed GOS*] 777  
 रुक्मिणीपरिणय  
 by अप्पयदीक्षित  
 by वेङ्कटशास्त्रिन् 943  
 by एडवेटिसकाइनवृद्धि 939

Rāsa-kṛīḍā is thus finely described in Kṛṣṇaka-rāśīmṛīṭa

अत्तनामानामन्तरे माधवो माधवं माधवं चान्तरेणाङ्कना ।

इथमाकल्प्यते मण्डने मव्याः सङ्गौ वेगुना देवकीनन्दन ॥

- रुक्मणीपरिणय *contd*  
     by गोविन्द 253  
 रुक्मणीपरिणयचन्द्र 150, 544  
     by अम्माल्ल  
     by वेङ्कटाचार्य  
     by रामराय 289
- रुक्मणीविलभपरिणय 544  
 रुक्मणीपाणिग्रहण 253  
 रुक्मणीशविजय 217  
 रुक्मणीस्वर्यवप्रबन्ध 180  
 रुक्मणीस्वर्यवर (d) 790  
 रुक्मणीहरण (d) 777  
 रुचक 190, 455, 848, 863-A, 870  
 रुचि 904  
 रुचिकर 860, 865  
 रुचिनाथ 863 (a)  
 रुचिपति 1064  
 रुचिपतिदत्त 666  
 रुचिवधूगङ्गलमाला  
     See परप्रव  
 रुदतीपण्डित *Samug*  
 रुदि *Slm*  
 रुदामन् 11  
 रुद (अनन्तपुल) 198  
 रुद  
     सरदीपिका (OO I 528)  
     खट 451, 802, 839  
     रुदास 176, 659  
     रुदेव 752  
     रुधर  
         पुष्पमाला [MM II 80]  
     रुदनन्दिन् *Slm*  
     रुदनन्दिन् *Slm*  
     रुदन्यायवाचस्पति 251, 323  
         भावविलास 349  
         बृन्दावनविनोद [OO I 529]  
     रुदभट्ट 802, 828  
     रुद्धारतिलक
- रुदभट्ट  
     जगदाथविजयकाव्य 254  
 रुदमदेव 308  
 रुदवर्मन् 593  
 रुद्धामन् (त्रिपाठिन्) 282  
     चण्डीविलास (d) [OO I 528]  
 रुद्धतिंह 314, 442  
 रुद्धसेन 32  
 रुद्धाचार्य (= रुद) 996  
 रुप्पक *Subh*  
 रुप्यक 72, 812, 870  
 रुपक 561, 563  
 रुपगोस्मामिन् (= रुप) 220, 323  
     [See D C Sen's *Medieval  
     Vassina Literature and  
     of Dept of Letters, Calcutta,  
     1931*]
- रुपदेव 297, 998 [*Tanq XVI* 7338]  
 रुपदेव *Slm* 400  
 रुपमणि  
 रुपसेनचरित 50  
 रुपसेनचरित 440  
 रुपाषत्यलङ्घणकाव्य [*Rice.* 242]  
 रुपावतार 818  
 रेणुकास्तोक *BTO* 190  
     by मालोजी  
     by सुचिकुन्द  
 रण्युदेशी 50  
 रेतोक *Slm*  
 रेवतीकान्तमष्टाचार्य 468  
 रेवतीहालाङ्क (d) 781  
 रेवणाराघ्य 218, 515  
 रेवा 373-A  
 रेवाराम  
     See गीतमाघव  
     शङ्करमेवजी (प्रहसन)  
 रैरुप्पक *Subh*  
 रैवतमदनिका (d) 563, 880

रोचनानन्द (d) 682, 725  
 रोमावलीशतक 225, 312  
 रोहा 373-A  
 रोहिणीअशोकचन्द्रकथा  
 [Printed, Bombay]  
 रोहिणीअशोकनृपकथा [Bendall, 51]  
 रोहिणीकान्त (of Puapadha, Dacca)  
 [SO JI]  
 रोहिणीसुगन्ध 672  
 रौहिणीयचरित 235

## ल

लकुमा 889  
 लक्षणदीपिका 908, 1019  
 लक्षणमालिका 915  
 लक्षणादर्श 45  
 लक्ष्मोकालङ्कार p 42  
 लक्ष्मण (गङ्गाधरपुत्र) 517  
 लक्ष्मण (ओरुण्टि) 252  
 लक्ष्मण (भारद्वाज)  
 रुचीरविलास [TC IV 5460]  
 लक्ष्मण (रायानुजपुत्र) 376, 517  
 लक्ष्मण  
 समस्यार्थ [CO I 536]  
 लक्ष्मण *Subh, Pady*  
 लक्ष्मणदान्त 541  
 लक्ष्मणपण्डित 88, 373  
 सूक्ष्मिसुक्ष्मावली (= सूक्ष्मावली)  
 लक्ष्मणभट्ट 76, 373  
 पद्मरचना  
 नैषधव्याख्या [composed probably  
 in the first half of 16th century  
 AD COJ II 300]  
 लक्ष्मणभट्ट p 42  
 महाभारतटीका  
 लक्ष्मणभरत 959  
 लक्ष्मणभास्कर 959, 1015  
 लक्ष्मणमहापात्र *Ked*

लक्ष्मणमाणिक्यदेव 694  
 लक्ष्मणशतक [*Tanj* No 3963]  
 by नारोजिपण्डित  
 लक्ष्मणशास्त्रिन्  
 गुरुंवशमहाकाव्य 270  
 लक्ष्मणशास्त्रिन् (बैलिंग) (*Sury JI*)  
 लक्ष्मणशास्त्रिन् (of Nagour, Marwai)  
 रामपादयुगलीस्त्रव  
 [A citrakāvya, acrostics *Sarada*  
 JI, I 282]  
 लक्ष्मणशिव 441  
 लक्ष्मणसामिन् (मल्लादि) 526  
 लक्ष्मणदूरि (मल्लादि) 932  
 लक्ष्मणदूरि 246, 254, 323, 610, 639,  
 649, 656, 566  
 लक्ष्मणसेन 119, 294, 306, 398  
 लक्ष्मणसोमयाजिन् 252  
 लक्ष्मणचार्य 282  
 See कितबोङ्गास  
 लक्ष्मणभरणीय (?) 541  
 लक्ष्मी *Sarng*  
 लक्ष्मी 374  
 लक्ष्मीकल्पाण (d) 777  
 by सद्गृशिवदीक्षित 939  
 by मानविक्रम  
 लक्ष्मीकान्तशास्त्रिन् (G) [UP JI]  
 लक्ष्मीव्य  
 bv लक्ष्मीनान् [Printed Bombay]  
 by उत्तमराय 253  
 लक्ष्मीकुमारसाताचार्य 212, 649, 650  
 लक्ष्मीकुमारोदय 212  
 लक्ष्मीगिय 506  
 लक्ष्मीचन्द्र  
 गौरागंगीबनवरित्र (prose) [SO JI]  
 लक्ष्मीतिलक 107  
 लक्ष्मीदण्डक 505  
 लक्ष्मीदत्त 250  
 लक्ष्मीदास 323

लक्ष्मीदेव	लक्ष्मीनरस 646
(mentioned in श्रीकण्ठचरित, XXV 91]	लक्ष्मीनरसिंह (K R) [UP J.]
लक्ष्मीधर 782	लक्ष्मीनरसिंह 269, 787
लक्ष्मीधर Shar, Shar, Pady, Savny	लक्ष्मीनरसिंह (वज्रकान्त) 544
लक्ष्मीधर	लक्ष्मीनाथ 85
अलङ्कारसुकावली [CO I 538]	लक्ष्मीनाथभट्ट 841
लक्ष्मीधर	लक्ष्मीनारायण 1095
चक्रपणिकाव्य 254	श्रुतबोधव्याख्या
लक्ष्मीधर	लक्ष्मीनारायण (भण्डार) 1030
नलवर्णन 513	लक्ष्मीनारायण 441 [CO I 538]
लक्ष्मीधर (वाणीकुटिल) Slem	काशीस्तोत्र
लक्ष्मीधर (ब्राविड)	उपज्ञमार्या
[mentioned in Bhojaprabandha]	कृष्णाष्टक
लक्ष्मीधर (चेस्कूरि) † 297, 666, 675,	देव्यष्टक
1031.	प्रातसंस्मरणाष्टक
लक्ष्मीधर (लोह) ‡ 889	भारतीनीराजन

† He must have written his commentary on Murāri after he became an ascetic and assumed the name Bāmānardāśrama [Tanj VIII 8322] He had a brother Kondubhatta (Panditapattabhadra)

‡ He was son of Visvanātha and Pārvatī of Haritagoṭra. In his colophon to the commentary on Saundaryalaharī [Tanj No 20684] he describes his ancestors, all great in learning. Of these were Mahādeva (para 889) Lakṣmidhara, (author of Sahityaparijñāta), Virincimisra, (author of Bharatārnavaṇoṭa and Sāhiṭyamīmāṃsā) He was in the Court of King Gajapati Virarudra of Orissa and wrote Sarasvatī vilāsa (on Hindu law) and poems Lakṣmidhara, Barhāvatamsa and Karnā vatamsa. After Kṛṣṇadevarāja married the daughter of Pratāparudra, Lakṣmidhara appears to have gone to Vijayanagar and lived in the Court of Kṛṣṇadevarāja, whom he thus praised

श्रीकृष्णस्तिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कर्वना गृहाः  
नानारद्विचिद्वक्तुमभिमुखो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः ।  
अञ्जिध केवलवारिपूरनिलयस्तंभाव्यते सज्जनै  
अम्बोधिर्जलाधि पयोधिरुदधिर्वरानिधिर्वारधिः ॥

■ V Viraraghavacharya gives his date as about 1465-1580 Inscriptions in Kondavidu mention Lakṣmidhara [EI VI 280 dated 1520 A D ]

Has the same Lakṣmidhara written a commentary of Anādalaharī? [CO I 528 Here his name is noted as Lakṣmidhara Desika]

- लक्ष्मीनारायण 441 [CO I 538] *contd*
- मंगलदशक
  - मदनसुखचपेटिका
  - रामचन्द्रपञ्चदश
  - विन्ध्यवासिनीदशक
  - विश्वेश्वरनीराजन
  - विष्णुनाराजन
  - शिवस्तोत्र
  - सूर्यषट्पदी
  - लक्ष्मीनारायणकवि 311
  - गङ्गालहरीशतक
  - लक्ष्मीनारायणकाव्य 742
  - लक्ष्मीनारायणचरित्र 242
  - लक्ष्मीनिवास 318
  - लक्ष्मीनृसिंह
  - अनङ्गसर्वस्व (d) 787
  - लक्ष्मीनृसिंह 544, 547
  - शानाङ्गुर
  - लक्ष्मीनृसिंह 213
  - भारततात्पर्यनिर्णयव्याख्या
  - लक्ष्मीनृसिंहशतक 492
  - लक्ष्मीनृसिंहस्तोत्र 210
  - लक्ष्मीनृसिंहस्तोत्र 223
  - लक्ष्मीपति 931
  - कृष्णालङ्घारदर्पण
  - लक्ष्मीपति [CO I 539]
  - शिक्षानीतिकाव्य
  - लक्ष्मीपति (विश्वरूपपुत्र) 196
  - अवदुल्लचरित
  - लक्ष्मीपति
  - चक्ररथम्पू 544
  - लक्ष्मीपति
  - लवलीपरिणय (d) 777
  - लक्ष्मीपतिशतक 737
  - लक्ष्मीमानचेद (d) 541
  - लक्ष्मीराज्ञी 380, 180
  - लक्ष्मीलक्षणमालिका 922
  - लक्ष्मीलहरी 311
  - लक्ष्मीबल्लभ 28
  - लक्ष्मीविलास 312
  - See* वैणीविलास
  - लक्ष्मीश्वरचम्पू 544
  - लक्ष्मीवेङ्कटेशस्तव 919
  - लक्ष्मीश्वरप्रताप 496
  - लक्ष्मीसरखतीसंवाद 342
  - लक्ष्मीस्वयंवर (d)
  - by श्रीनिवास 777
  - by सरस्वती 551, 788, 842
  - See* पराशरमह
  - लक्ष्मीसहस्र 379
  - by त्रिवेणी
  - by वेद्याक्षरित्
  - लक्ष्मीस्तुति 254 F [TC VI 6957]
  - लक्ष्मीस्तोत्र 126
  - लक्ष्मसज्जीत 1064
  - लखिना थाकुराणी 378
  - लख्य 904
  - लघुकाव्य 255
  - लघुपाण्डवचरित 746
  - लघुभद्राक 586
  - लघुभागवतामृत 220
  - लघुरामचरित 746
  - लघुव्यास
  - See* वृत्तिवल्लभनाटक (d) [CO I 541]
  - लघुसत्त्वातिकास्तव 902
  - लघुसत्तव 309
  - लङ्घण 72
  - लङ्घेश्वर 286
  - लङ्घदत्त *Skm*
  - लटकपेलक (d) 786, 880
  - लङ्घाचन्द्र *Skm*
  - लङ्घक *Skm*
  - लङ्घसागर
  - See* पृथ्वीचन्द्रचारी
  - लम्बोदरपहसन (d) 706
  - लङ्घराज 922
  - लङ्घदीक्षित 286, 600

ललितमहाकाव्य 844  
 ललितमाधव 220  
 ललितरक्षमाला (d) 69, 611, 670  
 ललितराधव 252  
 ललितराघवीय (d) 939  
 ललितप्रहराज (d) 671  
 ललिता 745  
 ललिता (d) 565  
 ललिताद्वारा (d) 874  
 ललितादिव्य 60, 641  
 ललितानुराग *Subh*  
 ललितास्तन्त्र 286  
 ललितासहस्रनाम 126, 257  
 ललितास्तोत्र 278  
 ललितोक *Skm*  
 लबणप्रसाद 119  
 लबणलक्ष्मण (d) 727  
 लबलीपरिणय (d) 777  
 लाटडिण्डन 69  
 लाटडिण्डीर (= हिण्डीर)  
     [Quoted in *Suv1*]  
 लाटानुप्राप्त 325  
 लाटमणित्रिपाठिक  
     वाचेलवंशावली [*OB* III 118]  
 लालमणि 314  
 लालमोहन 318  
 लालिगीत [*TC* VI 7407]  
 लावण्यमयी 487  
 लावण्यवती 68  
 लिखनावली 403  
 लिङ्गकवि 280  
 लिङ्गप्रभु 156  
 लिङ्गलीलाविलासचरित 254  
 लिङ्गादुर्गमेदन 782  
 लिङ्गानुशासन 70, 819  
 लिङ्गेश्वरमैल् (of Kratukoti, Dharwad)  
     [*Suy JI*]  
 लिंगामि 626

लीलाचन्द्र *Subh*  
 लीलादर्पण 726  
 लीलामधुकर (d) 880  
 लीलावती (d) 939  
 लीलावतीकथा 70, 106, 441  
 लीलावतीसार महाकाव्य  
     by जिनेश्वर [*Jes 4*]  
 लीलास्तुति 121  
 लुद्धक *Subh*  
 लेखा *Subh*  
 लेखिनीकृष्णाण 581  
 लोकनाथ p 24  
 लोकनाथभट्ट  
     कृष्णभ्युदय (d) [*Tanq* VII 57/5]  
 लोकप्रकाश 68, 69  
 लोकरजन 786  
 लोकसम्भव 309  
 लोकाचार्य 209  
 लोकाचार्य (पिले) 209  
     [He lived for 121 years in 1205–  
     1326 The dates given in para  
     209 appear to be incorrect  
     Vedāntadesika has written a pancā-  
     sāt in his praise]  
 लोकाधिकारिक 1071  
 लोकानन्द (d) 53, 613  
 लोकेश्वरशतक 284  
 लोचन 836  
 लोचनकवि 1032  
 लोचनपण्डित 1064  
 लोचनोलास 933  
 लोटक (जयमाधवपुत्र) *Subh*  
 लोठक (ईश्वरपुत्र) *Subh*  
 लोठितक *Subh*  
 लोणितक *Sarny*  
 लोपामुद्रा 373-A  
 लोपामुद्रा *Skm*  
 लोलम्बराज 129, 251

लोक्लट 810, 1822, 953, 955

लोक्लमहादेव 888

लोष्टक 27, 286

लोष्टसर्वज्ञ *Skm*

लौलकराजानक *Subh*

लौलिक *Skm*

लौलिक (= कालक) *Skm*

लौहित्यवीरसेन 373

लौहित्यगोपलभट्ट 863-A

व

वकुल्मालिनीगीतापरिणय

(= वकुल्मालिनीपरिणय) (d) 242, 777

वकुला भरण (आत्रेय शठगोपगुत्त)

वरवरसुनिचम्पू [TO VI 7201 Describes the life of Manavālamahā-muni See para 209]

वक्रतुण्डगणनायक (d) 783

वक्रोक्ति 342

वक्रोक्तिजीवित 845

वक्रोक्तिपद्माशिका 58, 342

वक्षोजशतक 312

वच्छिदास 53

वक्षमणि 1039

वक्षाल *Skm*

वक्षीयप्रताप 741

वक्षीपुरनाथचरित 254

वक्षीवत्सत्व 713

वक्षेश्वर (नृसिंहपुत्र) 163

See वक्षेश्वर

वक्षमुकुटीविलास 545

by अलसिङ्ग

by योगानन्द

वक्षवर्मन् *Subh*

वक्षायुध *Subh*

वज्जेश्वरीकाव्य 254, 311

वदेश्वरमिश्र 632

वस्त 28

वत्सभटि 10

वत्सराज (लाटभूपति) 478

वत्सराज *Sarny*

वत्सराज 515

भोजप्रबन्ध

वत्सराज

वाराणसीदर्घणकाव्य [composed in 1641 A D CO I 565]

वत्सराजकवि

कर्पूरचरित (भाण) (d)

किरातार्जुनीय (व्यायोग) (d)

किपुरदाह (डिम) (d)

कृष्णमणीपरिणय (ईहास्त्रग) (d)

हात्यचूडामणि (प्रहसन) (d)

समुद्रमथन (समवाकार) (d)

[Ed GOS, Baioda as Rupaka-satka These were enacted in the courts of king Pala-maideva and his son Trailokyavarma-deva of 12-13th century Paramardi wrote *prastasti* to Siva (*JASB XVII* 33) and ruled 1163-1203 See IA XXXVIII 121]

वत्सराजचरित 603

वत्सवायितिम्बगजपति महाराज 942

वध्यशीला (d)

[Quoted in Sahityadarpana ]

वन्दारुभट्ट 80

वन्दारुद्विजमावद 80

वनज्योत्सा 745

वनमाला 110

by गङ्गानन्दि [MM II 62]

वनमालाविजय *Opp* II 6799

वनमालिका 672

वनमालिभट्ट 297

वनमालिन् *Skm, Pady*

वनलता 746

वपुनन्दन *Skm*

वर्ष्यहास्य *Sribh*  
 वरुणोदय 727  
 वरद (आत्रेय) 160, 777  
 वरद (श्रीनिवासपुत्र) 529  
 वरद (कौशिक) 787  
 वरद (= नायनाचार्य) 122 (1316 1415)  
     देशिकस्तोत्र  
     विग्रहध्यान  
     प्रार्थिनाष्टक  
     हरिणसन्देश  
     कोकिलसन्देश  
     शुक्लसन्देश  
 वरदकान्तविद्यारत्न 50  
 वरदकृष्णम् वार्य 504  
 वरदत्तगुणमञ्जीकथानक [Bendall 65]  
 वरददेशिक (आत्रेय) 251  
 वरददेशिक (वीरवल्लि) 242  
 वरददेशिका वा 506  
 वरददेशिकदण्डक 505  
 वरदराजयज्ञन् 251  
 वरदराज  
     88 कविजनविनोद  
 वरदराज (उडाल) pp 24, 43  
     रामायणव्याख्या [TO VI 7055]  
 वरदराज (नोडारि) p 52  
 वरदराजस्तव 148, 207  
 वरदविष्णु 254 D  
 वरदाचार्य (नारायणपुत्र) 254-II  
 वरदाचार्य 922  
     उत्प्रेक्षामङ्गरी  
 वरदाचार्य 70 I  
     अनङ्गब्रह्मविलास (d.)  
 वरदाचार्य  
     सावित्रीपरिणय 253  
 वरदाचार्य 160  
     चौक्षभाण (d.)  
 वरदाचार्य 160  
     अनङ्गजीवन (d.)

वरदाचार्य 160  
     सुकिमणीपरिणय  
 वरदाचार्य (= नडादूर अम्माक) 160, 718  
     [of Vatsagotra Born at Kānor in  
         1165]  
 मङ्गलाशासन  
     हेतिपुङ्क्षस्तव  
     वसन्तातिलक (d.)  
     परतत्त्वादिपञ्चकस्तुति  
 वरदाचार्य  
     मङ्गलमश्रूखमालिका [OO I 550]  
 वरदाचार्य (= घटिकाशं अम्माक) 160,  
     718  
 वरदाम्बिकापरिणय 133  
 वरदभ्युदय 529  
 वरदर्यगुरु  
     पराङ्मुखपञ्चविंशति  
 वरसचि 6, 268, 331, 429, 591  
 वरसचि  
     पञ्चकोमुदी [MM II 75]  
 वरवरसुनि 209  
 वरवरसुनिचम्पू  
     (= वेदान्तभूषणचम्पू)  
     See वकुलाभरण [TO VI 7201]  
 वरवरसुनिदण्डक 505  
 वरसावित्रीचरित 254  
 वराह *Slok*  
 वराहचम्पू 242  
 वराहमिहिर 19  
 वराहविजय 242  
 वर्णच्युत 345  
 वर्णनासारसङ्कृद 369  
 वर्णपद 1064  
 वर्णलक्षण [TO VI 7396]  
 वर्णलघुव्याख्यान 1064  
 वर्धमान (= वीर = महावीर) 13  
 वर्धमान (विजयसिंहशिव्य) 235

- वर्धमान (गोविन्दसूरिशिष्य) 183  
 वर्धमानचरित 235  
 वर्धमानाचार्य 235  
 वर्मलात 54  
 वल्लट 69  
 वल्लट (भागवत) *Subh*  
 वल्लट भट्ट *Subh*  
 वल्लतोद्ध नारायणमीनान् 180  
 वल्लन *Skm, Ks*  
 वल्लभ 27  
 वल्लभदास 430  
 वल्लभदिविजय 225  
 वल्लभदेव 831  
     काव्यालङ्कारस्याख्या  
 वल्लभदेव 368  
     सुभाषितावली  
 वल्लभदेव [आनन्द (अनन्त) देवपुत्र] 28,  
     29, 55, 58, 318  
 वल्लभदेव *Sarny, Skm, Subh*  
 वल्लभभट्ट *Subh*  
 वल्लभभट् 920  
 वल्लभाख्यानक 225  
 वल्लभाजी 1029  
 वल्लीपरिणय 137, 163, 544, 723, 777  
     by वीरराघव  
     by भास्कर  
     by स्थामिदीक्षित 254  
 वल्लीपल्लबोल्लास (d) 787  
 वल्लीबाहुलेय (d) 352  
 वल्लीसहाय 271, 541, 682, 725  
 वल्युद्धव 177, 544, 715  
 वंशमणि 299  
 वशलता 199  
 वंशीधर 1095  
 वंशीवादन 76  
 वसन्त 904  
 वसन्ततिलक (d) 160, 718  
 वसन्तदेव *Skm*  
     134
- वसन्तदेव 400  
 वसन्तपाल 111  
 वसन्तभूषण (d) 787  
 वसन्तविलास 113, 115  
 वसन्तराज 888  
 वसन्तराजीय 888, 889  
 वसन्तवास 254 F  
 वसन्तोत्सव 314  
 वसुकल्प *Skm, Kod*  
 वसिष्ठचरित (प्र prose) [*MB JI*]  
     by प्रतिवीदभयद्धरम् अनन्ताचार्य p 21  
 वसिष्ठोत्तरामायण p 21  
 वसुकल्प 655  
 वसुकल्पदत्त *Skm*  
 वसुचत्रित्र 144  
 वसुदेवसुतोदयकाव्य [*CC II* 181]  
 वसुन्धर *Sarny, Skm, Smt, Subh*  
 वसुनाग 662  
 वसुनाग *Subh*  
 वसुबन्धु 18, 470  
 वसुभाग *Skm*  
 वसुमङ्गलनाटक (d) 323, 719  
 वसुमरीकल्पाण (d) 1044  
 वसुमनीचित्रसेन 165  
 वसुमतीपरिणय (d) 143  
 वसुमतीपरिणय (d) 708  
 वसुरथ *Skm*  
 वसुरात 260  
 वसुलङ्घमीकल्पाण (d) 717, 939  
 वसुसेन *Skm*  
 वसुपाल *Sarny*  
 वसुपाल 73, 111, 676  
 वसुपालचरित 111  
 वसुपालप्रशस्ति 113  
 वाङ्कट (वाङ्कट) *Skm*  
 वाङ्कटि *Skm*  
 वाकोक *Skm*  
 वाक्कट *Skm, Kes*

- वाक्यपतिराज 395, 641  
*See* मुजा  
 वाक्यपदीय 261, 558  
 वाक्यावलि 46  
 वाखाटेश्वरकाव्य 941  
 वागीश्वर  
 [mentioned in श्रीकण्ठचरित XXV  
 127]  
 वाणीश्वरसंस्कृत 902  
 वागुर *Skm*  
 वाग्भट (सोमपुत्र) 235, 867  
 वाग्भट (नेमिकुमारपुत्र) 869  
 वाग्भट 314  
 \*वाग्भारविलास  
 वाग्भटालङ्घार 867  
 वाग्भूषण 348  
 वाग्बीण *Skm*, 401  
 वाञ्छोक *Skm*  
 वाजचन्द्र 887  
 वाञ्छेश्वर \* (=वाञ्छनाथ)  
 वाषेलदंशावली  
 by लाषेमणित्रिपाठिन् [OC III, 118]  
 वाचकवी 373 A  
 वाचनावार्य 659, 867  
 वाचस्पति *Skm*  
 वाचस्पतिहरगोविन्द 318  
 वाचस्पतिमिश्र 78  
 वाणीनाथ 199  
 वाणीभूषण  
 by दामोदर (दीर्घधोष) [MM II 13]
- वाणीरसाल 954  
 वाणीविजयचन्द्र [*Vidy N*]  
 वाणीविलास *Pady*, 490  
 वाणीविलास (d)  
 by देवीप्रसादशुल  
 (Printed Benares)  
 वातदूत 323  
 वाताहान  
 by दुर्गदत्त [MM II 1, 36]  
 वात्स्यायन 365, 551 A  
 वात्स्यायनसूत्रसार 1071  
 वातोक *Skm*  
 वादिगङ्गाल 451, 816  
 वादिचन्द्र 44  
 पाण्डवपुराण  
 वादिचन्द्र 767  
 शानसूर्योदय (d)  
 वादिदेवसूरि 108  
 वादिराज (मध्य) 217  
 स्वप्रबृन्दावन [DC XXVII 10036]  
 वादिराज p 42, 48  
 महाभारतव्याख्या  
 वादिराजश्वतसूक्त 217  
 वादिराजसूरि 88, 233  
 वादिहंसामयुद 529  
 वादीन  
 कविकर्पटी [OC I 562]  
 वादीमसिह 479  
 वानराष्ट्रक *Skm* 73  
 वापीक *Skm*

\* [The correct name seems to be this and not वङ्गेश्वर as printed in para 168. The senior Vāñchēsvāra was a poet of the Court of Praṭāpasimha and his son Tukkoji of Tanjore. His forefathers were the donees of Shaharajapuram. He wrote Mahīśāstaka or Lulayāśākaka (Tanj VII 2954). He was a rival of Ghanaśyāma and directed his satires against him whom he alluded to as Vīśala. His great grandson Vāñchesvara wrote a commentary on it (Tanj VII 2956). His commentary on Hiradnyakesīśūtra (Tanj No 2072) is dated 1818 A D. See under Mahīśāstaka.]

वामदेव *Skm* [PR III 55]  
 वामदेवीय 1031  
 वामन 272, 470, 801, 819  
 वामनगुप्त 836  
 वामनचित्रचरित 254  
 वामनदेव *Skm*  
 वामनभृत्याण 128, 482, 889  
     कनकरेखाकल्प्याण (d) [TO VI 7100]  
 वामनविजय 733  
 वामनस्वामिन् *Sarng, Subh*  
 वामर्षि 872  
 वायस्वैशस 490  
 वायु 964  
 वायुपुराण 964  
 वायुस्तुति 214  
 वार *Skm*  
 वाररच 6  
 वार्तिकार *Slom*  
 वार्तिकाभरण 150  
 वार्धिकन्यापरिणय (d) 704  
 वाराणसीदर्पण [OO I 565]  
     by वत्सराज  
     by सुन्दर  
 वालिवध (d) 563, 779, 877  
 वाल्मीकि p 3  
 वाल्मीकिवरित 146, 254  
 वाल्मीकिमावदीप p 21, 487  
 वाल्मीकिहृदय p 23  
 वासन्तिका (d) 672, 784  
 वासन्तिकापरिणय 784  
 वासन्तिकापरिणय (d) 210, 698  
 वासव *Pudy*  
 वासवदत्ता 166, 451  
 वासवदत्ता (प्राचीन) 450, 565  
 वासवदत्ताकथासार 473  
 वासवदत्तानान्धधार (पार) 474, 565, 955  
 वासवीपाराशर्य (d) 356  
 वासिष्ठरामाण p 21

वासुकि 964  
 वासुदेव (विद्याचक्रवर्तिपुत्र) 1012  
 वासुदेव (करुणाकरशिष्य) 170, 658, 659  
 वासुदेव *Sarng, Subh, Skm*  
 वासुदेव (सर्वज्ञ) *Savag*  
 वासुदेव (रविपुत्र) 65, 331  
 वासुदेव (महर्षिपुत्र) 170  
 वासुदेव (नारायणपुत्र) 172  
 वासुदेव (करुणाकरशिष्य) 170  
 वासुदेव (नृष्ट) 400  
 वासुदेव (भद्रन्त) *Subh*  
 वासुदेवचरित 251  
 वासुदेवजयोतिस् *Skm*  
 वासुदेवद्विवेदिन्  
     संस्कृतगीतमाला [*Sury JI*]  
 वासुदेवनरेन्द्र 786  
 वासुदेवनन्दिनी 542  
 वासुदेवपादो 907  
 वासुदेवब्रह्मपण्डित 1098  
 वासुदेवरथ 192, 193  
 वासुदेववाचासुन्दर 297  
 वासुदेवविजय 46, 170  
     by वासुदेव  
     by रामनाथतर्कलङ्घार  
         [composed in 1883 at Shantipur  
             Printed Calcutta ]  
 वासुदेवशर्मन् [*VO JI*]  
 वासुदेवशत्रिन्  
     रामोदन्तकाव्य [*OO I 567*]  
 वासुदेवसानन्द  
     by शिवरामशर्मसूरि  
         [Printed Allahabad A grand  
             proso-poetic poem of devotion  
             See PO I 69 for review],  
 वासुदेवस्तवरोम्य 919  
 वासुदेवसेन *Skm*  
 वासुपूज्यचरित 235

वासुलक्ष्मीकल्याण (d) 704  
 वाहिनीपति 698, 904  
 विकटनितम् 374  
 विक्रम (सङ्गमपुञ्ज) 320  
 विक्रमचन्द्रिकानाटक (d) [OC I 569]  
 विक्रमदेव (राजराजदेवपुक्त) 456  
 विक्रमदेववर्मन् 1059  
 कृष्णस्तव  
 राधिकास्तव  
 नन्दवनाष्टक  
 वासुदेवस्तोत्र  
 राधिकाकृष्णस्तोत्र  
 विक्रमभारत 250 408  
     by श्रीक्ष्वरविद्यालङ्घर 250, 254  
     by शाम्भुचन्द्र 408  
 विक्रमराघव 252  
 विक्रमसागर 405  
 विक्रमसेनचन्द्र 544, 546  
 विक्रमसेनचरित 432  
 विक्रमाङ्कचरित 254  
     by हसकवि  
 विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरित 63  
 विक्रमाङ्कचारित्र 429, 432  
     by नन्दीश्याशिक  
     by क्षेमंकर  
     by सिद्धसेनदिवाकर  
     by शिव  
     by रामचन्द्र  
     by वरशचि  
     by कालिदास  
 विक्रमादित्य *Skm.*, *Subh.*, *Sawang*  
 विक्रमादित्य (पुलकेशिपुञ्ज) 459  
 विक्रमादित्य 385, 400, 470  
 विक्रमादित्यसिंहुवनमङ्ग 62, 89, 459  
 विक्रमोदय 202, 432  
 विक्रमोर्चशी (d) 166, 622  
 विक्रान्तकौरव (d) 668

विक्रान्तभीम (d) (mentioned by Hema candia)  
 विक्रान्तराघवीय (d) 785  
 विक्रान्तशुद्रक (d) 783  
 विक्रान्तवर्मन् 400  
 विख्यातविजय (d) 694  
 विघ्रहराज *Subh*  
 विघ्रहराजदेव 671  
 विघ्नेश्वरभुजङ्ग 509  
 विङ्ग (भागवत) *Subh*  
 विचारश्चेण 116  
 विजयगणि 27  
 विजयचन्द्र 73  
 विजयचन्द्रकेवलिचरित 235  
 विजयचन्द्रचरित 235, 440  
 विजयदेवमाहात्म्य 231  
 विजयप्रशास्ति 75  
 विजयपराजित (d) 786  
 विजयपाल 400  
 विजयपुरकथा 442, 500  
 विजयभूपाल 2001  
 विजयमाघव *Subh*  
 विजययादव 727  
 विजयराघव (बीखलि) 254-H  
 विजयराम 53  
 विजयरामगजपति 356, 919, 938  
 विजयलहरी 738  
 विजयवर्मन् *Subh*  
 विजयविक्रमव्यायोग (d) 96, 785  
 विजयविजय 544  
 विजयविलासकव्य *Opp* II 484  
 विजयमुन्दर 53  
 विजयसूरि 318  
 विजयसूरि 370  
 विजयाङ्ग 374  
 विजयानन्द 816, 868-A  
     काव्यादर्शव्याख्या

## विजयानन्दन

प्रेममोहनीरणधीर (d)  
 [He is son of Mahadeva and  
 Savarni of Sandilyagotra and be-  
 longs to Badahala state Printed  
*SC JI*]

## विजयानन्दश्रीपाठी

नीतिसुक्तावलि [*Susukta II*]  
 विजयिनी 50  
 विजयिनीकाव्य 200  
 विजयीन्द्र [*TC VI* 1957]  
 विजयेन्द्रपरिणय (d) 777  
 विजका 374, 462, 626  
 [See *JMy XXIV* 156]  
 विज्ञसिपत्र 321

## विज्ञानशतक

of भर्तृहरि

[Printed at Nagpur with the  
 commentary of Krishna Sarma This  
 is said to be a fourth sātaka of  
 Bhartṛhari For review see *SC*  
*JI, VI* ]

विज्ञातात्मन् *Skin*

विज्ञानचिन्तामणि 247  
 [Sanskrit Journal, Pattambi,  
 Malabar]

## विज्ञानतरङ्गिणी 442

## विटदूत

[Aisha Libracy, Vizagapatam]

विटराजविजय 180, 715

विटविभावरी 180

विटवृत्त 262

विटवृत्त *Subh*

## विठलकृष्ण

हासामृत (d) 128

विठ्ठल 219, 225, 297, 772

विठ्ठलस्तोत्र 273

विठ्ठलाचार्य 213

विठ्ठलीय 1028

विठ्ठलेश्वर 894, 922

वित्तपाल *Skm* \*वित्तोक *Skm*

विदर्घमाधव (d) 220

विदर्घसुखमण्डन 347, 876

[For commentaries see *MM II*  
 144-149]

विदर्घमुग्ध 514

विदर्घराज 516

विद्वेषन (d) 727

विद्वसालभजिका (d) 166, 658

विद्या 374

विद्याकर्पुरोहित

नारायणशतक

दारिद्र्यक्षितिपृ. स मे निजपतिस्तस्य प्रसादादभू-  
 द्वान्ता जीवनमन्बर दश दिशो वासश्च देवालये ।  
 असद्वैरिण लब्धसङ्गतिरितित्वव्याश्ये कुप्यता  
 मदृत्ति विनियोजितास्त्वदरय का नाम वृत्तिर्पम् ॥

Compare

अर्धं दानववैरिणा गिरिजग्राम्यर्धं विवशाहृतं  
 तेनेत्य धरणीतले पुरद्वाराभावे समुन्मीलति ।  
 गङ्गा सागरमन्बरं शशिकला नागाधिप. क्षमातलं  
 सर्वज्ञवमधीभरतवमागमत् त्वा मा च भिक्षाटनं ॥

- विद्यारम्भपुरोहित (contd)**
- राधवपाण्डवीच्छास्थ्या
- [He was descendant of Jivadeva author of the poem Bhakti Bhāgavata and lived during the time of King Mukundadeva II (1658-1692) of Orissa Nārāyaṇa-śātaka is in praise of Lord Jagannātha of Puri edited with Pitāmbara mītra's commentary by Karunākara (Kara) Sarman Principal, Sanskrit College, Puri Jivadeva was son of Purusottama and wrote his poem at the request of King Pratāparudra and lived in 15-16th century in Orissa]
- विद्याचक्रवर्त्तिन्** 100, 480, 1011-12
- विद्यातिलक** (d) [Bendalls, 19]
- विद्याधर** 810, 928
- एकावली
- विद्याधर** *Subh*
- विद्याधर** (सुक्षमस्वरूपेत्र) 928
- विद्याधर** (द्व्युत्रुत्र) 928
- विद्याधर** 76, 81
- नैषधव्याख्या
- प्रतिनैषध
- विद्याधरकविराज** 314
- विद्याधरकाव्य** 819
- विद्यानगर** 124
- विद्यानाथ** 926
- विद्यानाथदीक्षित** p 24
- विद्यानिधान** (= कवीन्द्रावार्य) 323
- विद्यापति** 306, 403
- विद्यापति** *Skrn, Saing*
- विद्यापरिणय** (d) 165, 761
- विद्याप्रतिष्ठासवाद** (d)
- by रेखाशङ्करमेघजी [Sury Jl]
- विद्याभूषण** 251, 314, 878
- विद्यामाधव** 28, 53, 89
- भारविटीका (contos I & II printed COJ]
- विद्यारण्य** 76, 125, 127, 270, 271, 686, 1019
- [M A Doraisamaiyangar, on Madhava-Vidyāraṇya Theory, *Jl of Ind History* XII, 241 See Vijayaragava Sexcentenary Vol ]
- विद्यारण्यचरित** 254
- विद्यारण्यकालज्ञान** p 228-A
- विद्याराम** 922
- विद्यालङ्कारभृत्यार्थ** 200
- विद्यावागीश** 76, 254
- विद्यावाच्चपति** 863-A
- विद्याविनोद**
- (mentioned in Bhojaprabandha)
- विद्याविनोदकाव्य** 575
- विद्यावाङ्ग** 271
- विद्यासागर** 863-A
- कव्यप्रयाशव्याख्या
- विद्यासागर** (J) p 42, 600, 610, 618, 632
- विद्योदय** [*Sanskrit Jl* Bhatpara, Bengal]
- विद्राणमाधव** (d) 727
- विद्रुत्कंठपाशकाव्य** [Opp II 4149]
- विद्रुचरितपञ्चक** 496
- विद्रुज्जनमदभृतकाव्य** [PR III 396]
- विद्रुज्जनवलभीयकाव्य** [Opp 6201]
- विद्रुषूषणपद्यसङ्ग्रह**
- by बालकृष्ण [OC I 575, 427]
- विद्रुद्विनोदकाव्य** 309
- विद्रुमनोरजनी** p 25
- विद्रुमोदतराजिणी** 314, 768
- विधवावशतक** 504
- विधिविलसित** (d) 513, 783
- विधिविलास** 501
- विदुभूषणदेव** [SO Jl]

विद्युतेखर 255-I  
 विघूर *Shm*  
 विघूक *Shm*  
 विन्ध्येश्वरीप्रसाद 28, 316  
 विन्ध्येश्वरीप्रसाद शाक्रिन् (*Sury Jl.*)  
 (Editor *Supr Jl Benares*)  
 विनतानन्द (d) 692, 785, 787  
 विनयचन्द्र 235  
 विनयदेव *Shm* 400  
 विनयप्रभु  
 चन्द्रदूत [OC II 36]  
 विनयवती 460, 604  
 विनयवल्ली 68  
 विनयविनायकवरिष्ठ 943  
 विनयसिंहकीतरिक 941  
 विनयसुन्दर (= विनयराम)  
 किरातार्जुनीयटीका [OC I 576]  
 विनायक 314, 467  
 विनायकपण्डित *Sarmg*  
 [mentioned in *Bhojaprabandha*]  
 विनायकभट्ट  
*See* आद्विलजन्दिका  
 विनायकराव [*Sury Jl.*]  
 विनीतदेव (भागवत) *Subh*  
 विनोदरङ्ग (d) 786  
 विप्रनारायण 205  
 विप्रसन्देश 180, 246, 323, 715  
 विदुधमेहन (d) 786  
 विदुधदानव (d) 790  
 विदुधानन्दप्रबन्ध 535  
 विभक्तिविलास 938  
 विभाक 869  
 विभाकरवर्मन् *Subh, Shm*  
 विभागरत्नमाला 134  
 विभीषणरामायण 373-B  
 विभूतिबल *Subh*  
 विभूतिमाहृत्य 352  
 विभूतिमाधव *Subh*

विभोक *Shm*  
 विमल 235  
 विमलनाथचरित 440  
 (Printed, Bombay)  
 विमलबोध p 42  
 [Mys Arch Rep (1927), 8]  
 विमलसहचरित 440  
 (Printed Bombay)  
 विमलाङ्कु 235  
 विमलाञ्जी 374  
 विमलालपन (d) [Bendah, 19]  
 वियोगवैमव 741  
 वियोगिनि 562  
 वियोगिविलाप 491  
 विरहिमनेविनोद 314  
 विरहिमोहसुधा 314  
 विराजसरोजिनी (d) 741  
 विरिति *Shm*  
 विरितिनाथचरित 501  
 विरूपाक्षवौलचम्पू 194  
 विरूपाक्ष 887  
 चन्द्रलोकटीका  
 विरूपाक्ष (नृप) 124, 130  
 विरूपाक्षयज्वन् 1099  
 विरूपाक्षचम्पू 130  
 विरोधमञ्जनी p 23  
 विलक्षदुर्योग्यन (= विलक्षकुरुपति) (d) 672,  
 780  
 विलापकुसुमाजालिस्तव 294  
 विलापकुसुमाजालि 251  
 विलासकुमारी 491  
 विलासभूषण (d) 787  
 विलासवती (d) 563, 880  
 विलासिका 563  
 विलासिनीलोचनकञ्जल 514  
 विलिनाथ 696  
 विवेकचन्द्रोदय (d) 767  
 विवेकपद्ममाला (= विभागरत्नमाला) 134

विवेकमज्जरी 318  
 विवेकविजय (d) 767  
 विवेकविलास 110  
 विवेकसमुदगणि 235  
 विशतिसत्त्व 286  
 विशाखकीर्तिविलास 546  
 विशाखतुलप्रबन्ध 180, 546  
 विशाखदत्त 629  
 विशाखदेव (= विशाखदत्त)  
 विशाखराजमहाकाव्य 179  
 विशाखरामवर्मन् 247  
 विशाखसेतुयात्रावर्णन 247, 546  
 विशाखिल 819, 955  
 विशिष्टध्यानयोग 914  
 विशेषणरामायण 338  
 विश्रान्तिवर्मन् Subh  
 विश्वगुणादर्श 529  
 विश्वदेववर्मन् 181  
 विश्वदेविकविजय 254  
 विश्वनाथ 298, 880, 1001  
 सङ्गीतखन्दन  
 विश्वनाथ 88  
 राघवपाण्डवीयव्याख्या  
 विश्वनाथ (चन्द्रशेखरपुत्र) 854, 880  
 विश्वनाथ  
 शम्भुविलास 880  
 विश्वनाथ  
 शिवस्तुति 880  
 विश्वनाथ  
 रामचन्द्रचमू 541  
 विश्वनाथ (of Kanadukathan, Ram-nad) [SB II]  
 विश्वनाथ (धृष्णिराजपुत्र) 707  
 विश्वनाथ (गङ्गाधरपुत्र) 689  
 विश्वनाथ (विमलदेवपुत्र) 689, 710, 882

विश्वनाथ (जशसिंहदेवपुत्र)  
 रामचन्द्राहिक [Ulvas 962]  
 विश्वनाथ (नरायणपुत्र) 880  
 जगद्प्रकाश  
 शत्रुशत्यचरित  
 विश्वनाथ (शिवरामपुत्र) 880  
 अमृतलहरी  
 विश्वनाथ (वैद्य) 199  
 विश्वनाथ  
 विश्वनाथ [Chief of Atgar, Orissa]  
 रुक्मिणीपरिणय  
 [with com by his wife राधाप्रिया]  
 विश्वनाथ 251, 301  
 कृष्णभावनामृत  
 विश्वनाथ p 24  
 रामायणव्याख्या  
 विश्वनाथचक्रवर्तिन् 220, 286, 323  
 विश्वनाथज्योतिर्धित् Ked  
 = विश्वनाथ दैवज्ञ [OO I 581 Lived  
 about 1615 A D]  
 विश्वनाथ दीक्षित (भावरामकृष्णपुत्र)  
 प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयटीका [OO I 583]  
 विश्वनाथ न्यायपञ्चानन 373-B  
 विश्वनाथ मट्ट 784  
 विश्वनाथमट्ट (महादेवपुत्र) 689, 787  
 विश्वनाथमट्ट 880  
 शृङ्गरवापिका (d)  
 विश्वनाथमिश्र [OO I 584]  
 हेरम्बपञ्चक &o [Sury JI]  
 विश्वनाथमिश्र 318  
 विश्वनाथवाहिनीपति Pdym  
 विश्वनाथशास्त्रिन् (K R) p 26  
 विश्वनाथसिंह 542  
 गोपालचम्पू  
 विश्वनाथसिंह (वाथेल) 1000, 1064  
 विश्वनाथसूरि  
 आर्याविश्वतिकाव्य [OO I, 583]

विश्वप्रियगुणलीलाविलास 217  
 विश्वम्भर [CO I 585]  
   अमृतलहीटीका  
   विश्वम्भर 904  
 विश्वम्भर (मैथिलोपाद्याय) *Kad*  
   कठुबर्णन [MM II 19]  
 विश्वरूप 643  
 विश्वरूपकृष्णमङ् 690  
 विश्वरूपाद्य 289  
 विश्ववीर 373-A  
 विश्ववीरवत (d) 727  
 विश्वाधिक 373  
 विश्वाधिकस्तुति 291  
 विश्वामित्र 385  
 विश्वामित्रयाग 352  
 विश्वाराध्य 218  
 विश्वावसु 964  
 विश्वेश्वर (लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र) 76, 312, 886, 906  
 विश्वेश्वर 312, 879  
   चमत्कारचन्द्रिका  
 विश्वेश्वर *Slm*  
 विश्वेश्वर 347  
   कवीन्द्रकर्णभरण  
 विश्वेश्वर 297 [*Tanq VI* 2556]  
   गीतशोविन्दुटीका  
 विश्वेश्वर 312  
   साहिल्यसार  
 विश्वेश्वर सरस्वती [CO I 587]  
   महिमन्तस्तवटीका  
 विषमबाणलीला 825  
 विषमादिव्य 400  
 विषापहारस्तोत्र 286  
 विष्टव्यचापल (d) 727  
 विष्णु 331  
 विष्णुगर्भस्तव 160  
 विष्णुगोप 459  
 विष्णुचित्त 205  
   125

विष्णुदिगम्बरवर्मन्  
   सज्जीतरङ्ग [SB J]  
 विष्णुकात 323  
 विष्णुदास 921  
 विष्णुदेववर्मन् 181  
 विष्णुधमोत्तर 964  
 विष्णुपण्डित 666  
 विष्णुप्रदादिकेशन्तवर्णन 273  
 विष्णुभौतिकल्पलता 286  
 विष्णुभृष्ट 666  
 विष्णुभुजङ्ग 509  
 विष्णुभुजङ्गस्तोत्र 273  
 विष्णुवर्धन 48, 100  
 विष्णुविलास 177  
 विष्णुवर्मन् 423  
 विष्णुशज्जिन् [SO Jl He lived in Ratalam, Bengal and is probably alive]  
 विष्णुस्तुति 214  
 विष्णुस्तोत्र 273  
 विष्णुहरि *Slm*  
 विहोधस्तव 210  
 वीणाचती (d) 563, 877  
 वीणावासवदत्ता (d) 603  
 वीथी 561-563  
 वीर *Slm*  
 वीरकम्परायचरित 127  
 वीरचरित 202, 432, 597  
 वीरचम्पू 544  
 वीरदत्त *Slm*  
 वीरदेव quoted in Suvr  
 वीरदेव 69  
 वीरधवल 78, 110  
 वीरनन्दिन् 102  
 वीरनरसिंह 138  
 वीरनरसिंह 124  
 वीरनारायण 482, 935  
 वीरनारायणचरित 482 889

वीरबलाल 86, 100  
 वीरभद्र (बाधेल) 887  
 वीरभद्रदेव 1070  
 वीरभद्रदेवचम्पू  
 by पद्मनाभ [PR I 101 composed  
 in 1578]  
 वीरभद्रभुजङ्ग 509  
 वीरभद्रविजय  
 by एकाम्रनाथ 238, 544, 789  
 by महिकार्जुन 544  
 वीरभद्रविजयवाच्य  
 See मुक्तेश्वर  
 वीरभद्रविजृम्भण (d) 879  
 वीरमङ्गट 900  
 वीरभासु 88  
 वीरराघव 338  
 विशेषणरामायण  
 वीरराघव (श्रीशैलपुत्र) 163, 777  
 वीरराघव (ईश्वरपुत्र) 163, 723  
 वीरराघव (विजयमूरि) 323, 769  
 वीरराघव (नृसिंहपुत्र) 621, 647, 649,  
 650  
 वीरराघव आचार्य (T) [UP J]  
 वीरराघवकनकवलीविवाह 704  
 वीरराघवयति 210  
 वीरराघवविजय (d) 790  
 वीरराघवस्तोत्र 289  
 वीरराघवीयं 785  
 वीरराघवीयकाव्य [BTO 162]  
 वीररुद्रगजपति 1064  
 वीरवर्मन् 459  
 वीरवंशावलि 275  
 वीरविजय 124  
 वीरवैष्णव 727  
 वीरसरस्वती Skm, Pady, 374, 401  
 वीरतिंह (SS)  
 वीरसिंहदेव [OC II, 141]

वीरहरिप्रतापकाव्य  
 See केलिप्रिय  
 वीराङ्ग 110  
 वीराचार्य 57  
 वीराजनेयाष्टक 484  
 वीरानन्द (d) 783  
 वीरेश्वर 542  
 कृष्णविजय  
 वीरेश्वर 922  
 रसरब्लाष्टली  
 वीरेश्वरदत्त (=ईश्वरदत्त) 592  
 वीरेश्वरपण्डित (कूर्माचल) Kod  
 वीरेश्वरकाव्यतीर्थ (of Varadhamara)  
 [SB J]  
 वीरेसरस्वतिभिन् 529  
 वीरोळास 235, 254  
 वीर्यमित्र Skm, Kvs  
 वीसलदेव 110, 671  
 वृत्तिकल्पभानाटक (d) [OC I 596]  
 by लघुव्यास  
 वृत्तक 502  
 वृत्तकल्पद्रुम 1100  
 वृत्तकारिका 1101  
 वृत्तकालुक 880, 1100  
 वृत्तकालुदी 1100  
 by जगद्गुरु  
 by रामचरण  
 वृत्तचन्द्रि 502  
 वृत्तचन्द्रिका 1100  
 वृत्तचन्द्रोदय 1100  
 वृत्तचिन्तारङ्ग 1101  
 वृत्ततरङ्गिणी 1100  
 वृत्तदर्पण  
 by सीतारम 1099  
 by गङ्गाधर [Oudh XIX, 58]  
 वृत्तदर्पण  
 by जानकीनन्दन  
 by भीष्ममित्र [MM II 15, 17]

वृत्तदीपिका 922, 1100  
 by विङ्गटेज  
 by कृष्ण  
 by यश्वन्त  
 by गङ्गाधर  
 वृत्तप्रत्यय 1100  
 वृत्तप्रदीप 1100  
 by जनार्दन  
 by बद्रीनाथ  
 वृत्तमणिकोश 1101  
 वृत्तमणिमाला  
 by गणपतिशास्त्रिन् 254  
 वृत्तमणिमालिका 1101  
 वृत्तमाला 1100  
 विरुपाक्षयज्वन्  
 वल्लभाजी  
 वृत्तमुक्तसारावलि 494  
 वृत्तमुक्तावलि 1101  
 by कृष्णाराम  
 by मल्लारि  
 by दुर्गादत्त  
 by गङ्गादास  
 by हरिदासमिश्र  
 वृत्तरत्नाकर  
 by केदारभट्ट 1094  
 by हरिभास्कर [MM II 22]  
 वृत्तरत्नाकरसूनटीका 1074  
 वृत्तरत्नार्णव 1099  
 वृत्तरत्नावलि 1103  
 by दुर्गादत्त  
 by नारायण  
 by रविकर  
 by रामदेव 768, 909  
 by वेङ्गटेज  
 by रामस्वामिशास्त्रिन्  
 by यश्वन्तसिंह  
 by सदाशिवसुनि

वृत्तरत्नावलि 1103 *contd.*  
 by कालिदास  
 by राजचूडामणि 152  
 by कृष्णराज  
 by मिश्रसानन्द  
 वृत्तरामायण 1101  
 वृत्तरामास्पद 1100  
 वृत्तलक्षण 1100  
 वृत्तवार्तिक 1100  
 by उमापत्ति  
 by वैद्यनाथ  
 वृत्ताविनोद 1100  
 वृत्तचिवेचन 1100  
 वृत्तसार  
 by भारद्वाज 1100  
 by रमापत्ति उपाध्याय [MM II 24]  
 वृत्तसिद्धान्तमण्डी 1100  
 वृत्तमुद्घाष्य 1100  
 by मधुरानाथशुक्ल  
 by वेणीबिलास  
 वृत्ताभिराम 1100  
 वृत्तालङ्कर 922  
 वृत्ति 325  
 वृत्तिवार्तिक 143  
 वृत्रोद्धरण (d) 877  
 वृद्धभरत 945  
 वृथिकपद्धक 373  
 वृषदेव 271  
 वृषभनाथवरित्र [TO VI 7311]  
 by सकलकीर्ति (in 20 cantos) [TO  
 XXVII 7311]  
 वृषभपद्माशिका 477  
 वृषभानुचरित 232  
 वृषभानुजा (d) 701  
 वृषाकर 55  
 वेङ्गट 92, 124  
 वेङ्गट (लक्ष्मणपुत्र) p 25  
 वेङ्गटकवि 323

वेङ्कटकवि (वीराराधचपुल) 535  
 वेङ्कटकविसार्वभैम 303, 410  
 वेङ्कटकृष्ण (वाधू) 162, 779  
 वेङ्कटकृष्ण (भारद्वाज) \*  
*See रामचन्द्रविजय [TO VI 7390]*  
 वेङ्कटकृष्ण (भारद्वाज) 787  
 वेङ्कटकृष्ण यज्वन् 241  
 वेङ्कटगिरिमाहात्म्य 545  
 वेङ्कटदेव 142  
 वेङ्कटनरसिंह अप्पारामु 942  
 वेङ्कटनरसिंहाचार्य (आसूरि) 541  
 वेङ्कटनाथ 120, 373  
 वेङ्कटनाथ  
*See ग्रहादविजय*  
 वेङ्कटनाथ (= वेदान्तदेशिक)  
*[See K C Varadachari's Bibl of Vedantadesika's works, Madras]*  
 अभीतिस्तव  
 गोदास्तुति  
 भूस्तुति  
 मुदशनाष्टक  
 गोड्डायुधस्तोत्र  
 वैराग्यपद्मक  
 यतिराजसतति  
 श्रीस्तुति  
 दशावतारस्तोत्र  
 भगवद्धयानसोपान  
 शरणागतिग्रह्य  
 द्याशतक  
 परमार्थस्तुति  
 कामासिकाष्टक  
 वेगास्तुति (= यथोक्तारिस्तोत्र)  
 अष्टसुजाष्टक

वेङ्कटनाथ (= वेदान्तदेशिक) *contd.*  
 वरदराजपद्माशत्  
 देहलीशस्तुति  
 गोपालविशति  
 रघुवीरगद्य  
 देवनायकपद्माशत्  
 गरुडपद्माशत्  
 गरुडदण्डक  
 हयग्रीवस्तोत्र  
 न्यासविशति  
 न्यासतिलक  
 सङ्कल्पसूर्योदय (d)  
*Com by भारद्वाजश्रीनिवासाचार्य*  
*[Printed Conjevalam Edited and Trans Vani Vilasa Press, Srivangam]*  
*Com by चेदल्लर नरसिंहाचार्य*  
*[of Tuuvahindiapuram Edited Madras]*  
 समस्यासहस्र (mentioned in his stotrabhasyam)  
 यादवाभ्युपद्य  
 हंससन्देश  
*[Com by Melapalayam Sri-rangacharya Com by Para-kalaswami (Mysoor)]*  
 सुमारितनवी  
*[com by Bhāradvāja Sri-nivāsa-cārya]*  
 वेङ्कटनारायण 928  
 वेङ्कटनारायणदीक्षित 923  
 वेङ्कटनारायण (गोड्डवर्ति) 916  
 वेङ्कटपतिराय 156

\* He was the disciple of Siva Surya Yajvan whom he describes thus

कलाधरत्वात् कमलापतित्वात् पद्मासनशीचतुराननत्वात् ।

मृत्तित्रयात्मापि विशुद्धस्त्वो यो राजते विश्रुतधर्मकीर्तिः ॥

वेङ्कटप्पनायक 297  
 शिवगीताव्याख्या  
 वेङ्कटभट्ट 214, 431  
 भोसलविजयचम्पू [MM II, 108]  
 वेङ्कटभागवत 1063  
 वेङ्कटभाण (१) 769  
 वेङ्कटभूपति (पधानि) 790  
 वेङ्कटमस्तिन् 149, 150, 1038  
 वेङ्कटरङ्ग 252  
 वेङ्कटरङ्गनाथ 76, 82  
 वेङ्कटरङ्गम् (कोकोङ्ग) 1008  
 वेङ्कटरमणाचार्य 300  
 वेङ्कटरमणाचार्य (मेडेपल्लि) 357  
 वेङ्कटरद्वक्तव्यतिन् (कवितार्ककसिहा)  
 [MB Jl]  
 वेङ्कटरामक्रमं  
     उदयनकथा (Prose) [SB Jl] 18  
 वेङ्कटवरद 308  
 वेङ्कट वैद्यनाथदीक्षित 1052  
 वेङ्कटराय 268  
 वेङ्कटवरद (वीरबल्लि) 242  
 वेङ्कटवरदाचार्य  
     (कवितार्किकसिहम्)  
     [He is son of Sriuvāsarāghava of  
     Srīvatsagotra Born Sri-mukha Lives  
     at Conjeevaram Composed Sanskrit  
     poetic renderings of Tamil works, Desika-  
     prabandha, Periyālwār's Tirumuli,  
     Namalwār's Tiruviruttam and Tiruvā-  
     sriyam and Tiruvandādi (1 to 4 dasākās)]  
 कृष्णचरित्र  
 रामचरित्र  
 देवराजोत्सव  
 श्रीनिवासविवाह  
 पद्मावतीकरावलम्ब  
 वेदान्तदेशिकचरित्र  
 वेङ्कटराधव 781  
 वेङ्कटराधव (कौशिक) [1849-1906] 254

वेङ्कटराधव (वाघूल) [10 VII, 7527]  
 हयवदनविजय  
 वेङ्कटराधव 544  
 वेङ्कटराज  
     नरगणपतिविजय [Rice 326]  
 वेङ्कटरामनृसिंहाचार्य (मुड्मै) 356  
     [His works are preserved in  
     Alaha library, Vizagapatam]  
 वेङ्कटराम 787  
 वेङ्कटरामदास 1063  
 वेङ्कटरामशर्मन् 501  
 वेङ्कटरामशास्त्रिन् K 546  
 वेङ्कटरामशास्त्रिन् (चेन्नापिल्लि) 769  
 वेङ्कटरामशास्त्रिन् (आणिविल्लि) 942  
 वेङ्कटरामशास्त्रिन् 942  
     लक्ष्मीसहस्रव्याख्या  
 वेङ्कटरामशास्त्रिन् (चर्ल) 932, 942  
 वेङ्कटरामशास्त्रिन् 942  
     सीतारामचम्पू  
     वुधमानसोऽस  
 वेङ्कटसुन्दराचार्य p 26  
 वेङ्कटसुब्ब 254, 545  
 वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्य (वेङ्कटेश्वरपुत्र) 717  
 वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्याधवरिन् 1044  
 वेङ्कटसूरि 887  
     चन्द्रालोकव्याख्या  
 वेङ्कटसूरि 254  
     मार्कण्डेयोदय  
 वेङ्कटाचलसूरि 863-A  
 वेङ्कटाचलमाहात्म्य  
     [Ed by M M Anantakrishna-  
     sastrī, Prof of Sanskrit  
     Calcutta]  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (चक्रवर्ति) 373, 545  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (प्रतिचादिभयङ्गर) 155, 544  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (माळभूषि) 765, 769, 994  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (दृसिहपुत्र) 311  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (शतकतु ताताचार्यपुत्र) 323

वेङ्कटाचार्य (जगन्न) 494  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (तिरुमलबुकपद्मणम्) 909  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य ४०९, ३८८, ६१८  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (देशभक्तकवि) ७३०  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (मुप्पिराल) p २६  
 वेङ्कटाचर्य (जगन्न) ४९४  
 com on कुवलयानन्द  
 com on रसगङ्गाधर  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (मुप्पुर) ५४४, ७८७  
 वेङ्कटाचर्णिन् † ९०, ५२९  
 वेङ्कटाचर्य ६७५  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य (शारण्यपादपुत्र) ७८७  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य p २६  
 वेङ्कटेश (वाधूल) २५४  
 वेङ्कटेश  
 रामाभ्युदय २५२  
 वेङ्कटेश  
 कृष्णामृततरगिणी २५१, ३०१  
 वेङ्कटेश  
 वृत्तदीपिका ९२२  
 वेङ्कटेश (= वेङ्कटेश्वर, धर्मराजपुत्र) ७०६  
 [०० I ६०२]  
 भानुप्रबन्ध ७८६  
 विश्रबन्धरामावण ३७६  
 कृष्णराजविजय  
 राघवाभ्युदयकाव्य  
 वेङ्कटेश्वरीयकाव्य  
 वेङ्कटेशप्रहसन (d) ७०६, ७८६  
 वेङ्कटेश (नैमित्तिकाश्यप) १६३

वेङ्कटेश (आवेद्य) १५६, २३९, ३३६  
 वेङ्कटेश (कौशिक) २५६  
 वेङ्कटेश (वाधूल) २५४  
 वेङ्कटेशचरित १६६  
 वेङ्कटेशचरितचम्पू ५४५  
 वेङ्कटेशचूर्णिका ५०७  
 वेङ्कटेशप्रहसन ७०६, ७८६  
 वेङ्कटेश (प्रतिवादिभयङ्कर) २०५  
 वेङ्कटेश (वामनसोबानि) [V S Sovani]  
 ३५५  
 वेङ्कटेशस्तव २४६  
 वेङ्कटेश्वर p २४  
 रामायणव्याख्या  
 वेङ्कटेश्वर (रामभद्रदीक्षितशिष्य) १६२  
 वेङ्कटेश्वर (धर्मराजपुत्र) ७०६, ७७७  
 वेङ्कटेश्वर (निष्ठल उपमाक) ३४०  
 वेङ्कटेश्वरपत्रिका [Sanskrit Jl Madras]  
 वेङ्कटेश्वरविजय २५२  
 वेङ्कटेश्वरशास्त्रिन् ५०१  
 वेङ्कट (जयन्ति) ७३७  
 वेङ्कट्य (= वेङ्कटभूपति प्रधानि वेङ्कामात्य)  
 ७८७, ७९०  
 वेङ्कट्यसुधी ५४१  
 वेङ्कामात्य २५४, ५०१  
 See वेङ्कट्य  
 वेङ्कन १९४  
 वेङ्कभागवत १०५२  
 वेणीकृष्णपाण १७०  
 वेणीदत्त २५१, ३७३-A

<sup>t</sup> He is also said to have translated the Tiruvaymuli into Sanskrit I heard a verse repeated from it though I have not been able to trace any such manuscript

छोक पुष्कलमेकनायकतया ये शास्तिरारो चृषा।  
 स्थामाहेन शुना प्रदष्टचरणात्ते भग्नभिक्षाघटा ।  
 अस्मिन् जन्मनि सार्वलैकिकतया भिक्षामटन्ति स्तुयं  
 श्रीनारायणपादसेवनरता भो भोस्समजीवताम् ॥

वेणीदत्त (जगज्जीवनपुत्र) 251, 373  
*See* जगज्जीवन  
 वेणीदत्त (ईश्वरपुत्र) 886  
 वेणीदत्त (योगिस्त्र) 923  
 साहित्याचिद  
 वेणीदास  
 भैरवोदय [MM II 107]  
 वेणीरूपकाव्य [OO I 608]  
 वेणीविलास [OO I 603]  
     लक्ष्मीविलासकाव्य  
     बृत्तसुधोदय 1100  
 वेणीसंहार 166, 241, 494, 639  
     [Ed Tr by K N David]  
 वेणुघर (तर्कतीर्थ)  
     दुखिनीविलाप [JSSP XIX]  
 वेताळपञ्चविंशति 430 [OO I 603]  
     by क्षेमेन्द्र  
     by जग्मालदत्त  
     by वल्लभ  
     by शिवदास  
     by सोमदेव  
     [M B Ellmenau, Central Aesthetic versions, PO Oct 1936]  
 वेताळभट्ट *Slm*  
 वेताळविंशति  
     by वेङ्कटभट्ट [Opp 4544]  
 वेतोक *Slm*  
 वेद (अनन्तपुत्र) 971, 1035  
 वेदकवि 761  
 वेदगिरिचर्चन 210  
 वेदपादरामायण 547, 704  
 वेदपुरीश 725  
 वेदवल्लीपरिणय 253  
 वेदव्यास p 27  
 वेदान्तशुरदर्शनकीर्तने 1064  
 वेदान्तदशक 919  
 वेदान्तदेशिक 120, 143  
*See* वेङ्कटनाथ

वेदान्तदेशिकगच्छ 122, 506  
 वेदान्तदेशिकचरित 122, 498, 736  
 वेदान्तदेशिकदण्डक 505  
 वेदान्तदेशिकमङ्गलाशसन 122  
 वेदान्तदेशिकवैभवप्रकाशिका 209  
 वेदान्तदेशिकार्यांसमशती 753  
 वेदान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य 515  
 वेदान्तविद्याविजय 209  
 वेदान्तविलास (d) 160, 718 767  
 वेदान्तसूर्यिचकवर्तिन् 779  
 वेदान्ताचार्य (भारद्वाज) 787  
 वेदाधिनाथ 544  
 वेदिका (d) 783  
 वेद = (वरिनारायण) 128, 305, 308,  
     482, 889  
 वेमभूपालचरित 482, 490  
 वेमपुरीशगद्य 199, 501  
 वेशारामसार्वभाष 868  
 वेशाराम  
     काव्यरत्नाकर [OO I 102]  
 वेजोक *Slm*  
 वेसोक *Slm*  
 वैकुण्ठगद्य 206  
 वैकुण्ठपुरि 767  
 वैकुण्ठभट्टोलिङ्ग *Kod*  
 वैकुण्ठविजय 210, 532  
 वैकुण्ठस्तव 207  
 वैजयन्ती 376  
 वैदर्भीवासुदेव (d) 721, 778  
 वैदेहीपरिणय 253  
 वैद्य (O V) p 43  
 वैदगङ्गाधर *Slm*  
 वैदजीवदास *Slm*  
 वैदत्रिविक्रम *Slm*  
 वैद्यधन्य *Slm*  
 वैद्यनाथ 316, 323, 767  
 वैद्यनथा *Sarng*

वैद्यनाथ 1100  
 वृत्तलक्षण  
 वैद्यनाथ (तत्सन्) 143, 722, 778, 861  
 887  
 वैद्यनाथ  
 रामायणदीपिका [CO I 611]  
 वैद्यनाथ (श्रीवत्स) 787  
 वैद्यविद्याधर 928  
 वैद्यनाथ (पाण्डुगुण्डे) 155, 887  
 कादम्बरीटीका  
 वैद्यनाथ (मैथिल) 199 [CO I 611]  
 केशवचरित  
 वैद्यनाथ  
 मिथ्याचारप्रहसन (d) 700, 722  
 वैद्यनाथकवि [CO V 612]  
 सत्सङ्गविजय (d)  
 वैद्यनाथदेव (सर्वेश्वरपुत्र) 316, 722  
 वैद्यनाथशत्रवप्तिमहाचार्य 722  
 वैद्यनाथशास्त्रिन् (of Singem) [SO JI]  
 वैद्यरत्न 370  
 दण्डमण्डन &c [Shrey JI]  
 वैद्यहरिचन्द्र Subh  
 वैनतेय Shm  
 वैनेदिक 792  
 वैभवविलास 264-T  
 वैरसंह 288  
 वैराग्यतराज्ञी 1064  
 वैराग्यपञ्चक 121  
 वैराग्यशतक 268  
 by अप्यव्यदीक्षित 143  
 by जनार्दन  
 by नीलकण्ठ 154  
 by भर्तृहरि  
 by शङ्खराचार्य  
 by सोमनाथ  
 by पद्मानन्द  
 वैरोचनपरायन 98  
 वैश्वनाथन p 42

वैश्यवंशसुधार्णव 76  
 वैष्णवधर्मप्रकाशिका 220  
 वैष्णवोत्सवकाव्य [CO I 616]  
 by व्यासपद्मनाभ  
 व्यक्तिविवेक 847  
 व्यक्तिविवेकविचार 847  
 व्यजननिर्णय 921  
 व्यत्यस्तवक्त्व (d) 727  
 व्याप्रगण Subh  
 व्याघ्रतटाकभूविवरवर्णन 494  
 व्याग्रालयेशाष्टीमहोत्सव 545  
 व्याजोक्तिलावती 746  
 व्याजोक्तिशतक 349, 513  
 व्याढि Skm  
 व्यायोग 561-563  
 व्यासकेशवजीनन्द  
 छन्दसिद्धान्तभास्कर [MM II 2]  
 व्यास p 26  
 व्यास 965  
 व्यासकविराज Skm  
 व्यासगवस्तोत्र [Opp II 5573]  
 व्यासतीर्थ p 43 214  
 व्यासपद्मनाभ  
 by वैष्णवोत्सव  
 व्यासपाद Skm  
 व्यासरामाय 373-B  
 व्यासमोक्षादित्य 116, 677  
 व्यासराय 216  
 व्यासयोगिचरित 216  
 व्यासशातकर्णि 373  
 व्याससूत्र 206  
 व्यासाकृत p 43  
 व्रजकौतुकमृत  
 by कुञ्जविहरचक्रवर्तिन्  
 [TC V 628, in 15 cantos on  
 Kṛṣṇa's life until killing of Kamsa He  
 was son of Rāmacandra ]

व्रजनवनागरचन्द्रिका [CO I 6207]

व्रजनाथ (= व्रजनाथ) 372

[His name is given as Vajranātha in the poem Mādhavasimhāryāśataka composed in the court of King Mādhavasimha of Jaipur. Vrajanātha's Padyatarangini was composed there in 1753 AD.]

व्रजरङ्गभट्टाचार्य

प्रमोदविलास

रत्निकरहस्य &c [SC II VII]

व्रजभूषणकवि Kod

व्रजराज 305, 309, 757, 886, 903

व्रजराजशुल्क 268

व्रजलाल 314

व्रजविलास 251

व्रजविहार 257

व्रजसुन्दर 193

व्रजेन्द्रचरित 251

व्रजयाकाश्य [CO I 621]

by कविचन्द्र

व्रजयामाला [CO I 621]

by सर्वानन्द

व्रतकथाकोश

by अतिसागर [Bendall 64]

व्रतावदानमाला 446

व्रतोपाख्यानकथा

by श्रुतिसागर

(on fasts and holy days)

[Bendall, 64]

श

शकचेत्र Subh

शकटीयशब्द Shrīm

शकटीगर्भ 954

शकवर्षन् Subh, Sarng

शकवृद्धि Subh Sarng

शकुन्तला 616

[Edited with Srinivasachari's commentary and English Translation Madras, Edited by B Dass Jain with Trans and Notes Edited with commentary by Ramavarmi and Ramaji Sastrī, Pattambi]

शकुन्तलाचर्चर्वन 603

शकुन्तिका 842

शक्तिकुमार Sarng

शक्तिभद्र 664

[S M Paranjpe, *Bhasa and Saklubhadra, Annals, IX*]

शक्तिवलम्

See ज्यरन्नाकर

शक्तिवासकुमार 783

शङ्कर (आदिशङ्कर) \* 270, 307

शङ्कर (वासुदेवपुत्र) 618

शकुन्तलाटीका

शङ्कर Sarng

शङ्कर 538

शारदातिलकमाण

शङ्कर (पुण्याकरपुत्र) 455

हर्षचरितम्ब्रह्म्या

शङ्कर 316

घटकर्परटीका

शङ्कर

[mentioned in भोजप्रबन्ध]

शङ्करकण्ठ 455

शङ्करकवि

चन्द्राङ्गदचरित 254

शङ्करकवि 254

\* [On Dwaraka Mutt Chronology, see *The Theosophist*, XIV 258-56 & XVI 292-96. For a full discussion of these mutt histories, see N Venkataraman's *Sankaracharyas, The Great and His Successors in Kanci, Madras, and Gopinatharao's Sri Sankaracharya Mutt Inscriptions*

कृष्णविलास  
शङ्करगण 655  
शङ्करगण *Slm*  
शङ्करचम्पू 544  
शङ्करचेतोविलास 442  
शङ्करदयालु 1099  
शङ्करविजयप्रसार 271  
शङ्करदीक्षित (बालकृष्णपुत्र) 254, 442,  
588, 680, 707  
शङ्करदेव 400  
शङ्करदेव *Slm*  
शङ्करधर *Slm*  
शङ्करनारायण  
रसिकामृतनाटक (d) [Hz 1276]  
शङ्करनारायण 1064  
शङ्करनारायणजात्तिन् (K R)  
[JSSP XVII 7]  
शङ्करभट्ट 902  
शङ्करमारा० 169  
शङ्करमिश्र 297  
शङ्करमिश्र *SS, Pmt, Pady*  
शङ्करमिश्र 297, 538  
गौरीदिगम्बर  
गीतगोविन्दटीका  
साहित्यकालिका [MM II 71]  
शङ्करलाल 354, 738, 772  
शङ्करवर्मन् (चृप) 60, 827  
शङ्करवर्मन् (कवि) 655  
शङ्करवर्मन् *Slm*  
शङ्करविजय 125, 270  
by चिद्विलास  
by सदानन्द  
by व्याहाचल (or व्यासाद्रिकवि)  
[Tanj VII 3225]

by माधव 643, 653 [DC XXI 837]  
by वल्लीसहाय 271  
by विद्याशङ्कर (8307)  
by आनन्दगिरि  
[Ed by J Vidyabhushan,  
Calcutta]  
शङ्करविजयकथा  
शङ्करविजयविलास 270  
by शङ्करदीक्षितकथा  
[Opp II 492, 6810]  
शङ्करविलासचम्पू 311  
by जगन्नाथपण्डित †  
शङ्करविहार 1047  
शङ्करवर्षमन् (गुल्वणि)  
[of Kudutam, VO 7]  
शङ्करशास्त्रिन् (of Kajada)  
वसन्तवर्णन  
शरद्वर्णन [Sury 7]  
शङ्करसम्भव 741  
शङ्करसुब्लह्य 253  
शङ्करसुब्लह्यजात्तिन् 501  
नारदनैपुणी (d) [VO 7]  
शङ्करहृदयाङ्ग 291  
शङ्कराचार्य 44  
भट्टिकाव्यटीका  
शङ्कराचार्य 251  
कृष्णविजय  
शङ्कराचार्यवरित [Tanj VII 3222]  
by गोविन्दनाथ  
शङ्कराचार्याविजय  
by अनन्तानन्दगिरि (?) [Tanj VII  
3229]  
शङ्कराचार्यावतारकथा 215  
शङ्कराचार्योत्पत्ति [Buhler 559]

† [BR I No 286, CC I 196, 626 P K Gode says the Nārāṇḍpati and Pratāpasimha mentioned in the poem are respectively Nanasahib Peshwa (1740-61) and King Pratapasimha of Tanjore (died 1765). Bhonsala (भूंशाळा) means Bhonsla.]

- शङ्करानन्द 271  
 शङ्करानन्दचम्पू 52, 141, 544  
 शङ्करानन्दनाथ 359  
 शङ्कराभ्युदय 152, 271  
 शङ्कराराध्य 318  
 शङ्करीगीति 1001  
 शङ्करीसङ्गीत 298, 1001  
 [Printed JSSP Calcutta]  
 सङ्केरन्द्रविलास  
 by वाकपति भृत्य  
 [on the life of 36th Acarya of  
 Kamakoti peetha, 788-840 AD ]  
 शङ्कार्णव *Skm*  
 शङ्क (मयूरसूत्र) 823  
 शङ्कक 813, 955  
 शङ्कुणिनायक (C) [VO II]  
 शङ्कक 272  
 शङ्कदत्त 820  
 शङ्कधर 786, 921  
 शब्दीपति *Pady*  
 शब्दोक *Skm*  
 शठकोप (=नम्माल्वार) 205  
 शठकोप 787  
 शठकोप (अंडवत्स श्रीनिवासपुत्र) [TO VI  
 7154]  
 शठकोप (यति) 210, 698  
 शठकोपशुणालङ्कारपरिचय 205  
 शठकोपरामानुज 210  
 शठकोपसहस्र 205  
 शठकोपाचार्य (नल्लान् चक्रवर्ती) 85  
 शठकोपाचार्य (T S)  
 निरोष्टथरामायण [SO II VO II He  
 was Sanskrit Pandit in St Joseph's  
 College, Trichnopoly]  
 शठकोपालङ्कारपरिचर्या 933  
 शठजित्कवि 787  
 शठवैरिचैभवदिवाकर 938
- शतकन्थररामायण  
 [in Vasistha:āmāyana, print  
 Bombay]  
 शतपञ्चदक्षोत्र 277  
 शतशोकी 513  
 शतार्थीकाव्य 94, 339  
 शतानन्द *Skm*  
 शतालङ्कारानुकमणिका 920  
 शतुर्जयमाहात्म्य 13  
 शत्रुशल्यकाव्य (=शत्रुशल्यचरित) 199, 8  
 शधोक *Skm*  
 शनरत p 2  
 शन्तनुचरित 352  
 शब्दर (=शकटीयशब्दर) *Skm*  
 शब्दचन्द्रिका 128  
 शब्दरलाकर 128  
 शब्दव्यापारचर्चा 848  
 शब्दस्त्रेष 327  
 शब्दसुधाकाव्य [OO II 150]  
 शब्दानुश्राप 325  
 शब्दानुशासन 70  
 शब्दार्णव *Skm*  
 शब्दार्थचिन्तमणि 527  
 शब्दोदाहरण 350  
 शम्बरासुरविजय 539, 544, 731  
 शम्भुक *Subh*  
 शम्भालीमत 310  
 शम्भु 72, 183, 269  
 शम्भुकाळिदास 252  
 शम्भुचन्द्र 408  
 शम्भुदास 314, 373, 922, 923  
 शम्भुनाथ 920  
 शम्भुपण्डित  
 आत्मविलास [OO II 8]  
 शम्भुभास्कर 380  
 शम्भुमतीविलासकाव्य [Ulvar 973]  
 by शम्भुभिम्म [1793 AD ]

शम्भुराज 268  
 शम्भुराम 1101  
 शम्भुविलास 254, 880  
 शम्भुसूतु 72  
 शरचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिन् (of Bengal)  
     काव्यलहरी  
     कृष्णकुमारी and other stories in  
     prose [Savada Jl]  
 शरचन्द्रशाक्रिन् 867  
 शरण 304  
 शरणदेव *Shm*  
 शरणागतिगद्य 206  
 शरदेव *Subh*  
 शरभभूप 632  
 शरभराजविलास 163, 311  
 शरभविजय 727  
 शर्मोजि 157, 937  
 शर्मोजिराजप्रसासा [TO III 5971]  
 शरावतीजलपात 546  
 शरेफा (or शरिपा)  
     [Peterson (*Subh* 128) says it is  
     a Persian title of honor]  
 शर्मिष्ठावियाति (d) 551-A, 681, 682, 880  
 शर्मिष्ठाविजय (d) 727  
 शर्व *Shm*  
 शर्वट *Subh*  
 शर्ववर्षम् *Sarng*  
 शलान्तकाव्य 71  
 शशधर 88, 923  
 शशिप्रभा 373-A  
 शशिभूषणशर्म्  
     [SO. Jl Of Bhavanipuri, Calcutta]  
 शशिवर्धन *Subh*, *Sarng*  
 शशिवंश 68  
 शशिशारदीय (d) 727  
 शशिसेनकाव्य 254, 311  
 शाकलीगर्भ 798

शाकल्य *Subh*  
     [mentioned in Bhojaprabandha]  
 शाकल्यपल्य *Subh*  
 शाकल्यमङ्ग 123  
 शाकोक *Shm*  
 शाकोपाख्यान 730  
 शाक्यराक्षित *Shm*  
 शाक्याचार्य 949  
 शाखाविशाखोपयम् 842  
 शाण्डिल्य *Swing*, *Shm*, *Subh*  
 शाण्डिल्यपरित्राजक (d) 786  
 शाण्डिल्यमाधव p 42  
 शातकर्णीहरण 450, 783  
 शातवाहन 305, 598  
 शात्र *Subh*  
 शान्तराजपण्डित 1101  
 शान्तासेन् (*Sen*) 255-J  
 शान्तिक *Paly*  
 शान्तिचन्द्रिका 922  
 शान्तिचरित 108  
 शान्तिचरित्र 613  
 शान्तिविलास 915  
 शान्तिनाथचरित 98, 103, 108, 235  
     by मुनिदेवसूरि  
     by मुनिद्वादर  
     by भावचन्द्र  
     by अजितप्रभ  
     by माणिक्यचन्द्र  
     by मेघविजयगणि  
 शान्तिनाथचरित्र (prose) [Ravinghat Jain  
     Library, Benares]  
 शान्तिपद्धति 262, 767  
 शान्तिरस 767  
     by वैकुञ्ठपुरि  
 शान्तिवर्षम् 275  
 शान्तिविलास 154, 268  
     by सुब्रह्मण्य  
     by हरिदास

शान्तिविलास 154, 268 *contd*  
 by नीलकण्ठ  
 शान्तिशतक 265, 268  
 शान्तिसूरि 283  
 शान्तिस्तव 143  
 शान्त्याकर *Shm*  
 शामराजदीक्षित 314, 757, 923  
 शाम्भवदेव  
 [mentioned in *Bhojaprabandha*]  
 शायन 125  
 [Article in *COJ* II 301 by D N Guha.]  
 शारदचन्द्र  
 by प्रकाशनन्दशर्मन् [*MG Jl*]  
 शारदाचन्द्रिका 457, 877  
 शारदा (d) 788  
 शारदा [Sanskrit Journal, Allahabad]  
 शारदातनय 877  
 शारदातिलक (d) 787  
 by शङ्कर  
 by शेषगिरि (?) 254  
 by अवधानसरस्ती Anonymaus  
 शारदानन्दन (d) 787  
 शारदाप्रसाद [of *Suvadu Jl* Of Medatala, Bengal]  
 शारदामठ 270  
 शारदातोत्र 229, 273  
 शारदीय 877  
 शारीकमुपभाव 210  
 शारीपुत्रप्रकरण (d) 624  
 शार्ङ्गधर 118, 367  
 शार्ङ्गधर 923  
 साहित्यशार्ङ्गधर  
 शार्ङ्गदेव 85, 1008  
 शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति 367 [*PO I* n 22]  
 शार्ङ्गपाणिभुजङ्ग 509  
 शार्ङ्गसारतत्त्व  
 (Bendall 42 Composed 1620 AD

An extract from *Sārgadhara-paddhati*)  
 शार्दूलशतकाब्य [*Opp* 1334]  
 शाल 305  
 शालग्रामशालिन् [*Sury Jl*]  
 शालवाह *Shm*  
 शालवाहन *Shm*  
 शालिकनाथ *Shm*  
 शालिनार्थ 297  
 शालिनीसंचाद (d) 783  
 शालिवाहन 202, 203, 204, 305, 598  
 शालिवाहनचरित 203, 204, 432  
 शालिवाहनसप्तशती  
 by दुमारदेव [*CO I* 110]  
 शाल्क *Shm*  
 शाश्वत *Subh*  
 शाश्वत 318  
 शाश्वती 373-A  
 शिक्षानीतिकाब्य  
 See लक्ष्मीपति  
 शिखामणि 235, 254  
 शिङ्गरार्थ  
 See मित्रविन्दगोविन्द (d)  
 [He was brother of S'risailarya of Seringapatam (see post), 17th century]  
 शिङ्गरार (जरमु) 494  
 कृष्णकेयारहस्य  
 यदुशैलचन्द्र  
 श्रीसत्तव  
 दाशरथिचरित  
 [Printed Tumkur]  
 शितिकण्ठ 255  
 शितिकण्ठवाचस्पति  
 दण्डनीति  
 अलङ्कारदर्पण  
 [He was a native of Navadvipa, Bengal and lived in 1868–1936]

शितिकण्ठरामायण 252  
 शितिकण्ठविजय 157  
 शिरोमणि (R.) 667  
 शिलालिन् 553, 814  
 शिलाशतक 883  
 शिल्पक 563  
 शिल्पाठ  
*See कामशास्त्रकाव्य*  
 शिव 767  
 विवेकचन्द्रोदय (d)  
 शिव 610  
 रत्नावलीव्याख्या  
 शिवकाव्य 444  
 शिवकर्णसूत 143  
 शिवकामी स्तुत्यरत्न 143  
 शि वकुमारशास्त्रिन् 496  
 शिवगद्य 506  
 शिवगीतिमालिका 298, 1001  
 शिवचम्पू 514  
 शिवचरित 154  
 शिवचरित 254  
 शिवचरितप्रदीप (d)  
 [Printed Bombay]  
 दि वज्योतिरीक्षर 685  
*See उपोतिरीक्षर*  
 शिवतत्वरत्नाकर 197  
 [Printed Madras and Calcutta]  
 शिवतत्वरत्नाकलिका 515  
 दि वतान्डवस्तोत्र 286  
 दि.वदण्डक 505  
 शिवदत्त 329  
 नलोदयटीका  
 शिवदत्त 863-A  
 काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या  
 शिवदत्तमिश्र *Kad*  
 [CO I 649 lived about 1680 A.]  
 शिवदत्तस्तोत्र 515  
 शिवदयासहस्र 305

शि.वदास 203, 430, 441  
 शिवदाससेन *Sarang*  
 शिवदूत (d) 727  
 शिवदेववर्मन् 18I  
 दि बनामावलि 293  
 शिवनारायण 863-A  
 शिवनारायणदास 863-A  
 शिवनारायणभजमहोदय (d) 658, 761  
 दि. व नारायणशर्मन्  
 [of Mojadabad TU II ]  
 दि.वनिर्मात्यमक्षणकाव्य [CO I 649]  
 शिवपद्मस्तवी 464  
 दि.वपद्माशिका 143  
 शिवपादकमलरेणुसहस्र 305  
 दि.वपादस्तुति 288  
 शिवपादादिकेशान्तवर्णन 273  
 शिवप्रसाद 338  
 शिवभक्तचरित 254  
 शिवभक्तानन्द (d) 767  
*See रक्षानाथ [TC VI 6968]*  
 शिवभक्तिसिद्धि 75  
 दि वभजनकीर्तन 1064  
 शिवभद्रकाव्य  
 [PR IV 119, III App 202]  
 शिवभारत 158  
 शिवभुजहस्तोत्र 273, 509  
 शिवमहिमाकलिवास्तव 143  
 शिवमाल 254  
 शिवमोहनीविलास  
 by भास्कर (शिवरामशिष्य)  
 [TU V 6308 in 12 cantos ]  
 शिवमौलि *Pudy*  
 शिवराजचरित्र 158, 254  
*Anonymotus*  
 by कालिदासविद्याविनोद [JSSP X]  
 शिवराम 863-A  
 शिवराम 920  
 काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या

- शिवराम**  
**बिरिजाकमलाविवाद** [PR III 394]  
**शिवराम** 254  
**देवतावतरण**  
**शिवराम** (कृष्णरामपुत्र) 254, 455, 468,  
 473  
**शिवराम**  
**नृपविलासकाव्य** [CO III 64]  
**शिवराम**  
**काव्यलक्ष्मीप्रकाश** [PR II 140]  
**शिवराम** 613  
**नागानन्दभ्याख्या**  
**शिवरामचकवर्तिन्** 254  
**बाणविजयकाव्य** [CO III 78]  
**शिवरामभृ** 314  
**शिवरामशर्मन्**  
**वासुदेवरक्षानन्द** [PO I 69]  
**विष्णुमहिन्नस्तोत्र**  
**शिवरामसन्न्यासिन्** [CO I 652]  
**रामायणटीका**  
**शिवरामग्रन्थि** 1060  
**शिवरामग्रन्थि** (of Laskai, Gwalior  
 VO II Sarada Jl)  
**कैलासनाथस्तुति etc**  
**शिवरामग्रास्तिन्**  
*See श्रीमुखदर्पण*  
**शिवरामाष्टक** 273  
**शिवलिङ्गभूपाल** 482  
**शिवलिङ्गसूर्योदय** (d) 763  
**शिवलीला**  
 [TO VII 7828 in 8 cantos on  
 the deeds of Siva]  
**शिवलीलार्णव** 154  
**शिवविलासचम्पू** 544  
**शिवविलासकाव्य**  
 by द्वाषोदर  
 [TO VI 7061 (a poem in 6  
 cantos on Siva) Sury Jl]
- शिवशङ्करका** (of Janakpuria Dur-  
 bhanga)  
**शिवशङ्करास्तिन्**  
**नक्किनीवसन्त**  
 [JSSP XVII & XIX]  
**शिवशङ्करास्तिन्** (कस्तूरि) 288  
**शिवशतन्** 475, 755, 912  
**शिवसहिता** 126  
**शिवसिंह** 403  
**शिवसूर्य** 92 137  
**शिवस्कन्दवर्मन्** 459  
**शिवस्तव** 126  
**शिवस्तुति** 63, 214, 281, 286, 457, 693  
**शिवस्तोत्र** 273, 281, 768  
**शिवस्तोत्रावलि** 286  
**शिवस्वाति** 598  
**शिवस्वामिन्** 56  
**शिवाजी** 157  
**शिवाजीचरित** 196  
**शिवाजीप्रसाद** 922  
**शिवानन्द**  
**देवावतरण** [CO I 655]  
**शिवानन्दलहरी** 288  
**शिवार्कमणिदीपिका** 142  
**शिवावतारप्रबन्ध** 355  
**शिवाष्टपदी** 278  
**शिवोदय** 179, 323  
**शिवशतुर्वर्णन** 309  
**शिशुकन्दीय** p 2  
**शिशुपालवध** 55  
**शिशुपालकथा** 254  
**शिशुविनिमय** (d) 727  
**शिशुप्रबोधालङ्कार** 892  
**शिशोक** *Slim*  
**शिष्यलेखाधर्मकाव्य** 260  
**शीघ्रबोधभूषण** [MM II 68]

शीतलचन्द्र 780  
 शीलक *Subh*  
 शीलदृत 32  
 शीलब्रह्मसुरि 321  
 शीलस्वधवति (of Dodandvillage, Ceylon, a Buddhist monk *VO JL*)  
 शीला 374, 451  
 शुकदेव 1074  
 शुकवृहत्कथा [*Opp* 7423]  
 शुकसन्देश 122, 323, 379  
     by त्रिवेणी  
     by लक्ष्मीदास  
     by रक्षाचार्य  
     by कर्जंपलिनम्बूद्रि  
     by नायनाचार्य  
 शुकसप्तातिकथा 430  
 शुकाभिपतन (d) 782  
 शुक्लेश्वर 767  
     प्राणदर्शनाटक (d)  
     [*Hall's Int to Dasarupa*]  
 शुद्धोक *Skm*  
 शुद्धप्रबन्ध 1047  
 शुद्धसत्त्व (d) 765, 994  
 शुभद्वार *Skm*  
 शुभद्वार (श्रीधरपुत्र) 968, 1029  
 शुभचन्द्र p 43, 230  
 शुभवर्धन 440  
     पद्मचरित्र  
     पाण्डवचरित्र  
     बलभद्रचरित्र (Printed Bombay)  
 शुभशील 515  
 शुभाङ्ग (शुभाङ्ग) *KVS Skm*, 373  
 शुभाचन्द्र 280  
 शुभ्र *Pady*  
 शूद्रक 460, 595 (et seq)  
 शूद्रककथा 598  
 शूद्रककथा 450, 566, 590  
     by पञ्चशिख

शूद्रककथा 450 566, 590 *contd*  
     by रामिल and सौमिल  
 शूद्रकचरित 588  
 शूर *Skm*  
 शूरमयूर (d) 727  
 शूरवर्मन् *Subh*  
 शूर्पणखाप्रकाप 175  
 शूल *Skm*  
 शूलपाणि *Skm*  
 शूलपाणिशतक 288  
 शूल्ला 326  
 शृङ्गार 72  
 शृङ्गार *Skm*  
 शृङ्गार 872  
 शृङ्गारकन्तुक 814  
 शृङ्गारकलिका 314, 757, 903  
     by कामराज  
     by हरि  
 शृङ्गरक्षोल 314  
 शृङ्गरकाव्य 258  
 शृङ्गरकोश 314  
 शृङ्गरकोश (d) 154, 523, 621 787  
     by गीर्वाणेन्द्र  
     by अभिनवकाळिदास  
 शृङ्गरकौतूहल 314  
 शृङ्गरकौतुक  
 शृङ्गरगुप्त 478  
 शृङ्गरचन्द्रिका 314  
 शृङ्गरचन्द्रिका (d) 787  
 शृङ्गरचन्द्रोदय 923  
 शृङ्गरजीवन (d) 787  
 शृङ्गरतटिनी 314, 768, 909  
 शृङ्गारतरजिणी 163, 923  
 शृङ्गारतजिणी (d) 730, 787  
     by श्रीनिवासाचार्य  
     by रामलङ्घ  
     by वेङ्गटाचार्य

[*TC* VII 7488, 7573 He was brother of S'ivavāsatitacārya probably of Tīupati, Chittoor District and son of Annayārya ]  
**शङ्कारतिलक** (d) 880  
**शङ्कारतिलक** 309  
  by काळिदास 309, 314  
  by गगामट 314 [*Vāgbhata* in *CO*  
  I 660 seems to be wrong]  
**शङ्कारतिलक** (d) 787  
  [Ed by Rāma Pishaioti in  
  *COJ*]  
**शङ्कारतिलक** (अलङ्कार) 830  
  by रुद्रभट्ट  
**शङ्कारतिलक** (= अव्याभाण) (d) 160  
**शङ्कारतिलकचम्पू** [Bih 708]  
**शङ्कारदीपक** (d) 520, 787  
**शङ्कारदीपिका** (d) 529, 787  
  by वेङ्कटाच्छरिन्  
  by राघवाचार्य  
**शङ्कारदीपिका** 885  
  by भासुदत्त  
**शङ्कारनायिकातिलक** 493  
**शङ्कारपवन** 923  
**शङ्कारपावन** (d) 787  
**शङ्कारप्रकाश** 515, 842  
  by भोज  
**शङ्कारभूषण** 128  
**शङ्कारभेदप्रदीपिका** 1075  
**शङ्कारमजरी**  
  by भोगनाथ 125  
  by केरलवर्ष्यन् 179  
**शङ्कारमजरी** (d) 306, 787  
  by रतिकर [*TC* VI 7149]  
  by गोपालाचार्य  
  by विश्वनाथ  
  by विष्वेश्वर 312, 906  
**शङ्कारमजरी** 723  
  137

**शङ्कारमचरी** (आख्यायिका) 451  
**शङ्कारमजरीकाव्य** 314  
  by रायमनोहर 314  
  by मानकवि 314  
  by अजितसेन 843  
**शङ्कारमजरीसाहृजीय** (d) 162  
**शङ्कारमाला** 314, 888  
**शङ्कारनाक** (d) 787  
**शङ्काररस** 923  
**शङ्कारसवन्ध्यप्रदीपिका** 1074  
**शङ्कारसभृङ्कार** (d) 787  
**शङ्कारसमण्डन** 314, 894, 922  
**शङ्कारसविलास** 923  
**शङ्कारसोदय** (d) 787  
**शङ्कारसोदयकाव्य** 314  
**शङ्कारराज** 306, 787  
**शङ्कारराज** (d) 787  
**शङ्कारलता** 923  
**शङ्कारलीलाचरित** 175  
  by नारायणभृष्टपाद [*Tan* 93]  
**शङ्कारलीलातिलक** (d) 787  
**शङ्कारवाटिका** (d) 707  
**शङ्कारवाटिका** (d)  
**शङ्कारवापिका** (d) 689, 784, 787, 880,  
  The name is given as **शङ्कारवाटिका**  
  in *Benda l* 60 This was com-  
  posed for Viśnusimha, Kumara  
  of Mahārāja Rāmasimha of Jaipore]  
**शङ्कारविधि** 923  
**शङ्कारविलसित** (d) 787  
**शङ्कारविलास** (d) 787  
**शङ्कारविलास** 314  
**शङ्कारवैराग्यतरङ्गिणी** 94, 267  
**शङ्कारशतक** 314, 903  
  by ब्रजलाल  
  by जनार्दन  
  by नरहरि  
  by ब्रजराज

शृङ्खारशतक *contd*  
 by भर्तुहरि  
 शृङ्खारशृङ्खाटक (d) 787  
 शृङ्खारशेखर 900  
 अभिनयभूषण  
 शृङ्खारशेखर (d)  
 by रामानुज (श्रीवत्स) [TO VI 7403]  
 शृङ्खारसंजीवन (d) 787  
 शृङ्खारसंसाधी 305  
 Anonymous  
 by परमानन्द  
 शृङ्खारसंरणी  
 by चित्रघोषपात्राय [MM II 70]  
 शृङ्खारसरसी 314, 923  
 शृङ्खारसर्वेस्व (d) 152, 787  
 by स्वामिज्ञास्तिन्  
 by अनन्तनारायण (भारद्वाज)  
 [TO. VI 7046]  
 by नलालुध  
 by भूमिनाथ 759  
 by वेदान्ताचार्य  
 by राजचूडामणि 152  
 शृङ्खारस्तबक (d) 787  
 शृङ्खारसार 309, 916, 923  
 शृङ्खारसारसङ्कह 314  
 शृङ्खारसारावली 916  
 शृङ्खारसारोदधि 923  
 शृङ्खारसुधाकर (d) 713  
 शृङ्खारसुधार्णव (d) 728  
 शृङ्खारसुन्दर (d) 713, 787  
 शृङ्खारहार 923  
 शृङ्खारदिविष्य 923  
 शृङ्खारमृतलहरी 314, 903, 923  
 शेखरकाम्ब 373-C  
 शेष  
 कर्णसुधानिधि  
 [OO I 661 JBRAS XI 99]

शेषकवि  
 चिन्तामणिविजय 544  
 शेषकवि 252  
 कल्याणरामायण  
 शेषकृष्ण 306, 682, 692  
 शेषगिरि 782, 787  
 शेषगोविन्द 785  
 शेषविन्तामणि 338, 692, 886, 777  
 1101  
 शेषदीक्षित 251  
 शेषनरसिंह 692  
 शेषनारायण 692  
 शेषव्यङ्गार् (मार्गदर्शी) 1060  
 शेषवरद्वाकर 297, 692  
 शेषरामकृष्ण 308  
 शेषरामदन्त 76, 692  
 शेषरामायण 373-C  
 शेषवीरेश्वर 311, 692  
 शेषशासी (of Melakottayur) 497,  
 [TO II]  
 शेषशास्त्रिन् (B) 475  
 शेषसुधी 542  
 शेषसुधी (वानाल)  
 कृच्छरम्पू [TO VI 6932]  
 शेषाचार्य (घट) 764  
 शेषाचार्य 214  
 मच्चविजयव्याख्या  
 शेषाचार्य (विकिराल) 787  
 शेषाचलपति 163  
 शेषाद्रि (भारद्वाज) 777  
 शेषाद्रिनाथ (K) [MBH II]  
 शैलद्वर्ज *Skm*  
 शैलाभीशशतक 249  
 शैलेन्द्रविलास 254  
 शैवरामायण 373-C  
 शैवलिनी 491  
 शैणाश्रीशशतक 179  
 शोभन 332, 477

शोभनस्तुति 477  
 शोभाक *Shm*  
 शोभाक 814, 879, 968  
 शोभाक *Skm*  
 शोभावती (d) 727  
 शौद्धोदनि 814  
 शैनक 460  
 शौरिकधोदय 65, 369  
 शैरिचरित्र 338  
 श्यामल *Skm*  
 श्यामल 69  
 श्यामसुन्दर (= श्याम)  
 देवविलासार्थी  
*See* माधवसिंहार्थी  
 श्यामलाद्वचक 504  
 श्यामशास्त्रिन् (R) 747  
 श्यामशास्त्रिन् 1054 [1763-1827]  
 श्यामाचरणकविरचन [SO M]  
 श्यामारहस्य 375  
 श्यामास्त्रेन् (= कर्पुरस्त्रव)  
 श्यामिळक 593  
 श्रवणभूषण [*Bendall* 91]  
 श्रवणानन्द 529  
 श्रीकण्ठ (गीर्वाणेन्द्रपुत्र) 787  
 श्रीकण्ठ 286  
     आनन्दसागरस्त्रव  
 श्रीकण्ठ (श्रीकण्ठपुत्र) 55  
     माधटीका  
 श्रीकण्ठ 338  
     रघूदय  
 श्रीकण्ठ (= नन्जुण्ड) 526, 787  
 श्रीकण्ठ  
     कलियुगकालिदासपुत्र) 523, 621  
 श्रीकण्ठ *Sarny*  
 श्रीकण्ठचरित 72, 183, 188  
 श्रीकण्ठप्रियशती 305

श्रीकण्ठदास  
     युधिष्ठिरविजयव्याख्या [T.O. VI 7007]  
 श्रीकण्ठपिश 297  
 श्रीकण्ठशास्त्रिन् (एलन्दूर) 544  
 श्रीकण्ठशास्त्रिन् 501  
 श्रीकण्ठस्त्रव 871  
 श्रीकण्ठाभिनवशास्त्रिन् 456  
 श्रीकर *Shm, Pady*  
 श्रीकरमिश 920  
 श्रीकवि 135  
 श्रीकविभूषण 922  
 श्रीकविवल्लभ 922  
 श्रीकान्ताकथा [PR I 133]  
 श्रीकृष्ण 544  
     रामेश्वरावजय  
 श्रीकृष्णउपाध्याय 373-B  
 श्रीकृष्णचन्द्र 542  
 श्रीकृष्णचरित 251  
 श्रीकृष्णचैतन्य 219  
 श्रीकृष्णनाथ 618  
 श्रीकृष्णनृपोदयप्रबन्ध 546  
 श्रीकृष्णपरकाठ 211, 544  
 श्रीकृष्णराजचन्द्र 494  
 श्रीकृष्णराजसेतुबन्धव 494  
 श्रोकृष्णराजाभ्युदय 546  
 श्रीकृष्णलीलापित 50  
 श्रीकृष्णवल्लभ  
     *See* काव्यभूषणवतक  
 श्रीकृष्णविजय 169  
 श्रीकृष्णविलास 730  
 श्रीकृष्णसरोजप्रमरी  
     by कुत्तलपण्डित [Printed Bombay]  
 श्रीकृष्णान्युदय 484  
 श्रीकेशवस्त्रव 254 B  
 श्रीखण्डचरित (d) [*Bendall* 19]  
 श्रीचरित 563  
 श्रीगर्भकवीन्द्र *Pady*  
 श्रीगुणरत्नकोषा 207

श्रीचक्रत्तवराज 273  
 श्रीचन्द्रचरित्र [Printed Bombay] 292  
 श्रीचिह्नकाव्य 46, 292  
 श्रीदत्त 76  
 श्रीदामचरित (d) 757, 903  
 श्रीदास 224  
 श्रोदेशिकार्तिशत् 490  
 श्रीधर 782  
     लक्ष्मीदेवनारथण (d)  
 श्रीधर 44, 76  
     माधकिरातच्याख्या  
 श्रीधर 252  
     रामसारामृत  
 श्रीधरदास 294, 365  
 श्रीधरनन्दिन् Krs, Skm  
 श्रीधरपाठक (of Agia)  
     नववसन्तगता  
     शिमलाप्रेक्षण etc [Savadi Jl]  
 श्रीधरवेङ्गटेश 162, 286  
 श्रीधरस्वामिन् 251  
 श्रीधरसान्धिविग्रहिक 863-A  
 श्रीधरस्वामिन् 373  
 श्रीधरसेन 42  
 श्रीधराचार्य p 42  
 श्रीनन्दन p 43  
 श्रीनाथ 27, 76, 879, 887  
 श्रीनाथशास्त्रिन् (वेताल)  
     जार्जरौप्यमहोत्सव [Shrey Jl, X 319]  
 श्रीनिधि 666  
 श्रीनिवास (वेङ्गटेशपुष्ट कौशिक) 545  
 श्रीनिवास (ककोहली) 214  
 श्रीनिवास 217  
     सल्यनिधिविलास  
 श्रीनिवास 545  
     तारकावली  
 श्रीनिवास (वेङ्गटपुत्र) 1097  
 श्रीनिवास (दृसिंहपुत्र) 787  
 श्रीनिवास (श्रीबत्स) 546, 787

श्रीनिवास 921  
     काव्यलक्षणसङ्घ्रह  
 श्रीनिवास 254, 441  
     सुदामचरित  
 श्रीनिवास  
     सौम्यसोमाभिध (d)  
     (Printed Cidambaram)  
 श्रीनिवास (आत्रेय) 314  
 श्रीनिवास (वृत्तमणि) 314  
 श्रीनिवास 314  
     सुपनोरजन  
 श्रीनिवास (वीरवलि) 242, 777  
 श्रीनिवास (देवराजपुत्र) 777  
 श्रीनिवास (रामानुजपुत्र) 777  
 श्रीनिवास (श्रीशैल) 252, 771  
 श्रीनिवास अच्युज्ञार (T S)  
     चन्द्रकला [UP Jl 1936]  
 श्रीनिवास अच्युज्ञार (M K)  
     रसिकरज्ञनम् (prose) [UP Jl X]  
 श्रीनिवासकवि 200  
 श्रीनिवासकविसाधभौम 344  
 श्रीनिवासकर्णस्तुत 293  
 श्रीनिवासकाव्य 545, 942  
 श्रीनिवासगद्य 506  
 श्रीनिवासगुणाकर 244  
 श्रीनिवासचप्तू 545-6  
     by वेङ्गट  
     by श्रीनिवास  
 श्रीनिवासचूर्णिका 507  
 श्रीनिवासताताचार्य 121  
 श्रीनिवासदयाविलास (d) 782  
 श्रीनिवासदीक्षित (वैखानस) 618, 619  
 श्रीनिवासदीक्षित 518  
     नैषधानन्द  
 श्रीनिवासदीक्षित (रज्जेट) 151  
 श्रीनिवासदीक्षितेन्द्रचरित 721  
 श्रीनिवासपण्डित 1064  
 श्रीनिवासपरकाल 211

- श्रीनिवासभट्ट *Skm*  
 श्रीनिवासभट्ट (दण्डतीर्थमठ) [VC JI]  
 श्रीनिवासमुनिश्रयविलास 546  
 श्रीनिवासरथविजय (d)  
*See* नरसिंहदीक्षित [TO IV 5479]  
 श्रीनिवासराधव (यलयवल्लि) 251  
 श्रीनिवासराधवाचार्य (T) p 26  
 श्रीनिवासराधवाचार्य p 25  
 श्रीनिवासराधवाचार्य (होसडुर्ग) of Mysore [VO JI Sarada JI]  
 श्रीनिवासराधवी 252  
 श्रीनिवासराधवाचुज 546  
 श्रीनिवासलक्षण (ठाकूर) [VO JI]  
 श्रीनिवासवरदताताचार्य [MBII JI]  
 श्रीनिवासविद्यालङ्कार 200  
 श्रीनिवासविलास 211, 544  
     by वेङ्कटेश  
     by श्रीकृष्ण  
 श्रीनिवासवेदाताचार्य 787  
 श्रीनिवासशास्त्रिन् (P V) [MBH JI]  
 श्रीनिवासस्तत्व 85  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य (U R) 1062  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य (नेहरू) 1063  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य (कौशिक) 787  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य (तिरुमलबुकपट्टन) 910  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य (ईच्चम्बाडि) 501, 600, 613, 730  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य (परवस्तु) 323  
     मयूरसन्देश  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य 730 [UP JI (1936)]  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य (चेह्लर) 753  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य (राजमठम) 735  
 श्रीनिवासाचार्य p 42  
 श्रीपति *Skm*  
 श्रीपति (ठक्कुर)  
     चित्रकाव्य  
     विकटोरियाइष्ट [MB JI]  
     [Printed Saktipuri, Murshidabad]
- श्रीप्रपत्ति 210  
 श्रीपाद 71  
 श्रीपादनरसिंहशास्त्रिन् [MBH JI]  
 श्रीपादसप्तति 544  
 श्रीपादसप्तक 714  
 श्रीपाठ (प्राप्तवाट) 98  
 श्रीपाल 373  
 श्रीपालकविराज *Saving*  
 श्रीपालचरित 235, 254  
 श्रीपालचरित्र 50, 44  
 श्रीपालचरित्र (prose)  
     [Ramghat Jain mandir, Benares]  
 श्रीपालित 305, 450  
 श्रीवक *Abhik*  
 श्रीभवस्वामिन् 151  
 श्रीभाष्य 206  
 श्रीभाष्यकारचरित 206  
 श्रीमन्तविद्याभूषण (of Ratnesvara) [SO JI]  
 श्रीमहादेव *Skm*  
 श्रीमित्र *Skm*  
 श्रीमहीपति उपाध्याय *Ked*  
 श्रीमण SS  
 श्रीमुखदर्पण  
     by लिखरामास्त्रिन्  
     [On the geneology of Kamakotipitha Sankarācāryas ]  
 श्रीमुखचरित 246  
 श्रीयाज्ञिक SS  
 श्रीयाज्ञिक 373-A  
 श्रीरङ्गदन्तक 242, 505  
 श्रीरङ्गदेव 53, 55  
 श्रीरङ्गनाथभाण (d) 787  
 श्रीरङ्गराज  
 श्रीरङ्गराजचरित (d) [TO VI 7423]  
 श्रीरङ्गराजस्तव 207  
 श्रीरङ्गाचार्य (पुरुषै) 506  
 श्रीरङ्गाचार्य (निदम्बर) 1063

श्रीराम 254  
*See* ईश्वरविलास  
 श्रीरामविजय 537, 731  
 श्रीरामशास्त्रिन् (वेदान्त) 545  
 श्रीलक्ष्मीनरसिंहस्तव 254-B  
 श्रीवक्ष 69  
 श्रीवचनभूषण 209  
 श्रीवत्स  
 [mentioned in Srikanthacarita,  
 XXV 82]  
 श्रीवत्सलक्ष्मण 852  
 रामोदय (३) (CC I 526]  
 श्रीवत्सविलास 318  
 श्रीवत्साङ्गमित्र 207, 333  
 [Another account gives dates  
 Kali 4111-4213, that is 1009-  
 1111]  
 पञ्चस्तवी  
 यमकरनाकर  
 श्रीवर 185, 370, 439  
 श्रीविराहचूर्णिका 242  
 श्रीविराहशतक 242  
 श्रीविवेदन  
 चूडामणिकाव्य [IHQ 1930, 573]  
 श्रीवर्धन Sury  
 श्रीवल्लभ (=वामुदेव) 100  
 श्रीवल्लभ (=मुजा) 61  
 श्रीवल्लभपाठक 231  
 श्रीविद्यारत्नाकर 216  
 श्रीवीरस्तव 229  
 श्रीवेङ्कटेशप्रपति 919  
 श्रीवेण्डे Pady  
 श्रीवृत्तम् 912  
 श्रीशश्यमकशतक 338  
 श्रीशरविद्यालङ्कार 250, 253, 254-283  
 श्रीशैल 544  
 श्रीशैलकुलवैभव 206

श्रीशैलताताचार्य (वेङ्कटवरदपुत्र) (= कलावती)  
 498, 736  
 भागवतचूर्णिका [MB J.]  
 श्रीशैलताताचार्य (D T Tātacāya) 360  
 श्रीशैलतार्थ (कौशिक) 753  
 श्रीशैलार्थ (= तिरुमलव्यज्ञार )  
 [Lived at Seringapatam in 1645-  
 1706 under king Cikkadeva-  
 roya of Mysore , he was son of  
 Alagunasingārya]  
 यदुगिरिनारायणस्तव  
 यदुगिरिनारायकस्तव  
 लक्ष्मीदृसिंहस्तव  
 मञ्जुलकेशवस्तव  
 राजगोपालस्तव  
 गोपालस्तव  
 पञ्चमरङ्गराजस्तव  
 [Printed Bangalore]  
 श्रीशैलदीक्षित 484  
 श्रीशैलेश 209  
 श्रीशैलेशवतक 209  
 श्रीशुक Sāng  
 श्रीस्तव 207, 919  
 श्रीस्वामिन Kod  
 श्रीस्तुति 121, 205  
 श्रीसुकिरनाकर 753  
 श्रीहर्ष  
 जानकीगीता [Oudh, VIII 28]  
 श्रीहर्ष 73  
 श्रीहर्षदेव 564, 948  
 श्रीहर्षविकमादिल्य 569  
 श्रीहरिकीर्तन 1064  
 श्रुतकीर्ति 66  
 श्रुतकीर्तिविलासचम्पू 536  
 श्रुतधर Sāng, Subh  
 श्रुतधर 303  
 श्रुतप्रकाशिका 120  
 श्रुतबोध 309, 1094 [MM II 26]

## श्रुतिसागर

व्रतकथाकोश [Bendall, 64]

श्रुतसागरगणि 514

श्रुतिशास्कर 1064

अधिकचरित 235

कृष्णद्वाक्षाब्द्य

by कृष्णकौरमिश्र [on the early history of the sikhs Printed Lahore]

खेष 327

खेषचल्पपूरामायण 338

खेषशिल्पामणि 527

खेषचूडामणि 338

खेषमाल्य 336

खेषोलास 338

खोकसङ्ख्रह 1039

खेतारण्यचूर्जिका 507

## व

## वदपदी

by विठ्ठलदीक्षित

by शङ्कराचार्य [CO I 678]

वददर्शनमुदर्शन 529

वदसहस्री 945

वदक्षर 254

वदक्षरीदेव 194

वद्गुरुकाब्द्य [CO I 679]

वद्गुरुवर्णन 309, 312, 903

वद्गुरुविनोद [CO I 679]

वद्गुरुवन्नोदय [Bkt 529]

*See* पुण्डरीकविठ्ठल 1028

वण्णतनाटक (d) 767

वण्मुख 964, 992

वषितव्य 254

षष्ठ

[mentioned in श्रीकण्ठचरित्र, XXV

70]

षष्ठीदास *Pady*

मूढविडम्बनकाब्द्य [CO I 464]

षष्ठीविलास 456

षहबुद्दीन (Shahabuddin) 58

पाजहान (Shahajan) 81, 311

पाजहानलूपतिराजनीति (d)

by हजारीलालशर्मन [Suy Jl VII 51]

वाणासिक *Pdym*

वेक्षिपियर् नाटक सङ्ख्रह 357

## स

सकलकीर्ति 232, 235

सकलाधिकार 126

सङ्कर्षण 214, 217, 544

सङ्कल्पसूयोदय (d) 121, 753

सङ्कीर्णचमत्कारस्त्व 919

सङ्कुल *Sarng*

सङ्कृत *Skm*

सङ्खितकादन्धरी 456

संक्षिपशङ्करविजय 271

संक्षेपभागवतामृत 219

संक्षेपभारत 172

संक्षेपरामायण 172

संक्षेपशङ्करविजय 523

संख्यावत् 143

सङ्खर 491

सङ्खीत 972

[Vishnudass Shirali, *Hindu Music and Rhythm* Maharana of Dharmpur, *Essays on Hindu Music* ]

सङ्खीतकल्पतरु 1048

सङ्खीतकल्पद्रुम 1064

सङ्खीतकलानिधि 1034

सङ्खीतकालिका 1064

सङ्खीतकामद 1064

सङ्खीतकेतु 175 [Trav 93]

सङ्खीतकौमुदी 1064

- सङ्गीतगङ्गाधर (=गीतगङ्गाधर) 1064  
 [Ed by Maharudrappa Revappa Belgaum For commentaries by Kasipati see *MI* II 8 *Taylor I* 86]
- सङ्गीतचन्द्रिका 1048, 1064  
 सङ्गीतचन्द्रोदय 1064  
 सङ्गीतचिन्तामणि 889, 992, 1064  
 by वेमभूपाल  
 by कमल्लोचन  
 Anonymous
- सङ्गीतचुडामणि 1005  
 सङ्गीतदर्शण 1081, 1084  
 by दामोदर  
 by हरिभट्ट
- सङ्गीतदामोदर 1039  
 सङ्गीतनारायण 1019, 1048  
 सङ्गीतपरिजात 1041  
 सङ्गीतपुष्पाञ्जलि 1035  
 सङ्गीतप्रकाश 515, 1064  
 सङ्गीतभास्कर 1039  
 सङ्गीतमकर्णद 970, 971, 1035  
 by वेद  
 by नारद  
 सङ्गीतमणिदर्शण 1064  
 सङ्गीतमाघव 224, 298  
 सङ्गीतमुक्तावङ्गि 988, 1025, 1064  
 सङ्गीतथायात (d) 1060  
 सङ्गीतरघुनन्दन 298, 880, 1000, 1001, 1064  
 सङ्गीतरज्जुमाला 1048  
 by यम्मट  
 सङ्गीतरज्जुवङ्गी 1006  
 सङ्गीतराघव 112, 1001  
 सङ्गीतराग 1064  
 सङ्गीतराजरङ्ग 1064  
 सङ्गीतलक्षण 1064  
 सङ्गीतवृत्तरज्जुकर 1028  
 सङ्गीतशास्त्र 1064
- सङ्गीतशास्त्रदुग्दवारिधि 1064  
 सङ्गीतशास्त्रसंक्षेप 1064  
 सङ्गीतशिरोभणि 1048  
 संगीतश्चंगारहार 1014  
 संगीतसमयसार 1010  
 संगीतसप्रहचिन्तामणि 1064  
 संगीतसराजि 1047  
 संगीतसर्वेस 314, 1023, 1064  
 संगीतसर्वार्थसप्रह 1064  
 संगीतसागर 1055  
 संगीतसार 1019  
 संगीतसारकविता 1064  
 संगीतसारसङ्ख्य 1039, 1064  
 Anonymous  
 by सौरेन्द्रमोहन  
 संगीतसारामृत 158, 1046  
 संगीतसारामृतोद्धार 1046  
 संगीतसारोद्धार 1034  
 by हरिभट्ट  
 by केकराज  
 by रामकृष्णभट्ट 1064  
 संगीतसिद्धान्त 1064  
 संगीतसुन्दर 298, 1001  
 संगीतसुधानिधि 149, 1064  
 संगीतसुधाकर 1013, 1064  
 संगीतसुधा 146, 148, 1037, 1064  
 by रुद्राय  
 by भीमनेत्र  
 संगीतसूर्योदय 1030 [*TO* VII 7589]  
 संगीतस्वरलक्षण 1064  
 संगीतमृत 889, 1066  
 संगीतोपनिषद् 1016  
 सङ्ग्हवचूडामणि 992  
 सङ्ग्हवरामण 214, 373-B  
 सङ्ग्हामचन्द्र *Skm*  
 सङ्ग्हामदत्त *Sdm*  
 सङ्ग्हामधीर 870  
 सङ्ग्हामविजयकाव्य [*Opp* II 5033]

सङ्घमित्र *Shm*  
 सङ्घमित्र *Shm*  
 सङ्घश्री *Shm, KV S*  
 सङ्घश्रीमित्र *Shm*  
 सङ्घाधिपतिचरित्र 112  
 सचलमित्र  
     आर्यसप्तशतीव्याख्या [MM II 15]  
 सचिदानन्द 252  
 सचिदानन्दभारती  
     रामचन्द्रमहोदय  
 सचिदानन्दविवाभिनव शृंगिह भारती  
     विजयकाव्य  
 by राजवल्लभशास्त्रिन् (Printed  
     Madras)  
 सज्जनमनोरथकाव्य [Opp 7437]  
 सशाधर *Shm*  
 सज्यकविराज 904  
 सज्यकविशेषर *Pady*  
 सज्जानन्दिन् *Shm*  
 सटुक 563  
 सज्जाजी 163  
 सतीषरिण्य 253, 740  
 सतीविलासकाव्य 254  
 सतीश्चन्द्रविद्याभूषण  
     [Founded Oriental Sanskrit  
     College, Calcutta] [MG Jl]  
 सतीशतक 942  
 सत्कविमित्र *Sarng*  
 सत्कर्तिंचन्द्रोदय  
     See पीताम्बर [OC I 688]  
 सत्कविमित्र *Sarng*  
 सत्पर्णक 235  
 सत्यकिङ्गरुपोखामिन्  
     [SPV Jl Sarada Jl]  
 सत्यच्छामणिकाव्य [Opp 3066]  
 सत्यतप-कथा 170  
 सत्यदेव *Shhh*  
 सत्यनाथतीर्थ 217  
     138

मत्यनाथमाहात्म्यरत्नाकर 217  
 सत्यनाथविलास 217  
 सत्यनाथाभ्युदय 217  
 सत्यनिधिविलास 217  
 सत्यपराक्रम p 26  
 सत्यबोध *Shm*  
 सत्यबोधविजय 217  
 सत्यभामापरिणय 358  
 सत्यभामापरिणय (d) 692  
 सत्यभामापरिणय 253  
 सत्यभामाङ्गणसंचाद 303  
 सत्यभामाविलास 692  
 सत्यराज 108  
 सत्यराजगणि 235  
 सत्यवर्मन् 193  
 सत्यव्रत 658  
 सत्यसन्धचरित 544  
 सत्यहरिश्चन्द्र (d) 669, 672  
 सत्योपाख्यान p 28  
 सत्काव्यकल्पद्रुम  
     by कृष्णकान्त [OC I 688]  
 सत्यादिनायस्तव 254-B  
 सत्यानुभावमहाकाव्य  
     by कालीपादतर्कीचार्य [SPV Jl]  
 सत्यापरिणय 238  
 सत्याभिनवोदयकाव्य [Race 244]  
 सत्याश्रय 89  
 सत्याश्रय पुलकेशिन् 48  
 सत्योशाचार्य (गोष्ठीयुर) [VO Jl MB Jl]  
 सत्राजितीपरिणय 544  
 सत्संगविजय (d) 767  
 सदरैकन्दर्प 314  
 सद्धर्मपुण्डरीक 446  
 सदात्मसुनि 752  
 सदानन्द 76, 251, 268  
 सदानन्द (शङ्करशिष्य) 271  
 सदानन्द (देवप्रयाग)  
     See नरनारायणीय

सदानन्द 271  
 शङ्करविजय  
 सदाशिव 124  
 सदाशिव *Pady*  
 सदाशिव दंशित 1001, 1049  
 गीतमुन्द्र  
 सदाशिवभरत 962  
 सदाशिवब्रह्मेन्द्र 653  
 सदाशिवमलिन् 161, 939, 777,  
 939, 1045  
 सदाशिवमुनि 1102  
 सदाशिववालिन् (केरलीय)  
 वसन्तशतक [SO II]  
 सदुक्तिकर्णमृत  
 [Edited with the long introduc-  
 tion]  
 by हरदत्तर्षम् (Lahore)  
 सदुक्तिकर्णमृत 294, 365  
 सहुसन्तानपरिमळ 272  
 सहिद्याविजय 207  
 सनातन 1064  
 गीतावलि  
 सनातन (रुपग्राता) 220, 221, 224  
 सनातनगोस्तामिन्  
 वैष्णवसाहीतक [Vidy Jl, XXIV 135]  
 सनातनशर्म्म 318  
 सन्तराज 920  
 सन्तानगोपाल 713  
 सन्तानगोपालकाव्य 380  
 सन्तानगोपालप्रबन्ध 542  
 सन्देशहस्तादिलक्षण 1065  
 सन्देशकाव्य 315  
 सन्देशद्वयसारखादिनी 317  
 सन्देशवत्य  
 [Hamsandes'a, Kokilaandes'a,  
 Kokasandes'a, TSS Trivandrum]  
 सन्देशविष्णविकाव्य [Oudh XI 6 Q]

Is it Vallibha's Commentary on  
 Māgha?]  
 सन्धिमान् 272, 820  
 सन्ध्याकरनदिन् 59, 189, 339  
 सन्मणिमण्डन 166  
 सन्मीतकल्पलता 493  
 सच्चीतिरामायण [Printed, Madras]  
 सप्तव्यसन्दर्भित 229  
 सप्तशती  
 by मोहन [OC I 468]  
 सप्तशतीसार 889  
 सप्तश्लोकीरामायण  
 [Printed Gīndharaśānamāla ]  
 सप्तसन्धान 93  
 सप्तत्वरलक्षण 1064  
 सभद्रष्टव्य 327  
 सभ्यकर्णाभरण *Pady*  
 सभानाटक (d)  
 See महेश्वर  
 सभापति 137  
 सभापतिविलास (d) 706  
 सभापर्वनाटक (d) 684  
 सभारक्षण 154  
 सभारक्षणप्रबन्ध 438  
 सभ्याभरण 350  
 सभाभूषणमञ्चरी  
 by गौतम [IO VI 6984]  
 [A collection of 100 ingenious  
 stanzas praising kings]  
 सभ्यालङ्करण 373, 884  
 सभग्रनाटक 565  
 सभन्तमद्र *Slok*, 274  
 सभव्यातृक 69  
 सभव्यसार 782  
 सभमुन्द्र 27, 867  
 सभपुङ्क्ष 142, 534, 546  
 सभरादित्य 477  
 सभरादित्यकथा 545

तमवकार 561, 563  
 समवृत्तसार 1100  
 समसन्दर्भ 921  
 समस्याकल्पलता [SPV II 54]  
 समग्नारब्लाकर 289  
 समुद्रदत्तचेष्टित (d) 958  
 समुद्रशुप्ति 385, 390  
 समुद्रदत्त 460  
 समुद्रबन्ध 72, 680, 870, 813  
 समुद्रमयन (d) 551-A  
     by पितामह 551, 880  
     by वत्सराज (Ed GOS)  
 समुद्रमयनचम्पू 289  
     by रामराय  
 समुद्रमाधव (d) 785  
     See गोविन्दकविभूषण  
 समुद्राष्टक 288  
 सम्पत्कुमारनरसिद्धाचार्य [of Nabha]  
     विक्षटोरियोवैभव  
 सम्पत्कुमारविजय 379  
 सम्पत्कुमारविलास 545  
 सम्पत्कुमार वेङ्कटाचार्य 920  
 सम्पत्कुमारस्तोत्र 494  
 सम्पदायकुलदीपिका 290  
 संयोगितास्वयवर (d) 501, 738  
 सर्वचरित (d)  
     by बाणबहु [OO I 701]  
 सवरणनाटक  
     (=बेणीसंहार = बेणी)  
 संवित्रकाशकाव्य  
     by गोविन्द कवीश्वर [PB VI 34]  
 संसारचक्र 489  
 संस्कृतगाथासप्तशती 359  
 संस्कृतसाहित्यपरिषष्ठिका  
     [Sanskrit Journal Calcutta ]  
 संस्कृतभारती  
     [Sanskrit Journal, Benares]

संस्कृतभास्कर  
     [Sanskrit Journal Muttia]  
 संस्कृतमहामण्डल  
     [Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta]  
 संस्कृतरानाकर  
     [Sanskrit Journal, Jaipur]  
 संस्कृतपद्यवाणी  
     [Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta]  
 संस्कृतकादिग्विनी  
     [Sanskrit Journal]  
 संस्कृतचन्द्रिका  
     [Sanskrit Journal, Kolhapur]  
 सरयूप्रसाद (पाण्डे) [Sury J.]  
 सरसकविकुलानन्द (d) 787  
     [OO I 699]  
 सरसभारती Opp II 5590  
 सरसभारतीविलास 217  
 सरस्वती Skm  
 सरस्वती (देवि) 551 (a)  
 सरस्वती 374  
 सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण (d) 373-B  
 सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण 841, 863 A, 1023  
 सरस्वतीकर्तव्यकौतुक 514  
 सरस्वतीकुडुम्बदुहितु Sarng  
 सरस्वतीकुडुम्ब Sarng  
 सरस्वतीतीर्थ 28, 76, 318, 850  
 सरस्वतीनिवास  
     स्विमणीनाटक (d)  
     [OO I 527]  
 सरस्वतीविलास 314  
 सरस्वतीसर्वाधिक्य 769  
     by बेसूरि अष्टावधानि  
 सरस्वतीतोत्तोत्त 289  
 सरस्वतीहृदयभूषण 1002  
 सरस्वतीहृदयालङ्घारहार 1002  
 सरलचित्सुखसार 764  
 सरला 741  
 सरसीरह Skm

सरोजकलिका 923  
 सरोजमोहिनीदेवी  
 प्रावृद्ध  
 शरत्  
 क्षणपभा [SC II]  
 सरोरुह *Slm*  
 सर्वचन्द्र 473  
 सर्वज्ञ *Pady*  
 सर्वज्ञसिङ्ग 31, 120, 879, 934  
 सर्वज्ञानारायण p 42  
 सर्वज्ञमाधव 76  
 सर्वज्ञमित्र 286  
 सर्वदास 904  
 सर्वदास *Sang*  
 सर्वदेश वृत्तान्तसङ्ग्रह 406, 500  
 सर्वभट्ट *Pady*  
 सर्वभक्तेश्वरशास्त्रिन् 254  
 सर्वरक्षित 473  
 सर्वस्वरलक्षण 1064  
 सर्वसेन 350, 462, 825  
 सर्वविद्याविनोद *Pady*  
 सर्वानन्द 574  
 अमरव्याख्या  
 सर्वानन्द *Pady*  
 सर्वानन्द [OC I 703]  
 ब्रज्यमालाकाव्य  
 सर्वानन्दनाम 328  
 सर्वार्थसार p 24  
 सर्वेश्वर = (तीरभुक्तेर सर्वेश्वर) *Slm*  
 सलकृष्ण 779  
 सलापक 563  
 सहदेव  
*See* अभिस्तुति  
 सहदेव (तोमर) 819  
 सहस्रकंप्यरामायण (in Padmapurāṇa  
 Printed Bombay)  
 सहस्राक्ष 792  
 सहाजी 157, 158

सहदया  
*(Sanskrit Journal, Madras)*  
 सहदयनन्दन (d) 786  
 सहदयलीला 871  
 सहदयानन्द 79  
 साकोक *Slm*  
 सागर *Slm*  
 सागरधर *Slm*  
 सागरनन्दन् 574  
 सागरसुरि  
*See* विमलनाथचरित्र  
 सागरेन्दु 849  
 साजहान् 1042  
 साजोक *Slm*  
 सात्यन्धरियवन्ध  
 by अप्पाण्डनाथ  
 [TC VII 7562 7581 It describes  
 the life of Jivandhara as Jivaka and  
 concerns with the narrative of Tami  
 Jivilacintamanı See para 479]  
 सात्त्विकाङ्गिभावरसविवेक 923  
 साधारणदेव 305  
 साधुरत्न 235  
 साधुसुन्दर 235  
 सानन्दगोविन्द 306  
 सानन्दकुतूहल (d) 786  
 सामीक *Slm*  
 साम्ब 281  
 साम्ब  
 सूर्यसप्तर्णी 281  
 साम्बचरित 254  
 साम्बपद्माशिका 281  
 साम्बमुक्तावलीस्तोत्र 281  
 साम्बशिव (=साम्ब) 281, 544  
 अनिरुद्धचरित  
 साम्बशिव 787  
 शक्तारविलास (d)  
 साम्बशिवशास्त्रिन् (K.)  
 चित्राभ्युदयकाव्य

[He was Curator of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum]	साहराजीय 937
साम्बाष्टक 273	साहविलास 1040
सामन्तसौविदक 727	साहसाङ्क 61
सायङ्केलि 646	साहसाङ्कचरित 440
सायन्तनीसागरबेला 254-E	साहितीसमुद्भास 782
सारङ्गसारकाव्य [CC I 713]	साहित्यसारङ्गधर 923
सारशतक 81, 245	साहित्यकण्ठोद्धार 917
सारसङ्ख 373	[TU VI 6935]
सारसङ्खसुधार्णव 373	साहित्यकलिका
सार्वभौम 501	शङ्करपिंड 71 [Skm II 71]
सारखतादर्शनाटक (d) [Rue 268]	साहित्यकल्पद्रुम 524, 912, 941
by अप्याशान्निन् 487	साहित्यकल्पलतिका 900
सारसमुच्चय 848	साहित्यकल्पवली
सारस्वतोळास (d) 787	by अनन्त (शठमर्ण)
सारोद्धार 1064	[TU VII 7566]
सालिग्राम 780	साहित्यकल्पोलिना 923, 914, 1045
सालिग्रामशान्निन्	साहित्यकौतूहल 923
साहित्यदर्पणटांका	साहित्यकौमुदी 307, 905, 923
[Printed Lucknow He lived there]	साहित्यवर्तित् 863-A
सालुवतिम्मदण्डनाथ 126	साहित्यचन्द्रिका 923
सालुवनरसिंह 131, 136	साहित्यचन्द्रोदय 908
सालुवमङ्गी 131	साहित्यचिन्तामणि 889, 935
सालुवाभ्युदय 136	साहित्यचूडामणि 923 935
साल्यमङ्ग 76	साहित्यतरङ्गिणी 923
सावित्रीचरित (d) 354, 733, 772	साहित्यदीपिका
सावित्रीपरिणय 253	by भास्करपिंड [MM II 73]
bv वरदाचार्य	साहित्यबोध 923
साहजीविलासगीत 1001	साहित्यमञ्जप 163
साहराजाष्टपदी 1001, 1040	साहित्यमीमासा 871 923
	साहित्यमीमासा 871
	by मस्तुक (?)

\* Bhavabhūti is thus praised

माधवस्य रति यद्वत् विरुद्धैरप्रवाधिताम् ।

भवभूतिः इमानाङ्कं जगाद् रसिकप्रसु ॥

The following are quoted

Aks'apāda, Kuntaleśvara, Bhoja, Vindhyaśin, Dhanadaṭṭa and Bhagavadajjuka

- [Ed. JSS, Trivandrum]
- साहित्यमुक्तामणि 923  
 साहित्यरत्नमञ्जूषा 490  
 साहित्यरत्नमाला 923  
 साहित्यरत्नाकर 150, 154, 937  
 by यज्ञनारायण  
 by वर्षेसुधी 932  
 (Ed. by T R Chintamani, madras)
- साहित्यविचार 923  
 by कृप्यादत्तालङ्कार  
 by अनन्त  
 साहित्यवैभव 359  
 साहित्यशास्त्र 791  
 साहित्यसंग्रह 923  
 by काल  
 by शम्भुदास  
 साहित्यसंजीविनी 151  
 साहित्यसरणि  
 साहित्यसार 923  
 by सुरेश्वरयति  
 by मानसिंह  
 by गलयज 873  
 by अच्युतरायमोदक 911  
 by रामकृष्ण 522  
 साहित्यसाम्राज्य 150, 152  
 साहित्यसुधा 148  
 साहित्यसुधासिन्धु 882  
 साहित्यसूची 923  
 साहित्यसूक्ष्मसरणि 151, 923  
 साहित्यान्वय 923  
 साहित्राम 268  
 साहिल 69  
 [quoted in *Suvr*]  
 साहेन्द्रविलास 162  
 साहोक *Pady*  
 सिङ्गण 125  
 सिङ्गमूपाल 123, 879  
 सिङ्गम्याघव 1019
- सिङ्गराचार्य 1064  
 सिङ्गापिदि *Sarng*  
 सिंहण 31, 113  
 सिद्धचन्द्र 455  
 सिद्धचन्द्रगणि 473  
 सिद्धजयन्तीचरित 283  
 सिद्धदूत  
 by अवधूतराम [*CC* III 148]  
 सिद्धपाल 98  
 सिद्धराज 70  
 सिद्धराजवर्णन 182  
 सिद्धर्थि 235, 433, 541  
 सिद्धविजयमहाकाव्य  
 by मन्थभट्ट  
 (On the life of Sacridānanda  
 ghana , 231d Acarya of Kāmakoti-  
 pitha (527-548 A D) mentioned  
 by Ātmabodha )  
 सिद्धसेनदिवाकर 276, 429  
 सिद्धस्वर्णकारमोक्षदेव 1064  
 सिद्धहेमचन्द्र 70  
 सिद्धान्तभेरी (d) 782  
 सिद्धार्थ *Subh*  
 सिद्धार्थचरित  
 सिद्धिचेल 636 [*Opp* 3074, 3077]  
 सिद्धुराज 61  
 सिद्धेश्वरभट्ट *KOD*  
 [lived about 1630-1670 A D]  
 सिद्धेश्वराष्ट्र  
 by चन्द्रशेखरसरस्वती  
 (Present Sankarācārya) on  
*Prayāgakshetra*)  
 सिद्धोक *Skm*  
 सिल्हण 268  
 सिद्धोक *Skm*  
 सिन्दूभ *Slm*  
 सिन्दूप्रकर 267  
 सिंहदत्त *Sarng, Subh*

सिंहदेवगणि 867  
 सिंहनन्दिन् (जैनाचार्य)  
 सिंहभृपाल 1004  
 सिंहवर्मन् 459  
 सिंहाविष्णु 48, 459  
 सिंहाद्रि अप्पारात्रु 941  
 सिंहाक्रि गजपतिरात्रु 941  
 सिंहाद्रिनाथस्तव 919  
 सिंहासनद्वारिशत् 427  
 सीता 374  
 सीताकल्याण (गीत) 352  
 सीताकल्याण (d)  
     by वेङ्कटभूषणि 790  
 सीताचम्पू 541  
 सीतादिव्यचरित 242  
 सीतानन्द (d) 779  
 सीतानवरत्नमाला [TO VI 6926]  
 सीताविजय (=रामायण) p 21  
 सीतापतिविजय 252, 541  
 सीतापरिणय 253  
     by गोपालशास्त्रिन्  
 सीताराधव (d) 939 [TO VI 7040]  
 सीताराधवीय 252  
 सीताराम 28  
     कुमारसम्भवव्याख्या  
 सीताराम 1098  
     वृत्तदर्पण  
 सीतारामकवि (of Mysore) 546  
 सीतारामचम्पू 942  
 सीतारामदयालहरी 541  
 सीतारामविजय 252  
 सीतारामविहार 252  
 सीतारामशास्त्रिन् (बाबू) 225  
 सीतारामशास्त्रिन् (अनिविक्क) 541  
 सीतारामशास्त्रिन् (of Jeypore)  
     बीरवराजसिंह (in prose. Sury  
         VII 91)

सीतारामजाज्ञिन् (of Fatehpur)  
     दुर्गाष्टक etc [Sury JI]  
 सीताराम न्यायाचार्य  
     गीताङ्गलि (and other songs Sanskrit trans of Tagore's works SB JI)  
 सीतारामशास्त्रिन् (विद्यामार्ताण्ड)  
     साहित्यदर्पणटीका  
     [Printed He lives in Bhawani, Hussur]  
 सीतारामानुजीयकाव्य [Opp 6693]  
 सीतारामीय 350  
 सीतारावणसंवादझरी 501  
 सीताविजयेन्द्रियपरिणय (d) 647  
 सीताविवाह (d) 777  
 सीताविहार 674  
 सीतास्वर्यंवर 253  
 सीताहरण (d) 727  
 सीमन्त  
     (mentioned in Bhojaprabandha)  
 सीत्कारत्र शुभ  
 सुकुमार 169  
 सुकृतकीर्तिकलोलिनी 112  
 सुकृतसङ्कीर्तन 111, 117  
     [Printed Bhownagar See Buhler, JI of Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Volume 119 (1887) and English Translation in IA XXXL 477-85]  
 सुखशेषमित्र 923  
 सुखलालमित्र 314, 888  
 सुखवर्मन् शुभ  
 सुखविष्णु शुभ  
 सुखशर्मन् शुभ  
 सुखाकर 455  
 सुगतपत्रविरक्तोत्त 277  
 सुग्रीवखेलन (d) 563  
 सुचरितचरक 209

सुजनजीवित 514  
 सुजनमन कुमुदचन्द्रिका 485  
 सुदतीसमितिजय (d) 727  
 सुन्दरतालाचार्य 787  
 सुन्दरदेव 373-A  
 सुन्दरदेव वैद्य 767, 928  
 सुन्दराचार्य (नाविल्पाकम्) 254 (A)  
 सुन्दराचार्य 1064  
 सुदर्शन 781  
 सुदर्शन *Saṅg*  
 सुदर्शन 254  
     कुमारीविलसित  
 सुदर्शनचम्पू 544  
 सुदर्शनविजय 254  
 सुदर्शनविजय (d)  
     by श्रीनिवासाचार्य [OO I 672]  
 सुदर्शनशतक 121, 207, 286  
 सुदर्शनाचार्य 782  
     सिद्धान्तभेरी (d)  
 सुदर्शनाचार्य (पञ्चनद) 84, 672  
 सुदर्शनाचार्य 922  
     कङ्कणबन्ध  
 सुदामचरित 254, 441  
 सुदेव *Pady*  
 सुधाकर *Skm*  
 सुधाकर पौष्टीक यज्ञन् 922  
 सुधाकलश 1016  
 सुधाक्षरी 501  
 सुधानन्दलहरी 774  
 सुधालहरी 311  
 सुधीन्द्रियति 146 920, 934  
 सुनन्द 374  
 सुनन्दनभट्ट *Subh*  
 सुन्दर 787  
     अनज्ञभङ्ग (d)  
 सुन्दर  
     वाराणसीदर्पण [OO I 725]

सुन्दर (जाजागरी) 779  
     अभिरामगण (d)  
     नाव्यप्रदीप [*C C* I 285]  
 सुन्दरदामोदर 129, 251  
 सुन्दरदेव 767  
 सुन्दरदेववैद्य  
     See रामसुन्दर महाकाव्य  
 सुन्दरपाण्ड्य 259, 286, 373  
     [*My Arch Rep* (1925), 13]  
 सुन्दरबाहु 254  
 सुन्दरबाहुस्तव 207  
 सुन्दरराजाचार्य 721  
 सुन्दरराय 778  
 सुन्दरवल्ली 381  
 सुन्दरविजय 727  
 सुन्दरवीरराघव 515, 724  
 सुन्दराचार्य 268, 298  
 सुन्दरी 166, 377  
 सुन्दरीस्वयंवर 253  
 सुन्दरेश्वर 305  
 सुप्रभात [*Sunshat N Kast*]  
 सुप्रभादेव 54  
 सुत्रत 185  
 सुप्रभासोत्र 286  
 सुबन्धु 470, 699  
     [Sivaprasad Bhatacarya, *Subandhu* and *Bana*, who is earlier ?  
*IHQ* (1926)]  
 सुबन्धु (प्राचीन) 564  
 सुबलचन्द्राचार्य 251  
 सुबालाक्ष्मतुष्ट (d) 716  
 सुबुद्धिमिश्र 857  
 सुब्बव्यय (अनन्दि) 1052  
 सुब्बव्ययशास्त्रिन् P 20  
 सुब्बरायदास 1064  
 सुब्बरामपट्टन् (*P S*) [*UP* II]  
 सुब्बरायशास्त्रिन् (देवलपङ्क्ति) 769

- मुब्बाकुद्दिअप्पर् 1052  
 मुब्रहण्य 647  
 मुब्रहण्य 268  
*See शान्तिविलास*  
 मुब्रहण्य  
 कन्धामाधव (d) [TO VII 7568]  
 मुब्रहण्यकवि (सिद्धान्ति) 293  
 मुब्रहण्यभुजजङ्गस्तोत्र 273  
 मुब्रहण्यशर्मन् (A K) [VC II]  
 मुब्रहण्यशालिन् (कुके)  
 मुखरमुखमुखरप्रहसन (d)  
 [JI of Mysore Sanskrit Collage  
 1934-1935 He lives in Mysore ]  
 मुब्रहण्यशालिन् (कडयेकुडि) 787  
 मुब्रहण्यशालिन् (K V) 507  
 मुब्रहण्यमुधी 752  
 मुब्रहण्यमूरि (शक्करनारायणपुत्र) 135  
 मुभगलन्देश 323  
 by लक्षणस्तु  
 by नारायण  
 मुभगानन्द (d) 786  
 मुभट 116, 771  
 दूताङ्गद  
 मुभट Skm  
 मुभद्रा 374  
 मुभद्राधनजय (d) 141, 781  
 मुभद्रापरिणय 529  
 मुभद्रापरिणय (d) 668, 772, 777  
 by भूमिनाथ (नल्लाकवि)  
 by रघुनाथचार्य  
 by रामदेव  
 मुभद्राराज्ञी 180, 377  
 मुभद्रार्जुन (d) 781  
 मुभद्राविजय (d) 668, 781  
 मुभद्राहरण चम्पू 543  
 [TO VI 7298]  
 मुभद्राहरण 358  
 by नारायण 46, 175
- मुभद्राहरण 358 *contd*  
 by हेमचन्द्राराय  
 मुभद्राहरण (d) 668  
 by माधवमङ् 781, 130  
 by नारायणशालिन् 727  
 by हस्तिमङ् 668  
 Anonymous 783  
 मुभाषित 361  
 मुभाषितकौस्तुम 373, 529  
 [Printed Conjeevaram ]  
 मुभाषितलीवी 121, 373, 879  
 [Com in UP II]  
 मुभाषितपदावली 373  
 by श्रीनिवासा र्य  
 Anonymous  
 मुभाषितपद्मलाकर  
 by विशालविजयभद्राराज  
 (Printed Ujjain )  
 मुभाषितपुष्पोदान  
*See मराजकर*  
 मुभाषितपवन्ध 373  
 मुभाषितमजरी 373  
 मुभाषितमुक्तावलि 373  
 by पुरुषोत्तम  
 by मथुरानाथ  
 मुभाषितरङ्गस्तर 373  
 मुभाषितदलकोश 373  
 मुभाषितदलभाष्टागर 373  
 मुभाषितदलपाला 373  
 मुभाषितलाकर 373  
 by मुनिदेवाचार्य  
 by कृष्ण  
 by भटवडेकर (KS )  
 by उमापति  
 मुभाषितलावलि 373  
 मुभाषितसमुच्चय 373  
 मुभाषितशतक 498  
 मुभाषितसङ्गङ् 373

- सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह 816  
 सुभाषितसर्वस्व 373  
 सुभाषितसारसमुच्चय 373  
 सुभाषितसुधानन्दलहरी 373  
 सुभाषितसुधानिधि 125, 373  
 सुभाषितसुद्रुम  
     by केलाडि बसवपन्नायक 197, 373  
     [1697-1702 1714 ?]  
     खण्डेरायि बसवयतीन्द्र  
 सुभाषितहारावळी (=हारावळी) 372  
     [See Monograph by Hardutt Sarma,  
     IHQ X 478 COJ III 85 Annals XVI  
     282-891 P K Gode says that he was  
     a poet of the Court of King Sambhaji  
     of Tanjore ]  
 सुभाषितार्णव 373  
 सुभाषितावळी 370  
     by बलभद्रेव 368  
     by श्रीविर 370  
     by भोजराज 188  
     by सकलकीर्ति 373  
     Anonymous 373  
 सुभग्नलक्ष्मोद 291  
 सुभतिजितामिल मल्लदेव 780  
 सुभतिनाथचरित 71  
 सुभातिविजय 27, 318  
 सुभतीन्द्र 163, 214  
 सुभतीन्द्रजयघोषण 163  
 सुभनस् 798  
 सुभनोत्तरा 450  
 सुभनोरजन 289, 314, 545  
 सुभित्रचरित 235  
 सुरचन्द्र 455  
 सुरक्षेत्सव 116  
 सुरप्रियमुनिकथा  
     (Printed Bombay)  
 सुरभि KVS *Skm*  
 सुरभिचूल *Subbh*
- सुरभिसद्वेश 254-*J*  
 सुरमृत (काश्योरक) *Skm*  
 सुरवर्मन् 400  
 सुरानन्द *Sarmq*  
 सुरानन्द 655  
 सुरेन्द्रचरित 254  
 सुरेन्द्रमोहनभट्टाचार्य (of Dacca)  
     अधिपतिर्ण  
     मेघवाहनचरित  
     शिवचरित etc.  
 सुरेश्वराचार्य 643, 923 [SB J]  
 सुलेमचरित 439, 1073  
 सुलोचनामाधव (d) 193  
 सुवर्ण *Skm*  
 सुवर्णकमेश्वरवर्मन् *Subbh*  
 सुवर्णनाम 792  
 सुवर्णमुक्ताविवाद [IO 450]  
     by महेशपण्डित  
 सुवर्णरेखा *Skm*, *KVS*  
 सुवर्णविजयकाव्य [*Opp* 3514]  
 सुवर्णविस्तर 373  
 सुवर्णनन्द 235  
 सुविमोक *Skm*  
 सुदृतातिलक 69  
 सुन्दर *Skm*  
     खन्त [Ray I 11]  
 सुन्दरदत्त *Skm*  
 सुविभोक *Skm*  
 सुशीलचन्द्रभट्टोपाध्याय  
     कुन्तीचरित (prose)  
     कुमारसम्भवविग्री (SB J)  
 सुशीला 488  
 सुहङ्करेखा 260  
 सुखावळी 88, 366 373  
 सूर्योदयावळी 373  
     by विश्वना  
     by जल्हण  
     by पुरुषोत्तम

सूक्ष्मसुकावलि 373 *contd*

by मधुरानाथ

Anonymous

सूक्ष्मिकावलि 370

by विजयसेनसूरी

by हेमविजयगांधी

by वैद्यरत्न

सूक्ष्मिकालहार

by कलिङ्गाजसूर्य

(TSS Trivandrum)

सूक्ष्मिकारिधि 373

सूक्ष्मिसुधातरङ्गिणी

*See* ओक

सूक्ष्मिसुन्दर 373-A

[*PV* Gode, on its date, *PO I* 52]

सूखप्रबन्ध 1047

सूक्ष्मतावादिन् 487

[Sanskrit Journal, Kolhapur]

सूर्यप्पनाथक 151

सूरि *Shm*

सूर्यकवि p 20, 96

आर्यारामायण

सूर्यकवि 868

विकल्पलता व्याख्या

सूर्यकवि (= सूर्यदास) 96

सूर्योचनरित 441

सूर्यदण्डक 505

सूर्यदास *Pady*

सूर्यदास 308

अग्रसंक्ष्याख्या

सूर्यघर *Shm*

सूर्यनाथतर्कीर्ती

श्रीदुर्गास्वागत

[*Spo II* 39]

सूर्योनारायण (विभानाचतुर्व) 338

सूर्योनारायण (आलूरि) 156

सूर्योनारायण (भारद्वाज) 535

सूर्योनारायणशर्मन [Sury *JJ*]

सूर्योनारायणशालिन् (द्वूर्वासुल) 1060

[His works are with his sons

Sivaramasastri and Dakshinamurty

Savtin, Advocates, Vizagapatam

The latter is a Vjainka ]

सूर्यवलिराम 887

सूर्यशतक 280

bv गोपालशर्मन्

by मयूर

by श्रीश्वर विद्यालङ्घार

by राघवेन्द्रसरस्वति

by रत्निलदास

by लिङ्गकवि

by कोदण्डराम

सूर्यस्तव 280, 919

by हनुमान्

bv उपमन्यु

सूर्यसप्तर्या 281

सूर्योर्वा [*Oudh XX* 50]

सूर्योष्टपदी

*See* लक्ष्मीनारायण

सूर्योदय

[Sanskrit Journal, Kasi]

सूर्योप्रसङ्ग [*CC I* 733]

सेतुमाधव 217

सेतुयात्रानुवर्णन 247

सेतुराजविजय 217

सेतुराम 923

सेन्दुक *Shm*

सेन्दुम *Shm*

सेनद्वा 727

सेन्दुह *Shm*

सेन्दुम *Shm*

सेवन्तिकापरिणय (d) 161, 989

सेव्यसेवकोपदेश 68

सेहोक *Shm*

सैरनिश्चिका (d) 877

सोडगोविन्द *Shm*

सोमुल 478

सोम *Somng, Subh*

सोमकवि 254-D

[In para 254-D read thus  
Somakavi was the son of Subiah  
maya He wrote Iditj *Ikamanya-*  
*mīta* His father Subi *Umanya*  
wrote *Catudhārācamatkāmaśāra*,  
a collection of verses, with his own  
commentary.]

सोमकीर्ति 229

सोमकुञ्ज 338

चित्रकाव्य

[JSS 54 in praise of his guru  
Jinaprabha]

सोमचन्द्र 434

सोमचरितगणि 234, 235

सोमजित् भट *Skm*

सोमतिलक 334

सोमदेव (= सोमेश्वर, \*रामपुत्र)  
420-1, 514

कथासरितागर

सोमदेव *Subh*

सोमदैव 671

ललितविप्रहराज (d)

सोमदेव 514

यशस्तिलक 514

सोमदेव 514

अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि

सोमदेव 514

रसेन्द्रचूडामणि

सोमदेवसूरि 268

सोमदेव एकालाष [UU I 7.15]

रामशतक

सोमनन्दन 235

सोमनाथ 298

कृष्णगीता

सोमनाथ (= सोम, मुहूलपुत्र)

रागविचोद्ध

सोमनाथ 216

व्यासयोगचरित

सोमनाथ (पाल्कुरिकि) 218 548, [1190-  
1260]

नमस्कारगद्य

अक्षराङ्गद्य

पञ्चप्रकाशगद्य

बसवाष्टक

[V Piabhalakasabha's Int to  
Bhasavapuāna ]

सोमनाथ

(Mentioned in Bhojaprabandha )

सोमनाथ 269 [UU I 735]

रामार्याशतक

वैराग्यशतक

अन्योक्तिसुकावली

अन्योक्तिशतक

श्लाघवैराग्यमुकावली

सोमनार्य (अष्टावधानि) 1018

सोमपालविलास 190

सोमप्रभ 267

सोमप्रभार्य 71, 94

सोमवल्लीयोगानन्द (d) 135, 786

सोमवारार्चनकाव्य [TU VI 7229 in 8  
cantos]

सोमशम्पल् 116

सोमशेखर 524

सोमयुन्दर 70

सोमद्र 446

मंगेश्वर (देवनपुक्त) 853

सोमेश्वर (भूलोकमळ) 1006

\* (According to Punyaślokamanjali this Somes'vara became Bodha II (Sandrananda) the 4th Ācārya of hāmakutipītha in 1061-1098 AD Mr Duff gives dates for Somes'vara 1062-1092 )

सोमेश्वर (कुमारपुत्र) 853  
 सोमेश्वर (विजयमूरि) 91  
 सोमेश्वर (चालुक्य) 89  
 सोमेश्वरदेव 116, 672, 779  
 सोलक (- सोलक) *Skm*  
 सोलोक *Skm*  
 सोहनलालापाठक (of Muttia)[*Sivay Jl.*]  
 सोहोक *Skm*  
 सोहोक *Skm*  
 सौगन्धिकापरिणय 253  
 सौगन्धिकापरिणय (d) 777  
 सौगन्धिकाहरण (d) 689  
 सौगन्धिकाहरण (बौद्ध) (d) 553  
 सौजन्यभूषण 883  
 सौन्दरनन्द 34  
 सौदामिनी 500  
 सौभद्रस्तव 180  
 सौभस्त्रिका (d) 877  
 सौभाग्यचन्द्रमीकथा 254  
 सौभाग्यमञ्जरी [OO I 738]  
 सौभाग्यमहोदय (d) 760  
 सौभाग्यलहरी 542  
 सौभिक 557, 558  
 सौभ्यजामातुमुनि 209  
 [Another account gives dates  
 1370–1446 Under para 209, note  
 12, read His Guru was S'is'vales'a  
 called Tiruovoymalipillai (1323–  
 1400)]  
 सौभ्यवर 209  
 सौभिल 566  
 स्कन्द *Sarng*  
 स्कन्दगुप्त 16  
 स्कन्दगुप्तायण 373-C  
 स्कन्दवर्मन् 459  
 सुदशनचरित 232  
 स्तव्यपाण्डव (d) 727  
 स्त्रमित्ररम्भक (d) 563, 877, 880

स्त्रवचिन्तामणी 281  
 स्त्वरत्नावलि 254 C  
 स्त्रामृतलहरी 286  
 स्त्रावली 922  
 स्त्रितुमुमाजलि 863, 286  
 स्तोत्र 257, 257  
 स्तोत्रकदम्ब 288  
 स्तोत्रशुच्छ 257  
 स्तोत्ररत्न 205  
 स्थविरावलीचरित 70  
 स्थिरदेव 318 (9-10th century)  
 मेचदूतव्याख्या [Edited by V G  
 Paranjape, Poona]  
 स्थिरमति 818  
 स्थैर्यविचारणप्रब्रह्म 75  
 स्तुषाविजय (d) 721  
 सुलिङ्क 140  
 स्फोट 804  
 स्मृतिरजनीकाव्य [*Rice* 246]  
 स्यमन्तक [*TO VI* 6913]  
 स्यमन्तकप्रबन्ध 254  
 स्यमन्तकप्रयोगिहरण 175, 494  
 स्यमन्तकोद्धार 743  
 स्याद्वादमञ्जरी 70  
 स्यानन्दरुपुरवर्णन 178  
 स्याधरास्तोत्र 256  
 स्यप्रदानन (d) 662  
 स्यप्रवासवदत्त (d) 573, 955  
 [Ed by N S Khuste, Benares  
 with commentary Ed by Deodhai  
 with notes Tr by V S Sukthankar,  
 London  
 Ed. with Commentary by  
 Anantaramasastri Vetal and  
 Jagannatha Sastri Hoslunga  
 Benares]  
 स्यप्राराम 876  
 स्यप्रभा 842

स्वर्यभू (स्यागराजपुत्र) 141  
 स्वर्यभू (समापतिपुत्र) 137  
 स्वयंभूनाथ 141, 787  
 स्वयंभूस्तोत्र 275  
 स्वरचिन्ता भणि 1064  
 स्वरतालादिलक्षण 1064  
 स्वस्मेतकलानिधि 1027  
 स्वरागसुधारस 1018  
 स्वरोदयदीपिका 1039  
 स्वर्गारोहण 175  
 स्वप्रवृन्दावन  
     by वादिराज [DC XXVII 100365  
     on the shrine of Brndāvana ]  
 स्वर्णसुखाविवाह 694  
 स्वस्तिक *Shm*  
 स्वस्यानमिश्र 904  
 स्वाति 598, 005, 967  
 स्वातीरामवर्मकुलशेखर 178  
 स्वात्मसुख 285  
 स्वात्मभूत्यनिधि (d) 767  
     See अनन्तराम  
 स्वाप्रत्यय 729  
 स्वामिदत्त 254, 307  
 स्वामिदत्त *Subh*  
 स्वामिशास्त्रिक् 632  
 स्वारोचिष्ठवरित 501  
 स्वाहाविलास 163  
 स्वाहासुधाकर 175 [TO VI 7345]  
 स्वैरचार (d) 727

## ह

हजारीलाल शर्मन (of Swasthala)  
 शाजहानकृपति राजनीति (d)  
     [*Sury Jl* VII 51 For his other  
     poems, see *ibid* VI & VIII]  
 हरुमत् *Shm* 88  
 हरुमच्छतक 492  
 हरुमत्कवि 513

हरुमत् शास्त्रिन् (Kolhapur) [SO Jl]  
 हरुमत्स्तदेश 769  
 हरुमत्सन्देशतारावलि 932  
 हरुमत्संहिताकाव्य [*Uluvi* 889]  
 हरुमत्काव्य 254  
 हरुमद्विलास 254-A  
 हरुमञ्चक्षत्रमाला 484  
 हरुमप्रसादस्तोत्र 323  
 हरुमदपदान 541  
 हरुमद्विष्टक 289, 505  
 हरुमद्विजय (d) 721  
 हरुमद्विजय 254  
 हरुमद्विशति 212  
 हरुमद्विजङ्ग 273, 509  
 हरुमान् 280, 667  
 हर्मीर 118, 929, 1014  
 हर्मीरमदर्दन 113  
 हर्मीरमर्दन 118  
 हर्मीरमहाकाव्य 118  
     [See Int to Bhāva prakāsa, 75  
     (Ba॒oda Edition)]  
 हर्मीरदास 118  
 हयग्रीवदण्डक 289, 305  
 हयग्रीववध 37, 70, 1841  
 हयग्रीवशतक 289  
 हयग्रीवशास्त्रिन् (पुराण) 1, 26 43  
 हयग्रीवस्तुति 494  
 हयग्रीवस्तोत्र 121  
 हयवदनविजयचम्पू 544  
     [TO VII, 7527]  
 हरि *Pudy*  
 हरकेलि 671  
 हरण *Subh*  
 हरयुस *Subh*  
 हरगौरीविवाह (d)  
     by जगज्ज्योतिर्मल [Lom, App 82]  
 हरवरणतर्कचूडाभणि *Shv*  
 हरवरितचिन्ताभणि 191, 872

हरतीर्थेश्वरस्तुति 352  
 हरदत्तसिंह 923  
 हरदत्त 78, 96, 558  
 हरदत्तचरित्र 254  
 हरदत्तशर्मन  
     भासिनीविलासव्याख्या 311  
 हरदत्ताचार्य 482  
 हरविजय 58, 863  
 हरविलास 655  
 हरि *Skm*  
 हरिआचार्य  
     जानकीगत [Hpr II 70]  
 हरिकण्ठ 58  
 हरिकवि (चकपाणिभ्राता) 372  
 हरिकर्णमृत  
     by चम्पकेशाचार्य  
     [DO XXVII, 7027]  
 हरिकान्तमिश्र (of Varāhi, Ahmedabad)  
     [Sury Jl]  
 हरिकृष्ण 269  
 हरिकृष्णछोदरीशर्मन् (of Vaaahu)  
     वसन्तगमगीत [Sury Jl IX]  
 हरिकेळीलालती 251  
 हरिगोविंदादास (आर्द्धेवपुत्र) 47, 235, 512  
     [In a Com on Vasodharamahakavya he is called Hasis'candra TO III 3826]  
 हरिचन्द्र (भद्र) 47  
 हरिचन्द्र *Skm, Subh*  
 हरिचंद्रदास 28  
     [The name is given as हरिचन्द्रदास in Annals, XIII 94]  
 हरिचंद्र भद्राचार्य 499

हरिचंद्रविद्यारङ्ग (of Bengal) [SB Jl]  
 हरिचरितकाव्य 236  
 हरिजीवनमिश्र 786  
     विजयपारिजात (d) [OO I 570]  
     प्रभावली (d)  
     [Bendall 28 Composed at the instance of Yuvarāja Rama-simha in 1625]  
 हरिणसन्देश 323  
 हरिदत्त *Skm*  
 हरिदास 268  
     See शान्तिविलास  
 हरिदास (पुरुपोत्तमपुत्र) 371, 892  
 हरिदास (विष्णुदासपुत्र) 27, 28, 53, 55  
 हरिदास (कास्मृतीर्थ)  
     शोकगाति etc [JSSP XIX 128]  
 हरिनारायणमिश्र  
     (of Varāhi, Ahmedabad) [Sury Jl].  
 हरिदास [OO I 757]  
     पुरजननाटक (d)  
 हरिदास *Paly*, 758  
 हरिदास 955  
 हरिविलास (d) 787  
 हरिदाससिद्धान्तवाचीश 318, 468, 741  
 हरिदेवमिश्र  
     कर्णकुत्तहल [OO I 82]  
 हरिनागभूषण 1063  
 हरिनाथ (बासुदेवपुत्र) [OO I 758]  
     रामविलासकाव्य  
 हरिनाथ [विशेष्वर (विश्वधरपुत्र)]  
 हरिनाथ 252, 816  
 हरिनामकवच 219  
 हरिनारायणमुनि 373-A  
 हरिनारायणमिश्र\* 88

\* He praised Shajahan thus

भूमूलैलितटीषु वर्षति महावाराघरेऽसिद्धसौ  
 जाता भूप सरस्वती विजियिनी कल्पोलिनी पावनी ।  
 श्रीमत्साहिजहा अवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्याः कथं  
 यस्या मज्जति पङ्कजीयसि शिवस्त्वन्मूर्द्धजे लोयति ॥

- हरिप्रबोध 819  
 हरिप्रसाद (गङ्गेशपुण) 888  
 हरिपण्डित (मुडिगुण्ड) p 24  
 हरिपादमद्वौपाध्याय 318  
 हरिपादभारती 468  
 [Of Bhātpara, Bengal, *Vidy JI*,  
   *SSM JI*]  
 हरिपालदेव 1013, 1064  
 हरिवाचा (1838)  
   भक्तिरसायन [*OC II* 88]  
 हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका  
   by कृष्णसरस्ती [*Hyp*, IX 16]  
 हरिभक्तिविलास 221  
   by सनातन  
   by गोपालभट्ट  
 हरिभक्तिसुधोदय  
   [Written as a *Puṇāpa* on the lives  
   of Bhaktas like Piabhlāda, Dhruva  
   etc.]  
 हरिभट्ट 329  
   नलोदयव्याख्या  
 हरिभट्ट 904  
   (Quoted by Caturbhuj)
- हरिभद्र 235  
 हरिभद्रसूचित्रित्रि 235  
 हरिभास्त्र 373  
 हरिभुतभट्ट *Subh*  
 हरिमिश्रीय  
   [On Sankara's successors Men-  
   tioned by Ātmabodha]  
 हरिमोडेस्तोत्र 273  
 हरियज्ञन् 778  
 हरिज्ञ 329  
 हरिराम *Ked*  
 हरिरामशास्त्रिन्  
   (of Aurangabad *MB JI*)  
 हरिलील 251  
 हरिवंश 228, 552
- हरिवंश (जैन) p 44  
 हरिवंश *Slm*  
 हरिवंश (ot Lalitavistara)  
   सूर्यशतकटीका [*OC I* 761]  
 हरिवंशकाव्य 251  
 हरिवंशकथासङ्क्षिप्त  
   by अभिष्युष्टेषिन्  
   [*DO XXVII* 7336, *TC VI*  
   7336 This narrates the story of  
   Harivamsānupurāṇa in easy prose and  
   verse, according to Jaina religion.]  
 हरिवंशगोस्वामिन् [*OC I* 82, 761]  
   करुणानन्दकाव्य  
   राधासुधानिधि  
 हरिवंशपुराण 228  
 हरिवंशभट्ट [*OC I* 761]  
   रसमञ्जरीटीका  
 हरिवंशसारचरित 143, 149  
 हरिवर्षन् 400  
 हरिविक्षमचरित्रि 235  
 हरिविजय 70, 350, 462, 825, 848  
 हरिविनोदकाव्य [*OC I* 761]  
   by गणेशपण्डित  
 हरिविलास (*d*) 787  
 हरिविलास 251  
   by कविदेवखर  
   by लोलम्बराज 129, 236  
 हरिविलासप्रबन्ध 959  
 हरिव्यासमित्र 1100  
 हरिशङ्कर 298  
   गीतराघव  
 हरिशङ्कर 863-A  
 हरिथन्द्रवश्यकन्द्रवन्दिका (*d*) [*Opp* 6704]  
 हरिथन्द्रचरित (*d*) 781, 842, 872  
 हरिथन्द्रचरित  
   Anonymous 254  
   by विद्युतेखर 249

हरिश्चन्द्रवन्दनिका (d) 669  
 [‘*Hrid to be a Compy.*’ in Aksha  
 Library Visagapalam 1]

हरिश्चन्द्रोदय 96, 254

हरिश्चान् 915

हरितल 11

हरिहर (चूसिंहचार्यपुत्र) 666

हरिहर (रामविद्वत्पुत्र) 1074, 1075

हरिहर (चन्द्रपुत्र) 1075

हरिहर 254, 1075

चितभानुकाव्य

हरिहर

जानकीमाणिक्य [CO I 762]

हरिहर (कृष्ण) 124

हरिहर (मैथिल) 263, 1075

हरिहर (योद्धादिल्यपुत्र) 116

हरिहर *Pady*

हरिहर (जैन) 111, 928

हारदरदेव (हिन्दूपति) 306, 400

हरिहरदेव *Saini*, 400

हरिहरभट्ट 306

अमरुतकटीका

हरिहरभट्ट 1075

हृदयदृष्ट

हरिहरभट्ट 359

कुलप्रवन्ध

हरिहरविलास *Opp* 3899

हरिहरसभावित 373

हरिहराचार्य 44

हरिहरनन्द 520

हरिहरनुसरणयाता (d) [CO I 763]  
 by चूसिंहभट्ट  
 [Printed Bombay]

हरिन्द्र 904

हर्षवर्धन शीलादित्य 181, 452

हर्षविक्रमादित्य 16, 17 609

हर्षवर्धन (विक्रमादित्य) 951

हर्षवार्तिक 948

140

हर्ष (ग्राचीन) 9-8

हर्षवार्तिक

हर्षवर्ति

कलियुगाष्टकवारदास्तेव [CC III 157]

हर्षवर्ति उपाधाय 1094

हर्षु ज्ञापाधाय 235

हर्षवरित 453 607

हर्षचरितवार्तिक 871

हर्षचरतसङ्ग्रह 456

by R V कृष्णमाचार्य

by श्रीनिवासाचार्य

हर्षचरितसार

by V V Mula-hi. Printed  
 Bombay

हर्षट [PO I : 36]

हर्षदं *Subh*

हर्षदेव (= हर्ष) 564 609

हर्षनाथ 254, 777

हर्षयालदेव 400

हर्षवर्धन (= हर्ष) 286 607

हर्षवसान (d) 779

by कन्यालाल पञ्चतीर्थ  
 [Printed JSSP Calcutta]

हलधर 921

हलधर *Subh*

हुलायुध *Skm*

हुलायुध 477, 924

कविरहस्य

हुलायुध

घर्मविवेककाव्य [Hpr I 198]

हलीस 563

हलीसमझरी 352

हंसकवि 254

हंसगणि 50, 440

हंसदृष्ट 220, 322 323

by हंसयोगिन्

by रघुनाथदास 323

by कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वति 323, 373-B

हंसभट्ट *Samug*  
 हंसभूपाल 1004  
 हंसयोगिन् 322  
   हंसदृढ़  
 हंसयोगिन् p 25  
   आर्थगीता  
 हंसराज 1094  
 हंसविलास 730  
 हंससन्देश 12, 128, 323  
 Anonymous [*TC VI 7302*]  
   by वामनभट्टवाण 323  
   by वेदान्तदेशिक 323  
   by रूपगोस्वामिन् 323  
   by वेङ्गेश  
   by पूर्णसत्यति  
 [Aisha Library, Vizagapatam ]  
 हसेनकर  
   See प्रतापसिंहचरित  
 हस्तमुक्तावली 1039  
 हस्तवाल 17  
 हस्तामलक 285  
 हस्तामलकस्तोत्र 286  
 हस्तिगिरिचम्पू  
   by वेङ्गटाच्छविन् 529  
   by श्रीनिवास (आत्रेय)  
 हस्तिपक 37  
 हस्तिपक *Sth*  
 हस्तिपक 451, 668, 816  
 [Q Is he the same as Hastimallasena ?]  
 हारवध्युवराजदेव 59  
 हारावलि 372  
   by हरिकिवि  
   by पुरुषोत्तम  
 हात 305, 450, 598  
 हासामृत (d)  
   by विठ्ठल विद्यावागीश

[Nepal Library, Bendall 2]  
 Composed on the reign of Sujan-simha of Bundelkand ]  
 हासिका 562  
 हास्यचूडामणि (d)  
   by वत्सराज (Ed. 70S)  
 हास्यरत्नाकर (d) 786  
 हास्यर्णव (d) 786  
 हास्यनाटक (d) 373-U  
 हास्यशतक 373-B  
 हितहरिवंश 251  
 हितोपदेश 427  
 हीर 73  
 हीरकवि  
   गीतशङ्कर [*MM II 52*]  
 हीरमन्त्र 440  
 हीरविजय 229  
 हीरसौभाग्य  
   by देवविभलगणि  
 हीरहैमवत (d) 727  
 हीराराम 373-B  
 हीरालाल 501  
 हृष्यदृढ़  
   See हरिहरभृ  
 हीरोक *Slm*  
 हृदयकौतुक 1032  
 हृदयदर्पण 827  
 हृदयनारायण 1032  
 हृदयप्रकाश 1032  
 हृदयविनोद (d) 786  
 हृदयाभरण 297  
 हृषीकेश *Slm*  
 हैजल 778, 955  
 हैतुक *Suring*  
 हैमझमारत्चरित 71  
 हैमचन्द्र 70, 866  
 [G. Buhler's *Life of Hemacandra*]



## SUPPLEMENT

---

- अच्युत [*Sunishrit Jl Kashi*]  
अण्णज्ञराचार्य 255  
अनन्तदास (विश्वनाथकविराजपुत्र)  
अनन्तदेव (आपदेवपुत्र)  
    See कृष्णभक्तिचन्द्रिका [*Be. I. II. 29*]  
अनन्तगट [*I.O I. 39*]  
अनन्तरामशास्त्रिन्, (वेताल) [*Sury Jl*]  
अनन्तराम (ऋम्बकपुत्र)  
    स्वानुभूति (d) [*Benulall.*]  
अनिरुद्धमिश्र  
    सरस्वतीस्तुति [*Sury Jl*]  
अचादाचरण 254  
अमरभारती [*Sunishrit Jl Benares*]  
अलङ्कारमञ्जूषा [For content, see *I.O I.*]  
आशारामशास्त्रिन् (of Lakshmanapuri) [*Sury Jl*]  
हन्दुमतीपरिणय (d) [*Tury No 23844*]  
इन्द्रप्रासाद लिपाठिन् [*Sury Jl*]  
ईश्वरतदौरात्तिशास्त्रिन् (of Mizrapur)  
    मक्किलहरी etc [*Sury Jl*]  
ईश्वराभ्यर्थन [*Sury Jl*]  
उत्तररामचरित  
    by नारायणभट्टशिष्य [*TSN*]  
उदयवर्मचरित [*TSN*]  
उद्गृहकोदर (d) 790  
एकादशी व्रतनाटक (d) [*Benulall. 42 1480 A.D.*]  
एकावली See [*I.O I. II. 15*]  
कथाकोश (prose) [*Ramgela Jain Library, Benares*]  
कमलिनीकलहंस (d) [*TSN*]  
कम्पनीप्रतापमण्डन (d)  
    by बिन्दुमाधव (Printed London)  
कर्पूरचरित (d) [*GON*]  
    by वत्सराज  
कलङ्कमोचन (d)

ब) पश्चाननतर्कतीर्थ

[On a tale in Bhagavat about Rādhā, JSSP XX]

कलिहराजसूर्य

सूरजितवहार [TSN]

कविराक्षस

[B V Veerasingham says that he was a native of Draksā-  
pura, N Godavari Dist, and lived between 1050 and 1220  
See Veerasingham's *Telugu Poets* ]

कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय ३७३-८

कालिदास १२-३३ ३०९, ३१७, ६१५-६२३

काव्यसुभाषित [Bendall 52]

काव्यादर्श [TNS with two commentaries]

कूर्मपुत्रकथा [Bendall 50]

चन्द्रशेखरसरस्वति [Present Head of Kamakotipitha]

सिद्धेश्वराष्ट्रक (on Playag)

गङ्गावंशानुचरित

[See R Subbarao's *History of Eastern Gurus of Kalinga*,  
AIIQ, V 193 ]

गतिगोविन्द

[The verses about ten Avatars have been sung in *Tirum Records*  
by Madhusu Dikshitar Srikrishnaiah, Teacher, Board  
High School, Chittoor who is an adept in singing this  
poem and Rāmāyaṇa. Some verses have also been sung  
by Chittoor visitors in II M V Records ]

गवर्मचरित

by माणिक्यसुन्दर of (अचलगढ़) [A collection of tales Bendall 64]

गविन्दमिश्र (= एम्बार्)

विज्ञानस्तुति

[He was disciple of Rāmānuji Born at Mathuramangalam  
Lived 1026-1129 ]

गविन्दराज ॥ २३

[Bhavānīśwari of Srirangācārya made a gift to Tirupati  
Temple on 5-7-1535 and lived at Tirupati, see *Tirupati  
Devalayam Inscriptions*.]

गटपार्षकाव्य [Bendall 51]

गृतकुल्या (d)

[A laurel Mh dated 8th Aug 1731 Bendall, 28]

### चण्डकौशिक

[See V V Mirashi on Rajasekhara's works in Prithak's Cor Vol Poona]

चिकम्मा poetess, *Saving* [BTO 164, Ms Peterson's Edn does n contain it]

जानकीराधव (d.)

by युवराजरामसिंह, son of Jayasimha (1625) [Bendall, 26]

दत्ता (novel)

by श्रीश्रवन्द चटोपाध्याय [JSSP XIX]

दृताङ्गद (d.)

by रामचन्द्र [Bendall, 28]

देवशङ्करभट्ट [For date, see PO I n 14]

देवशिखामणि अलशिङ्गराचार्य [Sanskrit Pandit, Triplicane, Madras]

पार्श्वसारथिशतक

तिरप्पलियचि (Tl from Tamil)

धर्मदुदिकगा [Bendall 50]

नवराजयाशोभूषण [For contents, see PO I n 19]

नयचन्द्र [PO I n 22]

नाव्याचालसमीक्षा

by T K रामचन्द्रअच्यूत [Printed Mylapore, Madras]

नृत्ताञ्जलि

by श्रीरागिणीदेवी

[An illustrated introduction to Hindu dancing, Bombay  
नेपालवंशावलि [See Table of Inscriptions in Bendall]]

पञ्चानन तुर्करत्न

(नन्दलालपुत्र of Bhatpara, Bengal )

See कलद्वयोचन [JSSP. XX]

पद्मबेणी [PO I n 54]

पूर्णचन्द्रडे उद्घटसागर (of Calcutta)

उद्घटस्त्रोकमाला

[An anthology of fine verses of the \*author and of others  
Printed Calcutta ]

प्रतापस्त्रद्ययशोभूषण [PO I n 16]

\* Here is a verse of the author for benediction to live for 120 years

इस्टं खचन्द्रशुणितं शशिना समेत रामाञ्जितं युग्मयुतं निहतं शरेण ।

यच्छेषितं शरकरेण वसुद्वयवद् त्वं जीव हे वसुवर ! स्वजनै. पृथिव्याम् ॥

(JSSP XX 152 for a review)\*

प्रमावली (d)

by हरिजीवनमिश्र [Beulall 28]

प्रेममोहिनीरणधीर (d)

*See* विजयानन्दन

विन्दुपाधव

कम्पनीप्रतापमण्डन (d) [Printed Poona]

बोपदेव 205

भास [O K Venkata Umash, Bhasa's Plays (in Canarese) Bangalore an extensive book reviewed in *Hindu*, 22nd August 1937, Madras ]

महादण्डक [Raumghat Jain Mandir, Benares]

महाभारत [PO I m 5]

माघदुर्घट [Bendall 60]

by राजकूर (Adversaria on Māgha)

माणिक्यसुन्दर (अचलगच्छ)

*See* गुणवर्मचरित्र supra

मूकपञ्चशती [Ed by T S Sabesa Iyer, Madras]

रसार्पवालङ्कार [Ed IHQ (1929) by Venkatalamasaṇna and by E V Veeranaghavachary, Jl of Tel Academy (1934-5)]

राधाप्रिया

*See* विश्वनाथ (Chief of Askai)

राम (लिङ्गंगुण्ड)

शृङ्गारसोदय (d) [OO I 661]

रामायण

[Miss P C Dharma, Some customs and beliefs from Ramayana PO II 113 ]

वरदानचार्य (S T G) [S T G Valadūcarya, M A, himself maintains a Sanskrit College at Chittigudur, Masulipatam ]

नवरत्नमाला

तत्त्वकथानक

सुषुसिवृत्तम् (a short poem on India past and future)

वरदाम्बिकापरिणय

[Edited with commentary by M M Gridhar Sharma and Haridatta Sharma by Lakshman Sarup, with introduction, Lahore Introduction fixes date of composition between 1529-40 ]

वसन्ताभरण (Nepal Library)

विद्वान्नालभजिका (d) 166, 658 [V V Muṇḍlu, Yāvavāñjudeva of Tīrṇ  
Annals XI 370]

विद्याधर [P O I n 13]

विद्यातिलक (p) [Bondall, 19]

श्रीनिवासाचार्य (T V)

लक्ष्मीनृसिंहशतक (Printed Madras)

षोडशायुधस्तुति 121

हरिजीवनपिश्च

प्रभावली (d) [Bondall, 28]

[N B — Bondall = A Journey in Nepal and Northern India, by  
Bondall, Cambridge, 1886

### इति

श्रीमद्विलाप्तकोटिब्रह्माण्डनायकस्य प्रियःपते. देवदेवस्य श्रीशेषाचलशिखरालयस्य श्रीनिव  
निल्यान्तरङ्गभृत्यगोष्ठीखुरीणस्य - परशशतकृत्प पठितपाठितव्याख्यातश्रीमद्वामायण च  
शशाञ्चापारावारपारीण - श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्थानगोर्वाणिकलाजालग्रथमंमहोपदेशकाभ्यक्ष -  
धार्मिकशिरोमणि - सुगृहीतनामधेय - कमलम्बासहचरित - स्वपितृव्य  
श्रीनिवासरङ्गनाथाचार्य - वात्सल्यलब्धसाहित्यसर्वस्वस्य, अंशावतारित-  
फणिपतिधिवणाधवलप्रभाभास्तुरपरिच्छद - निरन्तरप्रतिभासमुद्भ-  
सितहृदानवद्यप्रवचनचातुरीसमुपस्थापितकालिदासमहा-  
कवि - शब्दशाचाचिक्षारद, मण्डकोलन्तूरभेजन - श्री  
कृष्णशास्त्रिणः, अनवरतमनिष्ट्यातशब्द-  
ब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य समधिगतपाणिनीयसर्वस्वस्य  
अरशाणिपालै - शठकोपाचार्यस्य  
च, प्रियान्तेवासिन.

नैद्युवकाश्यपगोदोद्भवस्य अमृताम्बायुर्नेसम्भवस्य श्रीनिवासराघवतनूभवस्य  
शङ्काराम्बासहर्थमचारिण माडभाषि कृष्णमहाचार्यस्य कृतिषु  
देववाणीसाहित्यचरितं  
समाप्तम् ॥

श्रियकान्ताय कल्याणनिधये निघयेऽर्थिना ।  
श्रीवेङ्कटनिवासाय श्रीनिवासाय मङ्गलम् ॥

## A NOTE OF GRATIFICATION

---

---

I am indebted to the following gentlemen for various  
acts of assistance in the progress of this work:

A. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,

*Subordinate Judge. Chingleput.*

S K. Srinivasachar,

*Triplcane, Madras.*

M S. Subramania Aiyar,

*Formerly Manager,*

*Advocate-General's Office, Madras.*

V. Narasimha Aiyangar,

*Gopalapuram, Madras*

M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A.,

*Madras.*

N. G. Sardesai,

*Proprietor, Oriental Book Agency, Poona.*

A M Srinivasacharya,

*Pandit. Triplcane, Madras.*

BY

M KRISHNAMACHARIAR

M,A , M.L , PH.D , M.R.S

- 1 History of Classical Sanskrit Literature
- 2 Law of Registration in British India
- 3 Law of Execution in British India, 2 Vols.
- 4 Trial by Jury in British India
- 5 Negotiable Securities in British India
- 6 Presidency Small Cause Courts
7. Provincial Small Cause Courts
- 8 Succession Certificates & Curators
9. Court fees and suits Valuation
- 10 Indian Edition of Will's Circumstantial Evidence
11. Indian Edition of Underhill on Torts
- 12 Revised Edition of Das on Ultra Vires  
(Tagore Law Lectures)
13. Revised Edition of Agnew on Trusts  
(Tagore Law Lectures)
- 14 The Madras Estates Land Act

[N.B Anulu taithen author V. Rajaputnam, Madras Pradhikar]